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Beethoven's motivations for the revision of the
overture *Leonore* no. 2: a contextual, critical and analytical
study.

By Niall Turner
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Abstract

In this dissertation, I shall be tackling the complicated history of Beethoven’s overtures for his only opera *Fidelio*, specifically, the overtures *Leonore* no.2 and *Leonore* no. 3. To do this, I shall set myself a number of research questions relating to the contextual history of the overtures, the results of the analysis, and reasons and motives behind the decisions that were made in the compositional process. These research questions are established in Section 1.2., and are:

1. For what reasons might the original production of 1805, and Leonore no. 2, have been a failure?
2. What did Beethoven change when revising Leonore no. 2 into Leonore no. 3?
3. For what purpose did Beethoven make these changes?

I shall also be looking at the history of the overtures, what factors may have affected the decisions Beethoven made in writing the two works, and how the overtures relate to one another. One of the main features of this dissertation is a comparative analysis of the overtures in order to trace the compositional similarities and differences between the two overtures. I shall also be using Schenkerian analysis to view the broader harmonic structure of some sections of both overtures.
1. Introduction

The histories of Beethoven’s first two overtures for his opera *Fidelio* (1805), originally titled *Leonore*, namely *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3, have long caused scholars difficulties in a variety of ways. Why did he write a new overture for the 1806 revival of the opera? Why was this new overture very similar to the previous overture? Why did he then discard both of these overtures to write two smaller, shorter overtures, *Leonore* no. 1 and the *Fidelio* overture? A number of scholars, most notably Tovey (1972), have discussed the obvious similarities between *Leonores* no. 2 and 3, but the reasoning behind the changes made to *Leonore* no. 2 in order to transform it into *Leonore* no. 3 is often neglected. The timeline of the different versions of the opera and the associated overtures is shown below:

- First version *Leonore*, premiered 20 November 1805; *Leonore* no. 2 overture.
- Second version *Leonore*, premiered 29 March 1806; *Leonore* no. 3 overture.
- Third version *Leonore*, planned for 1808 but cancelled; *Leonore* no. 1 overture.
- Fourth version *Fidelio*, premiered 23 May 1814; *Fidelio* overture.

In this dissertation, I shall be attempting to address some of the confusion that surrounds the composition of these overtures. In particular, I shall be attempting to discover some of the reasons why Beethoven made the revisions that he did to the overture *Leonore* no. 2 to transform it into *Leonore* no. 3. To do this, I shall be analysing the two overtures in detail, looking at Beethoven’s use of form, structure, melody, harmony, orchestration, dynamics, and motivic development. This analysis will aim to uncover some of the small and large-scale changes in the music, which in turn can shed light on Beethoven’s compositional and revisional processes.

To understand the changes that Beethoven made, it is first important to have an understanding of the complex background of *Fidelio*. Below is the full chronological outline of the opera’s genesis and
revisions, which contains valuable information on the myriad of factors which acted as impetus to Beethoven’s revisions.

1.1. Historical Background

1.1.1. First Version

By the beginning of 1804, Beethoven had rejected Emmanuel Schikaneder’s libretto Vestas Feuer and was looking towards the light French Opéra comique of Cherubini (Arnold & Fortune, 1971, p. 336). Beethoven decided on Léonore, ou L’Amour conjugale, a libretto by Jean-Nicolas Bouilly (1763–1842) written in 1798. Within these six years it had already been adapted for the opera stage by Pierre Gaveaux (1798), and between the beginning and end of the creation of Beethoven’s Fidelio, two more versions would appear, the first by Ferdinando Paër (1804), and a second by Simon Mayr (1805). Beethoven had his own copy of Gaveaux’s opera but perhaps did not know about the other two operas, especially Paër’s, which was not performed until 1809 (Dahlhaus, 1991, p. xix). This libretto had an almost identical plotline to Cherubini’s Les deux journées (1800), a work of the escape-opera genre, which was fast becoming the fashionable narrative with thanks to the French Revolution. Beethoven knew this, hence why he had rejected Schikaneder’s Vestas Feuer, as well as another libretto by Rochlitz around the same time, principally because they featured themes of magic, similar to Mozart’s late operas such as Die Zauberflöte, and the public were no longer interested in the genre (Arnold & Fortune, 1971, p. 336).

Joseph Sonnleithner, the secretary for the Vienna State Theatre, translated Bouilly’s French text into German for Beethoven. Sketching began in January 1804, and Beethoven planned to be finished by Easter, but it quickly became apparent that this would not be possible (Arnold & Fortune, 1971, p. 338). Progress was slow, and at the time he was also working on the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies Op. 67 and 68, respectively, the Fourth Piano Concerto Op. 58, the F major Piano Sonata No. 22 Op. 54, and the Triple Concerto Op. 56. Further setbacks included the change of management at the Theatre
an der Wien and four changes of address. Having completed the ‘Appassionata’ Piano Sonata No. 23
(Op. 57), Beethoven began working again on *Leonore* in November 1804 (Cooper, 2008, p. 156).

After over a year of work on the project, *Leonore* was almost ready, and a premiere date was set for
15 October 1805. Despite the drawbacks of writing new pieces, Beethoven, writing to Sonnleithner,
insisted that he was to write the overture during the rehearsal and not any sooner (Beethoven &
Anderson, 1961, p. 141, letter 122). He wrote a similar letter to Friedrich Sebastian Mayer, who sang
the role of Don Pizarro in the first two versions, saying that he can have the overture ‘ready by
tomorrow’ if needs be (Beethoven & Anderson, 1961, p. 142, letter 124). Beethoven probably knew
that, despite his mastery of non-programmatic instrumental music, he would struggle with the
various aspects of operatic writing, such as dramatic pacing and linearity of the plot, which were
entirely foreign to him. As such, he needed to be sure that the main body of the operatic material
that contained vocal parts was completed in time for rehearsals. Further complications, as well as a
ban by the censor which caused the action of the plot to be reimagined into the sixteenth century,
pushed the premiere back to 20 November. The resulting overture, *Leonore* no. 2, was completed
somewhere between the end of October (Johnson, Tyson & Winter, 1985, p. 149) and the beginning
of November (Albrecht, 1989, p. 189).

The first performances were disastrous, with practically all critics reviewing the opera harshly.
Critics from the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, and *Der Freymüthige*
all complained of endless repetitions of both music and text, as well as a lack of originality, of
creative flair, and of characterization. Many clearly knew Beethoven’s works well, and were
thoroughly disappointed, with one critic from the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* saying it ‘did not
augment the idea of Beethoven’s talent as a vocal composer that I had formed from his cantata’
(either one of the two 1790 Emperor Cantatas, WoO 87 and 88) (Senner, 2001, p. 173). Another
critic, from *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, claimed it ‘bears no comparison to other instrumental
compositions by Beethoven’ (Senner, 2001, p. 175). Joseph Carl Rosenbaum, the secretary to the
Esterházy family, whose extensive diaries are now very well known, wrote how the ‘beautiful, artful, heavy music had no success at the premiere’ (Orga, 1978, p. 93). Rosenbaum must have believed that the music deserved more praise than the audience had thought of it, and perhaps the problems were in the narrative, the singing, the results of the minimal rehearsals, or a combination of the three. Dahlhaus (1991, p. 185) blames Sonnleithner’s libretto, calling it a ‘disgraceful piece of botching’. Arnold & Fortune (1971, p. 351) agree, explaining how Bouilly’s original libretto was dramatically slow, and Sonnleithner sedated it further with additional numbers.

Unfortunately for Beethoven, Napoleon’s Grande Armée had arrived in Vienna on 13 November, a week before the premiere, and the majority of the noble class had fled, including many of Beethoven’s admirers. With the audience mainly consisting of French officers, the opera played for only three nights before it was withdrawn (Arnold & Fortune, 1971, p. 338). Lockwood (2003, p. 257) suggests that the failure of the first performances was not due to the soldiers’ occupation, but in fact that the narrative may have been ‘over the heads of many listeners accustomed to lighter stage works’.

1.1.2. Second Version

Soon after these failed performances, Beethoven gathered some of his friends and colleagues, as well as the librettist Stephan von Breuning, who was to rectify many of the problems of Sonnleithner’s libretto, to meet at Prince Lichnowsky’s palace in December of the same year (1805) to discuss the opera. All of the original cast remained, except Josef August Röckel who was to sing the part of Florestan, taking over from Friedrich Christian Demmer. Röckel describes that night at the palace in his diary as Beethoven battled vehemently to protect his score from any alterations. Eventually, Princess Lichnowsky pleaded with him to revise the opera and managed to persuade him ‘on his mother’s life’ (Sonneck, 1967). The three numbers that the group specifically felt the opera would benefit without were the trio for Rocco, Marzelline, and Jaquino (‘Ein Mann ist bald genommen’), the duet for Leonore and Marzelline (‘Um in der Ehe’), and Pizarro’s aria with chorus at
the end of the original Act II. (‘Ein Mann ist bald genommen’ is actually one of the three numbers Sonnleithner added to Bouilly’s libretto, the other two being the canon quartet No. 3 ‘Mir ist so wunderbar’, and the trio No. 5 ‘Gut, Söhnchen, gut, hab’ immer Mut!’). These pieces were actually not cut in the 1806 version, but had disappeared by 1814 (Arnold & Fortune, 1971, p. 339). This led Lockwood (2003, p. 257) to believe that the meeting actually took place in 1807, after a cancelled Prague performance, which would explain why these three numbers had not been removed in the second version of 1806. It is important to note that Beethoven and company only performed the original version of the opera that night, and that no changes were made until after the meeting. Beethoven wrote again to Sonnleithner, telling him that the three acts had been shortened to two, and that everything else had been shortened to save time, despite the fact that Stephan von Breunig was now the new librettist (Beethoven & Anderson, 1961, p. 147, letter 128).

The second version premiered on 29 March 1806, this time more successfully, with critics writing of how it is ‘incomprehensible how the composer could have resolved to enliven this empty shoddy piece of work by Sonnleithner with beautiful music’ (p. 179), and how Beethoven ‘understands how to bring the most lovely graciousness into the most beautiful balance with strength and inexhaustible wealth of ideas’ (p. 178) (Senner, 2001). The only thing that critics were still not satisfied with was the new overture, that now known as Leonore no. 3, which was full of ‘ceaseless dissonances and the almost constant pretentious buzzing of the violins’ as written by the Zeitung für die elegante Welt 6. Tovey (1972, p. 31), on the other hand, insists that the only thing which truly profited from this revision was the overture. These negative reviews could have most likely stemmed from a lack of rehearsal time, with Beethoven saying himself that the chorus and stage performers were making 'dreadful mistakes' in the first performance (Beethoven & Anderson, 1961, p. 148, letter 129). In an unusual turn of events, Beethoven withdrew the opera after only three performances due to disagreements with the theatre director Baron Braun. Beethoven believed that he was being cheated out of his share of the box office returns, when in fact he had insisted on high ticket prices without concessions, so that the boxes and front row seats were taken
but the stalls were empty. Beethoven then took his score back without hesitation and stored it away in his manuscript closet (Sonneck, 1967).

1.1.3. Third Version

The overture *Leonore* no. 1 is now known to have been written for a cancelled performance, the opera’s third version, in Prague in 1808. *Leonore* no. 1 was initially believed to be the first overture written for the opera which was immediately discarded in late stages of composition, but this was found to be false in 1870 by Gustav Nottebohm who discovered sketches for *Leonore* no. 1 alongside sketches for the Fifth Symphony, Op. 67 (Tyson, 1975, p. 295). The ‘smallest’ of the overtures in terms of dramatic scale, we can see in *Leonore* no. 1 that Beethoven was beginning to understand the problems of scale caused by the gigantic *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3, when compared to the modest first scene of Act I. Both *Leonore* no. 1 and the *Fidelio* overture are shorter and more light-hearted than the first two overtures.

1.1.4. Fourth Version

Six years later, at the beginning of 1814, the first signs emerge of the final version of *Fidelio*. The *Fidelio* overture, just as thematically distant from the *Leonore* overtures no. 2 and 3 as *Leonore* no. 1, is regarded by many as the most fitting of the overtures to its intended purpose. Its much lighter themes are more suited to the comedic first scene, although there is a ‘formidable power, neither good nor bad, which pervades the overture’ (Tovey, 1972, p. 42). Robinson believes it may have been written in a similar style to Mozart’s overtures, yet with a more muscular sonority, (Robinson, 1996, p. 7). It was the success of the ‘Battle Symphony’ in 1813, perhaps his least cared about work, that incited the Viennese Imperial Theatres to contact Beethoven about a revival of his opera. Writing to Count Moritz Lichnowsky (the younger brother of Prince Lichnowsky), and Archduke Rudolf, Beethoven says 'The authorities want to revive my opera *Fidelio*, and this is giving me a lot of work' (Beethoven & Anderson, 1961, p. 444, letter 461). Writing to Georg Friedrich Treitschke soon after, he explains that ‘I have to write a new overture, but this is the easiest task of them all, I admit,
because I can write an entirely new one’ (Beethoven & Anderson, 1961, p. 454, letter 479). Johnson, Tyson, & Winter (1985, p. 221) believe that he in fact gave his consent to revive the opera on the condition that he would be allowed to revise it, including the overture. Another letter to Treitschke, just nine days before the performance, reveals that Beethoven was 'dissatisfied with most of it [the opera] and there is hardly a number in it which my present dissatisfaction would not have to patch up here and there with some satisfaction' (Beethoven & Anderson, 1961, p. 482, letter 481). Even with another successful version, Beethoven was not satisfied with the opera, although he did not make any changes past this point. He again chose to write the overture very late, and on this occasion, it was not ready for the first performance, and instead another one of Beethoven’s overtures was used, that of Die Ruinen von Athen, Op. 113 (Arnold & Fortune, 1971, p. 340).

1.2. Research Questions

Many of the questions that these overtures have accumulated since their composition have now been resolved by various scholars. These issues include the missing full text of Leonore no. 2, solved when Otto Jahn gifted a complete copyist’s score to the Königliche Bibliothek in 1870 (Tyson, 1977, p. 192); the unknown dating of the pencil entries in this particular score, worked out by Alan Tyson (1977, p. 192); and the incorrect numbering of Leonore no. 1, rectified by Gustav Nottebohm, also in 1870 (Tyson, 1975, p. 295).

The problems that remain are more abstract: why did Beethoven overhaul the very brief and experimental recapitulation of Leonore no. 2 to create a much more standard recapitulation? Why did Beethoven make such an effort to shorten the introduction and exposition of no. 3 only to greatly expand the latter sections, when his overall plan was to shorten the opera?

The three questions that I plan on tackling with the aid of my analysis and contextual research are:

1. For what reasons might the original production of 1805 have been a failure?
2. What did Beethoven change when revising Leonore no. 2 into Leonore no. 3?
3. For what purpose did Beethoven make these changes?

These three questions have been designed to follow a linear path of reasoning, in which the previous question provides answers to the next.

1.3. Methodology

For the main body of my analysis, beginning in Section 3.2, the overtures *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3 will be compared in several aspects of their composition: melody, harmony, rhythm, motivic usage, structure, form, dynamics, and articulation. This analysis will examine both overtures in parallel, as it is presented in Table 1, except for when discussing the recapitulation sections, where the situation is more complex. The aim of the analysis is to identify all the individual alterations that Beethoven made when composing *Leonore* no. 3. These alterations come in two forms, discussed further in Section 4: *revisional alterations* and *new material*. A revisional alteration is a change in the score of *Leonore* no. 3 in which one can clearly see its former version of the material in *Leonore* no. 2, and therefore has been altered for any reason such as to shorten a phrase. New material is any material which appears in *Leonore* no. 3 which was not present in *Leonore* no. 2 and is either additional or substitutional to the previous material.

To help interpret the data in my analyses, I have created two tables, Table 1 and 2. Table 1 is an in-depth, bar-by-bar break-down of both overtures, highlighting sonata subjects and important motifs, keys and chords, and other important events, whilst aligning the bars of both overtures so that mutual or similar events of both overtures appear side-by-side in the table. Table 2 shows the number of bars, along with the corresponding percentages, of each section which make up the whole of both overtures. This data is transferred into the pie charts in Figures 2 and 3, located in Section 4, so that the difference in sectional proportion is more visually apparent.

I shall also be using Schenkerian analysis to help me uncover the background structure of the introductions of both overtures. Schenker already included an analysis of the introduction of
Leonore no. 3 in his Der freie Satz (1979), and I shall be using the same layout and notation that Schenker used to create an analysis of the introduction for no. 2. Particularly in the case of these two, for the most, very similar overtures, it can identify some of the more obscure revisional changes and minor differences which more superficial analysis might not reveal.

To supplement this, I shall be examining the historical background of the overtures in the context of early 19th-century opera to understand the styles and fashions of opera in Beethoven’s time in Section 4. This can tell one why he chose the particular type of opera that he did, and who influenced him to do so. Different genres of operas contain different dramatic ideas, plots, narratives, character roles, and ideologies, and this can have a significant effect on the style of music that is written for them. Part of this reading will involve research into the complex political and social aspects of Vienna during this period. The Napoleonic Wars had just begun, and this had a drastic effect on Vienna’s population and city life, particularly during the invasions that are discussed in Section 1.1.1. Beethoven’s correspondence contains particularly valuable information during the period that Beethoven began working on Fidelio (Beethoven & Anderson, 1961). These letters are able to give one an insight into Beethoven’s life during this period, who he was talking to, and sometimes some of the vital decisions he made during the compositional and revisional periods and why he made them.

Another important aspect to consider is the performance of these overtures by the orchestras working in the theatres of Vienna at this time. As will be discussed in Section 3, the capabilities of the orchestral musicians could have played a very important role in shaping the music that Beethoven wrote for his opera. An under-rehearsed and perhaps under-staffed orchestra can pose issues when a piece of music is particularly demanding, especially a new piece. In the case of the re-composition of these overtures, one can find evidence in Beethoven’s revisions which suggests that some of the changes were made for the sake of giving the performers a better chance at playing the music up to Beethoven’s high standards within the very restrictive rehearsal period they were given.
From an analyst’s perspective, it can also be very difficult to determine whether a particular change has been made for the reason of ‘making something easier to play’, or whether it was for a purely musical reason.

I believe that this research can unlock information that may benefit our understanding of the various inter-connected subject areas discussed in this dissertation. Primarily, it can show us what aspects of the first overture, *Leonore* no. 2, Beethoven might have found unsatisfactory and decided to change, and for what reasons. Through this, one can better understand Beethoven’s compositional process and train of thought, on which Table 1 proves very useful due to the structure of the music being represented sequentially. I believe that this information can prove to be highly useful for understanding Beethoven as a musician and an individual, as well as providing some valuable information on the early prototypes of *Leonore/Fidelio*. This research could also provide an insight into the fast-changing operatic norms and fashions of the period, and further, the socio-political dynamic of Central Europe that had such a major effect on art during this time, and without which this opera and many others would probably not have been written.

2. Literature review

2.1. Relevant Music-Analysis Literature

Perhaps the most valuable analytical resource on *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3 is Hepokoski and Darcy’s *Elements of Sonata Theory* (2006). The emphasis of this is, of course, on the structure of movements which can be considered to fall within the sonata model. More than any other resource, there is a comprehensive consideration of formal aspects of both compositions, such as the use, development, and implementation of the various motifs, the proportionality of the sections within the sonata model, and even the underlying drama of the narrative in both overtures. Not only this, but there is an extensive effort to correlate the two overtures, indicating as where certain motivic material lies and what differences exist between the overtures at these points. Most of the discussion concerning
the Leonore overtures is contained in Chapter 12, Non-Normative Openings of the Recapitulatory Rotation: Alternatives and Deformations (2006, pp. 255—280).

The authors also discuss the placings of the two trumpet calls, alluding to the idea that they fall within different sections in each overture: the beginning of the recapitulation in Leonore no. 2, but securely in the development in Leonore no. 3 (2006, p. 248). As will be discussed in Section 3.2.3., the recapitulations of both overtures form the foci of Hepokoski and Darcy’s discussions, and they argue that the recapitulation of Leonore no. 2 ‘supports more than one reading of its structure’ (2006, p. 249). One important idea mentioned is the term anti-recapitulation (2006, p.249), relating to the development section of Leonore no. 2, which, discussed later in my analysis, has enabled me further to understand the complicated structure of the piece. It was important to consider ideas such as these when creating Table 1 and categorizing the sonata-form sections, whilst also aligning the motivic material of the two overtures.

Also discussed is the development of the ‘Florestan’ melody throughout both overtures. Quoting the aria ‘In des Lebens Frühlingstagen’, it first appears in both overtures in its least deformed version during the beginning of the introduction. The second subjects of their expositions is then based on this melody and altered further in the development sections of both overtures. In Leonore no. 2, the original ‘Florestan’ melody of the introduction reappears at b. 426, and Hepokoski and Darcy create arguments as to whether or not this completes the ‘recapitulatory rotation’, since the second subject version of the melody has not been used (2006, p. 248). Overall, Hepokoski and Darcy go above and beyond merely categorising and labelling the various sonata form sections and devices, but provide answers for some of the more complicated questions regarding these overtures by identifying the alterations from one overture to the other and finding deeper meaning in the revisions.

Another author who gives valuable insight into this work is Donald Tovey, in volume four of his Essays in musical analysis (1972). Here, he discusses a number of ideas, such as Beethoven’s
difficulties in writing the overtures and the opera itself, Beethoven’s admiration of Cherubini, and the prejudices held against Fidelio by serious opera critics. Tovey also touches on the issue of scale with Leonore no. 2 and no. 3, arguing that the dramatic force of an overture can often match and, in the case of Leonore no. 3, extinguish any narrative which follows. This again leads to his discussion of Beethoven’s 1814 revision in which we see the much slighter Fidelio overture being used. Tovey contends that ‘Leonora no. 2 is an eminently successful dramatic introduction, while Leonora no. 3 is a great concert-piece’ (p. 31), revealing differences between the two overtures which go beyond those which separate an original and a revision, Beethoven, in his expertly dramatic mind, and with the anxiety of creating a successful opera, took an already large-scale overture and blew it up to enormous proportions, in Tovey’s opinion. It was not until after the moderate success of the 1806 version of the opera that Beethoven realised that it was the unconvincing drama and narrative, created by two inexperienced writers, which was the undoing of the opera up until that point.

In Free composition (1979), Schenker analyses the introduction of Leonore no. 3 (shown in this essay in Figure 5), showing how the entire section is on the dominant of C major, and dominant 7th in the last few bars. The introductions to both Leonore no. 2 and no. 3 are tonally ambiguous, moving through several transient keys until b. 9 (no. 3) when the ‘Florestan’ melody establishes A♭ major. After this phrase, the keys begin shifting again, briefly settling on B major at b. 20 (no. 3), but a true tonal centre does not become fully established until the exposition begins. Schenker’s analysis is therefore a valuable tool for discovering how Beethoven laid out the background structure for this harmonically complex section of music. This inspired one to create one’s own version of this analysis for Leonore no. 2 (Figure 6). Discussed in Section 3.2.1.1., this visual style of analysis allows one clearly to view the differences between the two introductions, and allows for a different perspective on understanding why Beethoven made his revisions.

2.2. Review of Sketch Studies
Alan Tyson has written extensively on the sketch history of Fidelio’s overtures, and his contribution to understanding the chronologies of the opera has been invaluable. In 1975, he wrote on the complicated history of Leonore no. 1, further confirming its place as the third overture of the four. To do this, he used extensive analysis of the paper Beethoven used to make his sketches and determined during which period he was using that paper. He also discusses reasons why the overture was never published, arguing that the overture was ‘not well-suited for concert use’ and is a ‘somewhat bland substitute’ for the previous grander overtures (1975, p. 332).

In his 1977 article, Tyson discusses the discovery of a score he names Autograph 66, which is the only known source to contain the full score of Leonore no. 2. What is more, the score is marked with substantial pencil markings, seemingly for its revision into Leonore no. 3, but through paper analysis and knowledge of copyists contemporary to the period, Tyson explains that the markings were in fact made in 1814 for the fourth version of the opera (this is discussed further in Section 4.2. of this essay). By proving that these markings in the score were made in 1814, it allows one to suggest that perhaps Beethoven was apprehensive about writing a new overture after the failures of the previous versions, and so fell back on an earlier overture in an attempt to make it fit for the new production.

Johnson, Tyson, & Winter in The Beethoven Sketchbooks, History, Reconstruction, Invention (1985) discuss in great detail their estimated datings the entries in the Mendelssohn 15 sketchbook, adding to Tyson’s previous work on combining the two books of folia containing sketches for Leonore no.1 into a single, continuous sketchbook.

Theodore Albrecht (1989) disputes some of the points Tyson makes in the aforementioned sources (Tyson, 1975; Tyson, 1977). One observation he makes is of the song ‘An Die Hoffnung’, which appears about halfway through the sketchbook, appearing in the midst of sketches for Leonore and having nothing to do with opera. Albrecht suggests that the song was most likely sketched in June 1804, when Beethoven visited the recipient of the song, Josephine Deym, as opposed to February – March 1805 that had previously suggested by Tyson (p. 169). This had not been picked up on before
because Josephine Deym had only mentioned the song in a letter almost a year after receiving it, in June 1805. Albrecht also makes arguments about when the sketchbook *Mendelssohn 15* was first used, believing that the sketchbook must have been started at least a month before Tyson had suggested, i.e., early May rather than early June 1804. This is because the 150 pages of the sketchbook were believed to have been written by late June, and so the rate at which the pages were written would have been too high to be reasonable within a single month (p. 172). Perhaps the most important point Albrecht makes is that, with the new chronology of the *Mendelssohn 15* sketchbook, Tyson’s idea that Beethoven completely suspended work on *Leonore* after the end of his contract for *Vestas Feuer* is most likely an exaggeration. He suggests that Beethoven was more engaged with the composition of *Leonore*, steadily working on it until completion, and regarded it a ‘personal, political and artistic statement which he felt compelled to make (p. 183).

Cooper’s *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (1990) not only discusses the sketchbooks, but many of the other factors which might have had an effect on his compositions. These include things such as professional pressures and extramusical factors. One point which is touched upon, discussed in Section 1.1.1. above, is Beethoven’s insistence to wait until the very last minute before writing the overture, which backfired during the 1814 version of *Fidelio* when the overture was not ready for the performance. Cooper discusses this (pp. 114-115) explaining how Beethoven wanted the overture to be thematically related to the rest of the opera, and thus the rest of the narrative needed to be complete before he felt he could justifiably write an introduction to the work. Cooper not only discusses sketches but also different versions of numbers within the opera. On p. 140, Cooper (1990) compares three versions of the phrase ‘Gott! welch Dunkel hier’ from the 1805, 1806 and 1814 versions. With each revision, Beethoven makes a further effort to intensify the word ‘Gott’, altering the pitch and length of the syllable.
3. Analysis of the overtures *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3

3.1. Table 1 and Figure 1

Table 1 is an analytical table of the two overtures *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3. The first column lists each section of the two overtures, namely the sonata form sections (exposition, development, recapitulation) as well as the introduction and coda. The next two columns, labelled *Leonore* no. 2 and *Leonore* no. 3, are each divided into three sub-columns. The first sub-column, ‘Bar Numbers’, contains all the bars in chronological order of each overture divided into small groups. The grouping of these bars has been decided according to phrasing, and/or if a section contains a unique phrase or motif or melodic/motivic idea of which the beginning and end is easily discernible. An example of this is the hemidemisemiquaver scales in the introduction of both overtures, contained within bb. 36-38 (no. 2) and 27 (no. 3), which have been assigned their own group. The bars are divided in this way because each phrase or area often uses certain motifs and chords, and is often in one key area. This then makes reading of the table much more practical, because each group of bars contains a similar amount of information in the subsequent sub-columns, and one can see the vertical, linear changes in tonality and motivic use between phrases and larger areas. These groups of bars are then horizontally aligned so that corresponding events, sometimes identical in both overtures, are side-by-side, and can be easily and quickly cross-referenced.

The second sub-column, ‘Subjects and Motifs’, lists, in bold, the subjects of the sonata model, specifically the first subject (b) and the two halves of the second subject, (e2) and (e2i) for no. 2, and (e3) and (e3i) for no. 3. The lettered motifs not in bold are other significant motifs which do not form part of either the first or second subject group. Figure 1 shows all of these subjects and motifs.

The third column, ‘Keys and Chords Used’, lists the key centres of each section in bold, and all the chords used in each individual section of bars not in bold. These are written in sequential order for
each row. Presenting the chords in this way helps one to understand the tonal-harmonic progression through the sonata form. It also one to see the harmonic simplifications which occurred during the revision, particularly in the earlier sections; see bb. 24—35 (no. 2) and bb. 20—26 (no. 3). This, it will be argued, allowed for more harmonic variety in the later sections of Leonore no. 3.

The final column, ‘Notes’, mainly identifies where sections have been lengthened or shortened, which in turn are specified as being stretched, having material added, having material removed, or condensed. Numbers in square brackets relate to either Leonore no. 2, [2], or Leonore no. 3, [3]. The notes also identify points of interest such as where sections begin, and the dramatically important trumpet calls.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Bar numbers</th>
<th>Subjects and motifs used</th>
<th>Keys and chords used</th>
<th>Bar numbers</th>
<th>Subjects and motifs used</th>
<th>Keys and chords used</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>(a2)</td>
<td>A\textsubscript{b}M</td>
<td>9-13</td>
<td>(a3)</td>
<td>A\textsubscript{b}M</td>
<td>Bar 13[2] condensed into bar 11[3]. &quot;Florestan&quot; theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16-23</td>
<td>(ai)</td>
<td>A\textsubscript{b}M, A Dim7, F\textsubscript{7}, C\textsubscript{7}, F#\textsubscript{7}</td>
<td>14-19</td>
<td>(ai)</td>
<td>A\textsubscript{b}M, A Dim7, F\textsubscript{7}, C\textsubscript{7}, F#\textsubscript{7}</td>
<td>Bar 17 &amp; 16[2] condensed into bar 14[3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24-35</td>
<td>(ai)</td>
<td>BM, Bm, B Dim7, C#\textsubscript{7}, F#\textsubscript{m}, DM, Gm, E\textsubscript{b}M, E\textsubscript{b}7</td>
<td>20-26</td>
<td>(ai)</td>
<td>BM, Em, E Dim7, E\textsubscript{b}7</td>
<td>5 bars (28-32)[2] containing multiple modulations removed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36-38</td>
<td>A\textsubscript{b}M</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>A\textsubscript{b}M</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bars 38 &amp; 39[2] removed.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39-42</td>
<td>A Dim7, E\textsubscript{b} Dim7, G\textsubscript{7}, CM</td>
<td>28-31</td>
<td>A\textsubscript{b}M, E\textsubscript{b}7, E\textsubscript{b} Dim7, G\textsubscript{7}</td>
<td>28-31</td>
<td>Bar 41[2] removed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89-108</td>
<td>(b), (biii), (c)</td>
<td>CM, G\textsubscript{7}</td>
<td>69-82</td>
<td>(b), (biii)</td>
<td>CM, G\textsubscript{7}</td>
<td>Bars 103-108[2] removed.</td>
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<td><strong>Exposition</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>109-127</td>
<td>(c), (bi)</td>
<td>FM, CM, D7, GM</td>
<td>83-101</td>
<td>(c), (bi)</td>
<td>FM, CM, D7, GM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128-137</td>
<td>(bi), (bi)</td>
<td>FM, E Dim7, BM, Bm, C7, Em, F7</td>
<td>102-109</td>
<td>(bi), (bi)</td>
<td>FM, E Dim7, BM, Bm, C7 Bars 136 &amp; 137[2] removed.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>154-179</td>
<td>(e2), (e2i)</td>
<td>BM, EM, B7, AM, E Dim7, C7, FM, Gm, A Dim, DM, B Dim, Em, CM, E Dim7, Bm, BM</td>
<td>118-143</td>
<td>(e3), (e3i)</td>
<td>BM, EM, AM, C Dim7, C7, FM, B7, CM, Gm, Cm, E Dim7, B7 Second subject. No changes in barring.</td>
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<tr>
<td>210-227</td>
<td>(g2)</td>
<td>EM, G7, Cm, AM, C7, Fm, B7, Am, D7, Gm, E7, C7, A Dim7, BM</td>
<td>168-175</td>
<td>(g3)</td>
<td>EM, G7, Cm, AM, C7, Fm, B7, Fm Bars 214-225[2] removed. Bars 174 &amp; 175[3] added.</td>
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<tr>
<td>244-277</td>
<td>(e2), (bi), (d2)</td>
<td>FM, Bm, Fm, F Dim, G7, Cm, C7, G, Dim7, F7, A7</td>
<td>192-251</td>
<td>(h3), (bi), (bi)</td>
<td>E Dim7, A7, A Dim7, F7, Bm, GM, G7 Beginning of development. Entirely different material.</td>
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<tr>
<td>278-347</td>
<td>(b), (bi), (ci), (c), (bi)</td>
<td>DM, D7, GM, E7M, F7, B7M, Bm, FsM, A7, D7M, G7</td>
<td>348-359</td>
<td>(b), (bi)</td>
<td>CM, Fm, G7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bars</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Recapitulation</td>
<td>Coda</td>
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<tr>
<td>360-381</td>
<td>(bi)</td>
<td>A\textsubscript{ij}M, FM, B\textsubscript{j}M, G7, C\textsubscript{m}, D\textsubscript{j}M, E\textsubscript{j}M, CM, C Dim7, GM</td>
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<td>252-267 (bi), (d2)</td>
<td>Cm, A\textsubscript{ij}M, D\textsubscript{j}M, B\textsubscript{ij}7, E\textsubscript{j}M, C\textsubscript{m}, F\textsubscript{m}, C Dim7, A\textsubscript{ij}7, D7, GM</td>
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<tr>
<td>382-391</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cm 268-271</td>
<td>Cm Condensed by 6 bars.</td>
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<tr>
<td>392-397</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>E\textsubscript{j}M 272-277</td>
<td>B\textsubscript{m} First trumpet call.</td>
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<tr>
<td>398-405</td>
<td>(bii), (bi)</td>
<td>E\textsubscript{j}M, B\textsubscript{jm}, CM, FM</td>
<td>Bars between trumpet calls. 8 bars added. Different material.</td>
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<tr>
<td>406-411</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>E\textsubscript{j}M 294-299</td>
<td>B\textsubscript{m} Second trumpet call.</td>
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<tr>
<td>412-425</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>G\textsubscript{jm}, A Dim7, F# Dim7, G7</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>300-329 (ii)</td>
<td>B\textsubscript{m}, F7, E\textsubscript{j}M</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>330-377 (b), (c), (biii)</td>
<td>GM, D\textsubscript{7}, CM, AM, B Dim7, G7</td>
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<td>378-401 (b), (bii), (f3)</td>
<td>CM, G\textsubscript{7}, C\textsubscript{7}, FM, A\textsubscript{ij}7, F# Dim7, GM</td>
<td>Beginning of recapitulation.</td>
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<td>402-421 (e3), (e3i)</td>
<td>G\textsubscript{7}, CM, FM, G Dim7, A\textsubscript{ij}7, D\textsubscript{j}M, A\textsubscript{jm}, E\textsubscript{j}m, F# Dim7, B\textsubscript{jm}, F\textsubscript{m}</td>
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<td></td>
<td>422-451 (f3), (b), (biii)</td>
<td>C Dim7, GM, CM, G\textsubscript{7}, FM, C\textsubscript{7}, A\textsubscript{7}, AM, B Dim7, D7</td>
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<td>452-459 (g3)</td>
<td>CM, E\textsubscript{7}, Am, C\textsubscript{7}, FM, A\textsubscript{7}, Dm, G\textsubscript{7}, GM</td>
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<tr>
<td>426-432</td>
<td>(a2), (ii)</td>
<td>GM, CM, G\textsubscript{7}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>433-442</td>
<td>(e3)</td>
<td>K\textsubscript{7}, (e3i), (ii)</td>
<td>GM, CM, FM, C Dim7, B Dim7, G\textsubscript{7}, B\textsubscript{3} Dim7</td>
<td>7 bars of Adagio in no. 2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>437-442</td>
<td>G\textsubscript{7} 514-533</td>
<td>G\textsubscript{7}</td>
<td>Beginning of coda scale runs. No. 3 double the length of no. 2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bars</td>
<td>Key</td>
<td>Added</td>
<td>Bars</td>
<td>Key</td>
<td>Added</td>
<td>Changes</td>
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<tr>
<td>462-477</td>
<td>(k2)</td>
<td>CM, GM</td>
<td>554-569</td>
<td>(k3)</td>
<td>CM, GM</td>
<td>Similar material.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>502-517</td>
<td></td>
<td>CM, GM</td>
<td>590-621</td>
<td>(bii)</td>
<td>G7</td>
<td>Different material.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>518-530</td>
<td></td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>622-634</td>
<td>(biii)</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Similar material.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>635-638</td>
<td></td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Added.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. This table lists the section within the sonata model, groups of bars of significant phrases, keys and chords used, subjects and motifs used, and further details on the changes in barring in the overtures Leonore no. 2 and no. 3.
Figure 1 shows the ‘Leonore motifs’. This figure lists all the sonata form subjects and significant motifs found in both overtures, numbering 19 in total. Here, the first subject is listed as (b), the same in both overtures, and the second subjects are (e2) and (e2i) for no. 2, and (e3) and (e3i) for no. 3. The remaining motifs have been selected if they are used significantly to form a musical phrase. Most of the motifs appear in both overtures, or at least in different versions of the same motif, and are often used in more than one phrase in each overture, such as (c), which appears after the first subject (b) in the exposition. (h3), for example, which is a significant motif used in the development section of no. 3, is not found at all in no. 2, and the development of no. 2 does not contain any new material, but uses only material found in the introduction and exposition. One of the most important motifs, the ‘Florestan’ melody, is listed as (a2) and (a3), due to the slight differences between overtures, and also contains the sub-motif (ai), which is used extensively throughout both overtures. In the motifs (a), (b), (c), and (i), I have indicated their divisions into smaller fragments which Beethoven uses when developing ideas. The first subject (b), in particular, is divided into at least three smaller ideas, used often as rhythmic-diminution devices when approaching the end of phrases, and which are also used in the developments of both overtures.
Figure 1. The major motifs present in *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3.
3.2. Sequential Analysis

To fully understand the motives and objectives that were involved to create no. 3, one must look in
detail at both the small and large-scale changes that Beethoven made to transform no. 2 into no. 3.
Below is a chronological analysis of both overtures side-by-side, comparing them simultaneously as
they appear in Table 1. This is so that the analysis is easily referenced in Table 1, and one can follow
the progression of the analysis along with the table. The subjects and motifs from Figure 1 are also
listed extensively throughout the analysis to track how Beethoven uses and develops ideas in both
overtures. Also, by working chronologically through the overtures, one can view the structure from a
more linear perspective, which is particularly useful in the case of sonata form. This is because of the
linear design of sonata form, which means that changes to aspects such as motifs and modulations
earlier in the piece can result in more significant repercussions later in the piece, particularly during
the recapitulation, than perhaps other musical forms such as binary and ternary structures. As will
be discussed at the end of this section, this can help one understand the complicated recomposing
of the recapitulation for no. 3, as well as the restructuring of the overture as a whole.

3.2.1. Introduction

The introduction, with its numerous surprising uses of harmony and phrasing, as well as the
‘Florestan’ melody taken from the opera, gives us an insight into not just the rest of the overture,
but also the opera’s narrative itself. Observing the Table 1, we can see that Beethoven cuts down
many areas in the introduction of no. 2 so that the section as a whole is twenty bars shorter in no. 3.
This is done in two ways: firstly by removing individual/groups of bars or phrases, and secondly by
condensing material, often by increasing the rate of harmonic movement.

One of the most obvious changes is in the very first few bars. In no. 2, the short falling third figure
(ai) G-F-E (b. 1) that appears and is then repeated, what George Grove calls a ‘false start’ (Tovey,
1972, p. 32), is in no. 3 turned into a simple descending scale beginning on a unison G held for five
crotchet beats before falling by step to the F♯ an octave below eight beats later. This is significant in that it removes the importance of the falling third figure (ai), which is very clearly a premonition for the beginning of the ‘Florestan’ melody which begins a few bars later. Tovey (1972, p. 33) believes that this demonstrates how little Beethoven relied on thematic connections as a means of construction in these overtures.

The ‘Florestan’ melody (beginning b. 10 in no. 2, b. 9 in no. 3) itself undergoes some minor editing, as shown in (a2) and (a3). Rather than the melodic line lingering on B♭ in the fourth bar of no. 2, it continues to the dominant of A, a bar sooner, and thus removing the third bar of (a2), most likely to increase the speed of dramatic movement in this phrase. The final bars of both versions of the melody are also different, in that where in no. 2 there is a lot of melodic movement by leaps, in no. 3 the melodic movement is mainly by step. These alterations are also present in the 1806 version of Florestan’s aria ‘Gott, welch Dunkel hier!’ at the beginning of Act 2, from which this melody is taken from. Although this change is most likely Beethoven simply experimenting with new ideas, it could be argued that these changes make the no. 3 version easier to play and to sing, due to the stepwise motion of the melodic line. This is discussed further in Section 4.

One can also see a number of orchestrational changes during this section. Towards the very beginning of no. 2 (bb. 10-12) only the cellos are used out of all the strings, playing a sustained A♯ to support the remote modulation from G7 to A major that has just occurred, whereas in no. 3 all strings are playing throughout the ‘Florestan’ melody except for the double basses. Also, the horns, which were providing harmonic support during the ‘Florestan’ melody in no. 2, have been removed in no. 3, which was most likely for timbral purposes, as the strings would provide a much more fluid sound than the horns. It could be argued, however, that the sound of the horns represents strength and liberation, which the ‘Florestan’ melody embodies, and which the strings do not provide as much. In a couple of areas, we see the violas given more significant material in no. 3 than in no. 2, for example at b. 13 of no. 3, where the violas now double the bassoons’ falling thirds figure which
end the ‘Florestan’ melody. A similar thing happens at b. 8 (no. 3) where the bassoons’ figure from no. 2 is gifted to the violas, so that this bar contains only strings. This is mostly likely Beethoven again experimenting with timbres, as by doing this he creates a contrast of texture from the purely string tones of b. 8 (no. 3), to the introduction of the ‘Florestan’ melody a bar later (b. 9) with the clarinets and bassoons, creating a fuller texture. This is reinforced with the addition of the alto and tenor trombones playing sustained E♭’s on the second beat of b. 8 in no. 3, and the same thing at b. 12 which do not play at this point in no. 2.

Below in Figure 2 we see the bars directly following the ‘Florestan’ melody, bb. 36-38 in no. 2, and 27-28 in no. 3. This is an example of Beethoven condensing his previous ideas in no. 3 from no. 2 by quickening the harmonic pace. In the extract of no. 2 we can see that the harmonic progression A♭ major – G♭ diminished 7th – F7 is changing once per bar, whereas in no. 3, the A♭ major exists for the first two beats, then E♭ minor (which has replaced G♭ diminished 7th) appears for only one beat before moving straight on to F7 in the second bar (Note that Figure 2 does not fully display the hidden notes of each chord which appear in the remaining instruments). The first violins and cellos (doubled by double basses) most clearly demonstrate the movement of one chord to the next.

Beethoven is able to increase the rate of harmonic change by manipulating the continuously shifting accidentals in the first violins, whilst retaining the original falling third figure. Where in no. 2 one of the three notes is changed per bar (first the A♭ to A natural, then B♭ to B natural), Beethoven shifts these both into the second bar in no. 3. He is thus able to lose three crotchet beats at this slow tempo, which on most modern recordings covers between six and nine seconds.
This idea leads into the section beginning with the B major arpeggios in triplets at bb. 24 & 20 respectively. This section in no. 3 undergoes quite a significant change, most notably the removal of five bars of modulations (bb. 28-32) that pass through the tonal centres of C major, C7, F minor, D7, and G minor. These chord changes in no. 2 are achieved either as a dominant seventh to tonic movement in the style of a perfect cadence, or by the manipulation of one scale degree of an arpeggio to transform one chord to another, what in Neo-Riemannian Theory would be described as the PRL operators. (PRL operators, which stand for parallel, relative, and leading-tone, respectively, relate to the manipulation of triads. A parallel transformation involves moving the third of a triad up or down a semitone to switch between enharmonic equivalents, a relative transformation involves moving the fifth up or down a tone to switch between relative major and minor equivalents, and a leading-tone transformation involves moving the root up or down a semitone.) We also see, discussed further in Section 3.2.1.1., and demonstrated in Figure 3, the use of a motif, namely (ai), to assist in the process of chord changes. The example of Leonore no. 2 in Figure 3 shows the transformation, using very frugal parsimonious voice-leading, from B major, through B minor 7, to B diminished 7th. The motif (ai), identified by the square bracket in the bassoon line, can be seen to aid the transition from one to chord to the next, and Beethoven uses this motif during every chord change during this section (bb. 24-35 in no. 2, 20-26 in no. 3). Now concerning the example from Leonore no. 3, Beethoven changes the final note, G#, in the (ai) motif to a G natural, allowing for the
cadence B major – B7 – E minor, complete with the falling seventh from A to G. For Beethoven to shorten this section, he also had to be more generous with his voice-leading, and hence multiple voices move larger intervals at any one time. This is how Beethoven was able to reach his goal of A₇ major more easily: by moving from B major straight to E major, then to B₉ diminished 7th to E₇ major and then to A₇ major.

Now looking at the chord progression in no. 2, Beethoven turns the B major into B minor (b. 25) by lowering the mediant (D₇) to D, and then B minor into B diminished 7th (b. 26) by lowering the dominant (F₇) to F, and using the help of a G in the first bassoon. At the end of b. 27, the B diminished 7th is briefly turned into B minor 7 with an F in the first flute and first violins, and an A in the bassoons. With the 7th of C major, B natural, created by the ‘Florestan’ style (ai) falling scales in first flute, oboe, bassoon, there is then a perfect cadence onto F₇ minor at the beginning of b. 30. By moving the C₇ in F₇ minor to D, D major is created, with the falling scales (ai) in the woodwind again adding the 7th, C, to create D7 which cadences onto G minor in b. 32. This same technique is used again in the next bar, where the D is again moved upwards to E₉, turning G minor into E₉ major. This middleground movement of C₇-D-E₇ which pushes one chord into the next is played with long notes by the second bassoon throughout this area. This E₇ major does not immediately cadence as there is no 7th present, but remains for another bar (b. 33). The 7th (D₇) appears the following bar (b. 34) and

![Figure 3. The first violin arpeggios made into block chords and the bassoon line at bb. 25-26 of Leonore no. 2, and bb. 21-22 of Leonore no. 3.](image-url)
E₇ remains until b. 36 when there is the perfect cadence onto A₉ major. During the bars containing E₅ major and E₇ (bb. 33-35), the triplet arpeggios are given fully to the strings. The first and second violins outline the chords during bb. 33 and 34, and violas, cellos, and double basses join with falling arpeggios on the chords at the end of b. 34 whilst violins travel upwards through the arpeggio.

This passage is much more succinct in no. 3, and from the B major arpeggios in bb. 20-21, it moves to E minor for another two bars, bb. 22-23. From there, the B of E minor is flattened to D₉, creating E diminished 7th for a further two bars (bb. 24-25), until the E steps down to E₅ to gracefully slip into E₇ at b. 26 before the A₉ scales a bar after. This brilliant alteration aids Beethoven in his goal of condensing the early sections of Leonore no. 2 to create no. 3, in which Beethoven has found possibly the most natural and swift progression from B major to a perfect cadence into A₉ major, though at the expense of some of the parsimonious voice-leading he had developed in no. 2.

The scalic runs that follow (bb. 36 & 38 in no. 2, b. 27 in no. 3) have also undergone a number of changes, shown in Figure 4, most notably that there is now only one bar of scales where before in no. 2 there were two. Where in no. 2 these runs were in the first violins and violas, playing an octave apart, they are now in both violin groups playing in unison. This begs the question whether Beethoven changed this for reasons of timbre, to perhaps make these higher notes in the violins louder by doubling them in the second violins, or that the scales might be easier to execute if all the violins are playing at exactly the same pitch. Looking in more detail at the scales we can see that the slurs have been removed, decreasing the ambiguity of where each individual note occurs, and so that the violins can see each other’s bows moving with each note. Also note that in the no. 3 version the first four quaver beats of the bar contain mostly ascending scales (aside from the leaps downwards) and the last two quaver beats contain mostly descending scales. In the no. 2 version, players must navigate neighbouring descending and ascending scales. By rearranging the scales in a
more predictable manner, Beethoven makes the scales easier to play. All these alterations help the performers to play with more rhythmical security.

In no. 2, both scales, as well as the almost empty bar between them (b. 37), are in A\textsubscript{b} major, so it is easy to see why Beethoven had little difficulty removing the second set of scales for the purpose of condensing. The chords that follow have also been largely simplified. Where before there were two inversions of F\# diminished 7\textsuperscript{th} (bb. 40-41, no. 2), there is simply an E\textsubscript{b}7 (b. 29, no. 3), and the F\# diminished 7\textsuperscript{th} has been relocated to the third beat of b. 29, just before the long G7 section which ends the introduction (bb. 30-36, no. 3). During the section in no. 2 we see four long pauses, bb. 37, 39, 40, and 41. These have been removed in no. 3 and instead each chord is repeated every quaver beat as if it were an echo in the woodwind in bb. 28 and 29 (no. 3). These silences carry a significant dramatic effect over their large span, particularly in such a slow tempo as in these introductions. To remove these silences, Beethoven must have known that he was in danger of trivialising his previous material. The most probable answer for this is that he was trying every method to shorten this lengthy introduction, even if it meant removing a particularly dramatic event so that he could create another one later on in the overture.

Figure 4. The Ab scalic figures in the upper strings towards the end of the introduction. Shown are bb. 36 and 27 respectively.
To aid me in my analysis of these pieces, I shall be using Schenkerian analysis to reveal the underlying structures and pre-eminent middleground patterns of the introductions of both *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3. This can then aid me in finding specifically how and possibly why Beethoven made changes to the introductions, particularly when I am able to combine my findings with the data in Table 1. Heinrich Schenker (1868-1935) included an analysis of the *adagio* introduction of *Leonore* no. 3 in *Der freie Satz* (1979), and I represent this in Figure 5.

Looking at Figure 5 in detail, we can see that Schenker considers the entire introduction to be on the dominant of C major, G major. This is shown by the horizontal line at the very bottom of the analysis, with ‘C Major: V’ written beforehand. This is because the entirety of the overture is in C major, and the introduction as a whole is suspended on G major, which becomes G7 at the end, hence preparing for a perfect cadence at the start of the *allegro*. The semibreve G at the bottom of the bass clef at the very beginning also demonstrates this, which joins onto the same G, as a minim, at the end (b. 31) with a broken dashed slur.

The minims moving from G (b. 4) to F (b. 31) in the treble voices in the background joined by a broken beam shows us that Schenker is suggesting that the introduction fits the 5 – 4 *Urlinie* model, which is created by the progression of G major to G7, as discussed in the previous paragraph. Schenker also demonstrates this with the numerals 8 – natural 7 (bb. 4 to 31) which appear just above the ‘C major: V’ line. This shows again that the background chord progression is G major – G7, with the octave G moving down to F natural.

In the middleground, the alto voice passes through a linear progression, first moving chromatically from G to B (G, b. 4; A₉, b. 10; A natural, b. 15; A♯, b. 18; B, b. 20), then continuing upwards, to D at b. 30, and then F at b. 31. This outlines the chords of G7, and the scale degrees are signified by the numerals 3, 5, and 7 at the bottom of the figure joined with arrowed lines. These arrows show the upwards motion of the middleground minims moving upwards through the chord of G7.
Slurs between notes show linear progressions or voice leading, whilst dashed slurs show when a note is repeated in the same or a different octave over any number of chord changes. Slurs are also used between numbers in the figured bass. These are used when the bass note changes during a chord change, but the note to which the figured bass corresponds to stays the same. An example of this is the 4 just before b. 24 moving to 5 at b. 27, which indicates the B, moving to an A, whilst the E above remains, and thus signifying a chord progression of a second inversion E, major chord to a root-position A, major chord. The horizontal lines between numbers in the figured bass are often reflections of the slurs in the music notation, and thus represent any linear progressions or significant voice leading.

The square brackets, used throughout Der freie Satz to indicate prominent motifs, identify all the falling three-note motifs in Leonore’s no. 2 and no. 3. This motif (ai), shown in Figure 1, originates from the first three notes of the ‘Florestan’ theme, and is first heard (in the overture) in the scale in the very opening bars of both overtures. This motif is more easily recognizable in Leonore no. 2 (bb. 1-2) where the three-note motif is separated from the scale which follows, as opposed to the unified falling scales which begins no. 3. The ‘Florestan’ theme itself is labelled by Schenker at b. 9 of Figure 6.

There is in fact a minor typographical error in Schenker’s analysis of no. 3 (Figure 5). The square bracket spanning bb. 20-22 below the bass clef is too long, and rather than covering just the B-A-G falling scale, it additionally covers the next note, E, making a total of four notes. This can only be an error, because not only are the square brackets used specifically for the three-note motif at the beginning of the ‘Florestan’ melody, but the motif is always scalic, and therefore the interval of a minor third from G to E cannot be included in the motif.

As with all Schenkerian analyses, the various note values represent different levels of structural importance. Longer note values represent more important notes and larger-scale linear progressions. For example, the longest note value shown in Figure 5 is a semibreve, at the beginning
in the bass clef on a G, meaning that the whole introduction centres around G, or more specifically, the dominant of C. On the other end of the spectrum, the stemless note heads that occupy bb. 20-24 of Figure 6 demonstrate the rapidly shifting harmonies that have little-to-no effect on the wider tonal structure.

Figure 6 shows my own analysis of the *adagio* introduction of *Leonore* no. 2. This is mainly based on the layout of Schenker’s analysis of no. 3, with most of the structure and chordal progression being very similar, and I have also used Schenker’s notation in the same way to make comparisons between the two analyses easier. It is also very important to remember the chronology of these works, and that, by constructing an analysis of no. 2 using an analysis that Schenker created for no. 3, I am in essence working backwards, from a revision to the original work.

Up until b. 24 (b. 20 in no. 3), the two introductions are almost entirely the same, and the only differences, not including differences in orchestration and dynamics/performance markings, are the individual removal of bars. These minor changes, in this case, have no effect on the harmony, and therefore Figure 6 is identical to Figure 5 up until b. 24 (b. 20 in Figure 5). Not only are repetitions and prolongations of material, such as chords and individual notes, usually removed during middleground or background Schenkerian analysis, but they also do not provide any more information on the harmonic or linear movement than the note in which they are a repetition of.

The large majority of changes come after b. 24 (b. 20 in no. 3) where the arpeggios between the flute and first violins begin. In no. 2, this area is far more complex and, despite both overtures beginning the section on B major and moving towards E7 (to cadence onto A major), no. 2 passes through many more local tonal centres. As discussed earlier, no. 2 uses the chords B major, B minor, B diminished 7th, C# major, C#7, F# minor, D7, G minor, and E7 major between bb. 24-34 before reaching E7. As one can see in Figure 6, the progression of C# major – F# minor – D7 – G minor – E7 major – A7 major creates a sequence of back-and-forth 6 – 5 linear intervallic patterns. This sequence is caused by each subsequent chord alternating between its first inversion and root.
position. For example, Cmaj in its first inversion has the E♭ as its lowest note, which then travels to the F♯ in F♯min in its root position, so that the bass note travels upwards one semitone. This movement of 6–5 is simply a perfect cadence, and it occurs in exactly the same way for the other two occasions; D maj – G min, and E♭maj – A♭maj.

For the 5 to travel back to the 6, the chord on the 5 moves to its local submediant. This involves the fifth scale-degree of the chord on 5 moving upwards by one semitone to create the chord on 6, for example F♭min – D maj (C–D), and G min – E♭maj (D–E♭). The combination of these two simultaneously rising scales allows for this back-and-forth, crab-like movement, creating the 6–5 chain between bb. 28 and 36. In its simplest form, the bass note of the 6 moves up to create a fifth interval, then the upper note of the interval moves up to create a flattened sixth interval again, and so on. The 56 interval is formed from the distance between the mediant of the chord and the root note above. In the process of this, not only does a linear progression appear in the bassline (E♭–F♯–G–Ab), but an upwards linear progression also appears in the notes that create the harmonic interval, namely C♭–D–E♭. This same progression can also be seen at the same time in the upper voice. This is what creates the upwards chromatic movement that transforms C♭maj into A♭maj between bb. 28 and 36.

Also during these bars, we see extensive use of the three note falling motif (ai). There are five occurrences of this motif between bb. 24 and 36; in order they are: B–G♭, G♭–E♭, C♭–A, D–B♭, and G–E♭. Not only are these thematically relevant, but they also enable the various modulations during this section. For example: at bb. 29, the tonal centre is C♭maj, but when the C♭ in the treble instruments falls to a B, this creates C♭7, before the B falls again to an A during the perfect cadence onto F♯min by means of a perfect cadence.

The other major change comes after b. 43 (b. 31 in no. 3), where G7 is finally reached in preparation for the allegro in C maj. Beethoven has more than halved the length of this area in no. 3, from 14 bars to five, through various excisions and compressions. We can see that at the end of the analysis
of no. 3 (Figure 5) there is a downwards step-wise movement from the $f''$ at b. 31 to the $b''$ just before the beginning of the *allegro*. In no. 2 (Figure 6), this downwards scale is longer and travels down a full octave to the $f''$ below. This is because the closing G7 section of the introduction (after b. 43) is far longer in no. 2 than in no. 3, which allows more development of ideas, in particular the falling scales in the flutes, oboes, and bassoons. This means that there is more room for this scale to travel downwards in no. 2, and each time the scale restarts ($f''$ at b. 43, $g'''$ at b. 47, and $g''$ at b. 51), it begins lower down until it reaches the $f''$ to complete the $7^{th}$ of G7. After this scale in the treble clef, there is then another descending chromatic scale in the bass clef, beginning on the B above the low G before falling towards it. This is a particularly unnecessary group of bars, and is therefore easily removed to help shorten the introduction.
In Figure 6, my own Schenkerian analysis of the adagio introduction of Leonore no. 2, based on the analysis.
3.2.2. Exposition

Throughout the exposition of *Leonore* no. 3 one can see further cutting and compressing. One can also see some changes in orchestration and texture, for example in the first subject. Where at the beginning of the exposition in no. 2 (b. 57) the first subject is given by the celli, in no. 3 (b. 37) both the celli and the first violins now play the first subject. Beethoven could well have done this for reasons of rhythmic security, as the high notes of the violins can be more easily heard and followed than the cellos. This seems almost like a step backwards in dramatic impact, as giving the first subject in *pianissimo* on the celli provides a thinner texture, a larger crescendo, and therefore a greater dynamic contrast when the *tutti* statement of the first subject is reached at b. 69 of no. 3.

This possible sign of Beethoven’s alterations for the purpose of ensemble security is further supported by the double basses playing C’s on every first and fourth beat until b. 61 (no. 3), which before in no. 2 they did not start playing until halfway through this build-up (b. 83 in no. 2). The violas were already playing continuous quavers in no. 2 through this passage, but Beethoven might have felt that this was not enough to keep the ensemble together rhythmically. The other reason for these changes could be a for a thicker texture and a more rhythmically-driven feel.

The rhythms which had been added to the double basses are given to full woodwind and horns halfway through this section, which enter at b. 49 (no. 3), and continue to the *tutti* first subject entry at b. 69. Before, in no. 2, we see what might be considered much more interesting and imaginative scoring in the woodwind and horns. The fourth horn begins at b. 57 on a C, before the second horn joins at b. 60 on an E. Over the next 24 bars, the chord of G7 is built up through the horns and woodwind, from the lowest in the score to the highest, and entries are usually at a distance of four bars. Both trumpets join playing a G & D at b. 85, and the timpani also starts a roll on C. This layering coupled with crescendo in all instruments, allows for a gradual expansion of both texture and volume over a long distance. It seems unusual that Beethoven would remove this dramatic, intriguing passage for the wind and replace it with block chords. It is difficult to imagine that
Beethoven could have believed that this new material was more ‘dramatic’ or interesting than his old material, but one aspect which might benefit from these changes would be ensemble rhythmic security.

Comparing the length of these two sections in no. 2 and no. 3, bb. 69-70 and 83-84 (both no. 2) are cut. This is exhibited in the rising arpeggios (beginning bb. 49 & 69 respectively) in the first violins, where in no. 3 the notes of the arpeggios begin higher than in no. 2, due to them having less distance to travel upwards to get to the high B-D-G first inversion G major arpeggio which both versions reach just before the *tutti* (bb. 89 and 69 respectively). Despite this, 4 bars (65-68) are added in no. 3 so that the *tutti* first subject (b. 69) is delayed, suspended on G7, the dominant of C major. These four bars contain all instruments either holding long notes (all wind) or playing continuous quavers (strings and timpani) throughout. These four added bars negate the previous removal of four bars, suggesting that perhaps the removal was for the purpose of creating this tension before the *tutti* first subject, and not for condensing the section.

The next fourteen bars (bb. 89-102, & bb. 69-82 respectively) present the full *tutti* statement of the first subject. They are almost entirely unchanged from no. 2 to no. 3, and most changes seem to be made to aid balance and voicing. One point of interest is the complete removal of the numerous *sf’s* which were present in no. 2 in all instruments which play the melody of the first subject, particularly at the beginning of most of the bars of the first subject. They also appear at every half bar during the falling scales at bb. 95-102, but only in the high set of scales which are played by the woodwind and fist violins, and not the low set of scales which are played by celli and double basses, where *ff* is used instead. Perhaps Beethoven wanted more accented playing from the higher scales and a more consistently strong sound from the low scales. In no. 3, this section, beginning at b. 69, begins with all instruments at *ff* and does not change dynamic at all until b. 92. Perhaps this change was to reduce confusion concerning the fairly crowded dynamic markings of no. 2.
The writing for the woodwind during the first subject sees almost no change, only in the held notes at b. 77 (no. 3) where the oboes and clarinets are instructed to play higher than before. 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} horns now play the first bar of the first subject in no. 3 before staying on octave Gs past b. 70. In both no. 2 and 3, 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} horns play the rhythm of the first subject, but in no. 2, 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} horns only play during bb. 93-95, and, unusually, are the only instruments not to play during the beginning of the first subject. The trumpets now play the same as the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} horn, where before they played the rhythm of the first subject on octave Cs. The timpani, which before, during bb. 89-94, was playing the rhythm of the first subject with interceded trills, now trills throughout the first six bars of the first subject (bb. 69-74). All three trombones now play long held notes outlining C major in the first two bars of no. 3, where in no. 2 they played the melody for the first two bars. As a result, the brass and timpani are now playing more sustained notes rather than joining the rest of the orchestra playing the first subject. This certainly gives a different texture, one of solidity, upon which the melody-playing instruments can be harmonically supported more strongly.

The strings have perhaps undergone the largest change. In no. 2, the first violins, cellos, and double basses play the first subject whilst second violins and violas play continuous supporting quavers on C major. In no. 3, all strings play the first subject but as continuous quavers, using no notes more than a quaver and no rests. What is very interesting is that whilst the cellos and double basses play their descending scales in no. 2 (for example bb. 97-98), violas and second violins continue their quavers, but first violins have triplet quavers. In no. 3 the first violins play quavers just like the other strings. At any tempo that might be regarded as \textit{allegro}, these triplets can be exceedingly fast, and it has led some critics, including Tovey (1972, p. 35) to believe that Beethoven intended a faster tempo for \textit{Leonore} no. 3 than for no. 2. Not only this, but it seems unnecessary to force this polyrhythmical battle between the violin groups when they are merely accompanying the cellos and double basses. This idea conforms with many of the alterations throughout no. 3 which appear to have been made to help ensemble security at this faster tempo.
In bb. 103-108 (no. 2), the solo cello motif (c) has been cut completely. This is another example of a quiet, solo cello melody removed, just like at the beginning of the exposition. Sections such as these are very suitable for shortening via drastic cuts due to their self-contained nature, but they also provide some dynamic variation from the large fortissimo areas. The scales in the lower strings and bassoons during the first four bars of the tutti (c) (108 & 110 in no. 2) have been removed, and instead they play the rhythms of the first bar of the first subject (b) (crotchet-minim-crotchet). Beethoven has actually managed to turn these four bars (108-111 in no. 2) into three (103-105 in no. 3) by treating the beginning of (c) as an anacrusis and placing it at the end of the cellos and double basses falling scales (b. 82 in no. 3). In the next six bars of no. 3 (86-91), he keeps the woodwind playing crotchets on the second and fourth beats of each bar, but moves the trumpet and timpani (also adding the trombones) onto the first and third beats of every bar, where before they were playing off-beat with the woodwind. The exact same alteration is applied to the cellos and double basses, except they now play alternating octaves on every crotchet beat of the bar. This is another example of Beethoven’s concern to reduce the rhythmical difficulties of this piece. At the end of this section (bb. 116-117 in no. 3) we again see the first violins’ triplet quavers turned to regular quavers, as they were earlier in the exposition (bb. 97-98 in no. 2).

During the next ten bars (bb. 118-127 in no. 2, bb. 92-101 in no. 3) we see the first sign of Beethoven attempting to create some dynamic variation in his revision. In no. 2, this section is entirely scored as fortissimo, but in no. 3, Beethoven begins with piano then two bars later forte, then he repeats this, and the final two bars ascend to fortissimo. These dynamics crescendo and diminuendo with the rising and falling of pitch of the melody line in the first violins and horns. Where before the brass played continuous long notes, they now only during the forte bars. The woodwind, which before were also playing continuous long notes, now have a rhythmic figure (dotted minim-crotchet), which aids with rhythmic stability (the trumpets and timpani are given a similar idea). It could even be argued that the second violins’ and violas’ quaver figures are easier to play, because the intervals are smaller and the arpeggio pattern (which repeats every half bar)
travels in a single direction per repetition, where before in no. 2 the first note leapt upwards an octave to the second note before descending. Again, the last two bars of this section (bb. 126-127 in no. 2) see the removal of triplet quavers, this time from the first and second violins and violas.

Next, we see bb. 136-137 (no. 2) cut making the section consisting of bb. 102-109 (no. 3) a more regular eight bars as opposed to ten. In no. 2, these first eight bars use just the (bii) motif rising through the dominant of B minor, where in no. 3, (bii) is used for the first four bars and (bi) is used for the next four, another example of the use of rhythmic diminution when approaching a cadential area. Where in the last two bars of this section (bb. 136-137) in no. 2 sforzandos are used at the start of every half bar, sforzando-pianos are used on the second crotchet beat of the last four bars of this section (bb. 106-109) in no. 3. Much of the rest of this area is kept the same as in no. 2 except the cellos and double basses, which in the earlier overture were playing supporting quavers throughout but in the later overture play the same rhythms as the melody line.

Beethoven next condenses the transition section where (d2) and (d3) first appear from sixteen down to eight bars (bb. 138-153 in no. 2, bb. 110-117 in no. 3). By shortening this section, Beethoven simplifies the chord progression, specifically removing the short progression in bb. 143-148 (no. 2) which serves no purpose in the tonal trajectory, which here is from B major to E major. The final four bars of this section in no. 2 before the second subject (bb. 150-153) mainly consist of scales, but no. 3 (bb. 114-117) is constructed in a far simpler manner. By expanding on the B-C♯ idea in the second bar of (d3), Beethoven reduces the frequency of the figure’s oscillation between the two notes from once per bar, to twice per bar, to four times per bar, so that all instruments are oscillating between the various notes of the two chords B major and A♯ diminished 7th every quaver beat. This is a rhythmic diminution technique commonly found at cadence points (for example, the allegro in both overtures up to the tutti statement of the first subject where (b) is condensed to (bii), which is again condensed to (bi), bb. 57-89 and 37-69 respectively).
The second subject (e) remains invulnerable to bar-cutting due to its dependence on periodicity of the ‘Florestan’ melody in the introduction, and thus must be presented in full to fulfil the sonata model, although alterations have been made to various other aspects. Consulting the ‘Leonore motifs’ (e2), (e2i), (e3), and (e3i), we can see that the motifs have gone through some significant deformations, although the essence of the original ideas are kept. The first three bars of (e2) is actually present at the beginning of the no. 3 second subject (b. 118) in the horns, but acts as more of a counter-melody and does not unfold into the motif (e3). Looking at the last three bars of (e2) and (e3), one can see that they are almost the same.

The secondary melodies, (e2i) and (e3i), clearly share a very similar outline, and they in fact both inherit their intervals from the last complete bar of the ‘Florestan’ melody in no. 2, (a2). Perhaps the one note that is an exception to this would be the c’’ in (e3i), which resembles the b’ in (e3): both falling step-wise appoggiaturas, and which do not appear in (a2). In the sense that this c’’ could be described as an ornament to this variation of the ‘Florestan’ melody, so too could the two g’s in (e2i). This rising perfect fourth interval from d’ to g’ does not appear in this part of (a2), but is in fact a minor third, from f’ to a’’. Despite this, it does facilitate the chord change at bb. 165-166 of G minor to F major.

The section first containing (f3) at bb. 144-153 (no. 3) have been shortened by two bars. The removed bars in question, bb. 185 and 186 (no. 2) pass through a cyclic group of four chords that change every half bar; E major, B7, E major, E7. This cycle is a repeat of the two bars before, so Beethoven took this easy opportunity to rid himself of two repetitive bars, despite perhaps destabilizing the phrase which, now 10 bars long, was previously a more rounded 12.

The codetta section which follows (bb. 192-209 in no. 2, bb. 154-167 in no. 3), based around a variation of the original first subject (b), has been shortened inconspicuously by four bars, and the general pace of this section has been increased. The first violins now begin their canonic figures (b. 154 in no. 3) half a bar after the cellos and double basses start where before in no. 2 it was a full bar,
and all strings now take part in the canon. The two-note falling yet rising figure (b. 204 in no. 2, b. 162 in no. 3) that approaches the (g) motifs are now doubled in speed, creating a more frantic crescendo. What is very interesting to note in these last two areas is the overturning of the dynamics up until the (g) figures. Starting just after the second subject, b. 174 in no. 2 and b. 138 in no. 3, the dynamic level is changed from ff in no. 2 to pp in no. 3, and both remain there until no. 2 reaches fff (b. 210) and no. 3 crescendos to ff (b. 166), just before the (g) motifs. This strong dynamic rescindment helps the second subject of no. 3 to dynamically contrast with the various loud climaxes that appear throughout the rest of the overture, and also to help characteristically differentiate between the first and second subjects.

The section beginning with (g3) (b. 168 in no. 3) is now significantly shorter than in no. 2 due to the removal of 12 bars (214-225 in no. 2) that move in and around E major. These bars in no. 2 mainly consist of a sequentially rising series of perfect cadences which, beginning on a B7 chord, cadences onto E major, then the same idea moves up one tone to C♯7-F♯ major, and so on until E7-A major is reached, which then leads to the cadence on E major at b. 228. The motif (g3) has itself undergone some changes from (g2). First, each note in the series of syncopated minims has been rhythmically shortened so that a quaver rest appears after each note, separating them from one another. In no. 2, the woodwind all play the same rhythms, so that the entire orchestra is playing syncopated rhythms (on beats two and four of each bar), and Beethoven changes this so that in no. 3 the woodwind (and now the full brass) are playing crotchet notes on the first and third beats of every bar. This change aids dramatically with rhythmical security in this passage, as by shifting notes from the antitheses of each bar (beats two and four) onto the theses (one and three) reinforces the strong beats of the bar and allows the players to play together more effectively. This change also provides a stronger rhythmical pulse during this passage which perhaps Beethoven was aiming for in no. 3, as well as the back-and-forth alternation of falling of scales between wind and strings. Also, by detaching the notes of these falling scales with rests, it helps players to not merge involuntarily notes of neighbouring beats, which often happens with syncopation in ensemble playing, and hence
again, aids in ensemble rhythmic security. Two bars have been added (bb. 172-173 in no. 3) before the horn calls to extend and round out the perfect cadence into E major to four bars.

The next four bars (bb. 228-231 and bb. 176-179 respectively) containing the horn calls (shown in Figure 7) lead into the development section, and despite the horn calls themselves being very similar, the accompanying material differs significantly. Apart from long held notes in the first and second violins, the cellos are the only other instruments playing at the same time as the horn calls in no. 2, accompanying them with scalar figures. In no. 3, cellos and double basses play continuous quavers on E, alternating between *piano* and *forte* every bar. This again reinforces the idea that Beethoven was aiming for more secure and reliable ensemble playing in *Leonore* no. 3. In between the horn calls (the second and fourth bar of the four-bar phrase bb. 228-231 in no. 2, bb. 176-179 in no. 3) there is a sustained B7 chord in the woodwind in no. 2, whereas in no. 3 the woodwind imitate the horn call in a call-and-response style.

![Figure 7. The horn soli at the end of the exposition of *Leonore* overtures no. 2 and 3. Shown is the end of bb. 227 and 175, to bb. 231 and 179, respectively.](image)

3.2.3. Development

The developments, despite containing very different material, are in fact very similar in length. For the former reason, the two developments shall be analysed separately, and the concurrent analysis will continue once the material of the two overtures converge.
No. 2 begins with a four bar tutti scalic passage on the dominant of E major (bb. 232-235), using the same scalic figures the cellos used four bars previously. The next eight bars (bb. 236-243) in E major make use of the (biii) motif in all strings, and similar rhythms in the remaining instruments. The next thirty-four bars (bb. 244-277) are mainly based around the second subject (e2), and also use (biii) as well as making extensive use of (d2). When (e2) is used it is accompanied by the crotchet triplet figure in the upper strings, just as it is during the second subject in the exposition (bb. 156-173). (e2) appears twice, during bb. 246-251, and bb. 258-263. In between these two sections, in bb. 254-257, and later, in bb. 264-277, (biii) is used continuously in the woodwind, often passing between instruments, and is accompanied by (d2) in the strings. These thirty-four bars contain cadences on F major (b. 246) and C minor (b. 260).

Next is an almost complete restatement of the first subject (b) by the cellos but in D major (bb. 278-289). The alteration only comes in the last four bars (bb. 286-289) where the original material is replaced with (biii). Here again we see one of the melodies played just by solo celli, which are mostly eradicated in Leonore no. 3.

The next section (bb. 290-347) is a highly developmental passage containing regular remote modulations and multiple concurrent motifs. The main motifs used through this section are (bi), (c), and (ci). The cellos initiate this section with (c) (b. 290), but (c), along with (ci), is then moved almost exclusively to the woodwind from bb. 292-321 which pass it between their instruments in various combinations. It is then passed to the upper strings in b. 324 before descending to the lower strings in b. 333, at which point it has become the condensed version (ci). (bi) is used exclusively in the first violins and violas from bb. 294-321, before the woodwind take it up immediately from bb. 322-329, then it is given in the cellos and basses from bb. 330-337 (interspersed with (ci) at this point). (bi), naturally forming an arpeggio, is useful in outlining the current chord and allowing easy transitions
between the various keys during this section. For instance, in bb. 306-309, the (bi) motif first outlines G minor, and then by moving D to E₃ allows G minor to transform into E₃ major.

Another motif which is used here and not anywhere else in either overture is shown in Figure 8 and is first used by the cellos and basses at b. 294. As one can see from Figure 8, this motif, along with many others, is based around the first three notes of the ‘Florestan’ melody. When this motif is used it is always followed by a repeat of itself one step down in the local key. For example, Figure 8 outlines G major, and during the next four bars (bb. 398-301) when the figure is repeated rather than travelling from G to E it instead moves from F♯ down to D and back up again, supporting the D7, the dominant of G major, in the rest of the orchestra. This is always the case when this motif is used, with the following occasions being bb. 310-317 (B, major and F7), and bb. 322-329 (D, major to A,7). This last version is passed onto the woodwind directly after in bb. 330-337, using the same two chords as in bb. 322-329.

The final part of this section (bb. 338-347) exhibits polarized textures between woodwind and strings, and the diminution of motifs and phrases to build tension toward the approaching cadence. Bb. 338, 340, 342 and 344 contain only flute, oboe and bassoon playing short rising thirds every minim beat, and the intervening bars, bb. 339, 341, 343 and 345-7, contain an again shortened version of (ci) (the first half of the motif repeated to create a full bar) in the lower strings, and (bi) in the upper strings. Aside from bb. 338-339, where D, major is present in all instruments, the violas play a continuous G throughout this whole passage (bb. 338-347), since G7, the dominant of the approaching C minor, is sustained for eight bars. From b. 302, this section, up to b. 347, is kept at pianissimo throughout.
3.2.3.2. Development of Leonore no. 3

The development for *Leonore* no. 3 follows a very different path. Using (biii) in the first violins (b. 180) (the same motif that initiated the development of no. 2) accompanied by sustained notes in the bassoons (starting b. 184), the figure travels downwards over an octave through the scale of E major, until at b. 188, with a lowering of the third of the scale, there is a sudden change to E minor. This is one of the well-known ‘romantic’ moments in no. 3 which are not to be found in no. 2 (Tovey, 1972, p. 36). The diminuendo from *forte* to *pianissimo* over these 12 bars (bb. 180-191) is reversed at b. 192, when motif (h3) bursts out at *fortissimo* in the bassoons, second violins, cellos, and double basses. This is accompanied by sustained notes in the flutes, clarinets, horns, trumpets, and all trombones, and repeated quavers in the first violins and violas, all outlining E diminished 7th. After these four bars, at b. 196, the dynamic retreats back to *piano* for four bars. The *fortissimo* sections cover bb. 192-195, 200-203, 212-215, 220-223, and 236-239, whilst the *piano* sections cover b. 196-199, 204-211 (8 bars), 216-219, 224-235 (12 bars), and 240-253 (12 bars). During the *piano* sections the first violins use a modified version of (bi) to climb upwards through an E diminished chord. This new motif is shown in Figure 9.

![Modified version of motif (bi) used by the first violins in the early development section of Leonore no. 3. Shown are bb. 196-199.](image)

Another new motif that appears during the *piano* passages of the early development section is shown in Figure 10b. This motif has actually been taken from the closing bars of the introduction (bb. 32-35) from a very similar melody in the flutes and oboes, shown in 10a. Despite the difference in tempo and metre between the introduction and the development, the rhythm of this melody is roughly the same, and where the whole melody almost fits within one bar during the *adagio* introduction, it spans four bars in the *allegro*. From the source melody in the introduction, staccato
marks have been added to the lone crotchet notes that appear at the end of each bar (10b), the
three appoggiaturas have been removed from the second last note, and the last two notes are now
twice as quick, so that the rhythm of the last bar in 10b is identical to the second last bar. The
melody 10b shares a similar rhythm with the shortened first subject idea (bi) and is essentially an
amalgamation of the falling notes of the ‘Florestan’ melody and the rhythm of the first subject. By
simplifying this melody and modelling it around (bi), Beethoven makes of it a motif that can be more
easily used during the development, particularly in conjunction with (bi).

10b is used only by the woodwind in the section spanning bb. 196-247, and often after being
presented once, is presented again for another four bars with another woodwind instrument playing
the same melody an interval of a third above the main melody, for example at bb. 208-211. This idea
has been taken from the introduction version, 10a, where after the first statement is played by half
of the flutes and oboes in bb. 32-33, a third interval is then added above the melody by the second
flute and second oboe straight after in bb. 34-35. In the development, 10b is always played together
by oboes and bassoons, which are joined once by the clarinets (bb. 208-211) and once by flutes (bb.
228-231). During the area spanning bb. 247, these two ideas, 10b and (bi), are always played at the
same time, during the piano areas between the fortissimo areas, so that their rhythms line up
vertically. Whilst the (bi) melody climbs in the violins, the 10b melody in the woodwind falls. During
these piano areas, we see cellos playing crotchets on the first and fourth beat of the bar, whilst
second violins and violas play on the second and third beats of the bar (bb. 196-199). The cellos’
rhythms here are the same rhythms they play at the very beginning of the exposition (bb. 53-60),
where they join the double basses. Along with the use of first subject material, these piano passages hark back to the early bars of the exposition.

3.2.3.3. Development of Leonore no. 2 and no. 3

From this point onwards (bb. 348 & 252 respectively) the two overtures now align with similar material. At b. 348 in no. 2, the tutti orchestra erupts with a fortissimo, four-bar version of (b) in C minor. Starting in the woodwind, the figure is moved to the first violins, cellos, and double basses at b. 352 except this time outlining F minor, and then back to the woodwind at b. 356, outlining G7. These figures are harmonically supported by the horns playing sustained notes throughout, and the second violins and violas playing tremolos. During the woodwinds’ statements, the brass also play sustained notes, along with a timpani roll, so that when the strings have the motif in between at bb. 352-355 there is a slight thinning of texture. Hepokoski & Darcy (2006, p. 248) believe this section represents a ‘destroyed’ recapitulatory process in the form of a modally-altered rotation, in that C minor is presented where C major would usually be expected to fulfil the recapitulation process. This deformation of the recapitulation is short-lived, and is saved by the off-stage trumpet calls signalling aid from outside of sonata-space (b. 392). (These off-stage trumpet calls are taken directly from the narrative of the opera itself. With Florestan wrongly imprisoned and assumed dead by the King, Don
Pizarro, the prison governor, orders a prison guard to sound a trumpet upon the arrival of Don Fernando, the King’s minister. The trumpet calls signify Florestan’s potential redemption from corrupt political powers.) With no sign of the second subject past this point, and no cadence points in C major, this passage cannot be considered a serious recapitulation attempt. This sui generis recapitulation situation of Leonore no. 2 shall be discussed further in Section 3.

The violins (only first violins in no. 3), cellos and double basses use (bi) in its regular and inverted motion to move up and down arpeggios, whilst woodwind accompany them with homorhythmic chords. Violas (and, in no. 3, second violins) also accompany with quavers outlining the chordal movement, and in no. 2 we again see the triplet quavers throughout this area which in no. 3 have been removed. Hepokoski & Darcy (2006, p. 248) believe that this section (bb. 252-272) in no. 3 is absorbed more easily into the developmental space because of the more discrete use of first subject material, where in no. 2, the shortened C minor statement (b. 348) of the first subject (b) pushes this idea into the recapitulation, despite the fact that this area is not a true recapitulation. Because of its position in no. 3, Hepokoski & Darcy believe that this passage (bb. 252-272) ominously alludes to a C minor recapitulation, but is stalled by the entrance of the trumpet calls. I must disagree with the idea that either of these areas could be considered true or false recapitulations due to the absence of any C major tonality.

The chordal progression here, as in previous areas, has been simplified. In no. 2, the next eight bars (bb. 360-367) sees a movement, via an interrupted cadence, to A major, which then resolves immediately back to C minor. Over the passage of bb. 360-373, we can see a pattern of chordal rhythmic diminution, with the use of four chords during the eight bars bb. 360-367, four chords used in the four bars bb. 368-371, and four bars used in the two bars bb. 372-373, to make a sum of 14 bars.

Beethoven simplifies this passage in no. 3 (b. 254) by using the chord progression that starts at b. 368 in no. 2 – C minor-A, major-D, major-B, major-E, major-C major-F minor-F diminished 7th (was
F₇ diminished triad). By doing this, he removes the preceding four chords from this passage which were in no. 2. Also, Beethoven doubly expands the second and third areas, so that the where these sections in no. 2 covered four and two bars respectively, they now cover eight and four bars respectively. This has the effect of creating less tension than in no. 2 when leading up to the C minor imperfect cadences which follow.

The climaxes that follow, both in fortissimo, have been halved in length from eight bars to four (bb. 374-381 in no. 2, bb. 264-267 in no. 3). This section in no. 2 actually contained two back-to-back imperfect cadences in C minor, each beginning with two full bars of F₇ diminished 7th, so by shortening this to a single cadence Beethoven was able to easily remove bars in no. 3. These two short imperfect cadences in no. 2 each begin with two bars of held notes tutti outlining F₇ diminished 7th, but in no. 3, the four bars contain (d2) material from Leonore no. 2, not found anywhere else in no. 3. It even includes the call-and-response motion between upper strings and lower strings from the original appearance of the motif (d2) beginning at b. 138 of no. 2. Whether Beethoven did this intentionally or not, it is understandable that the quaver material in the previous four bars (bb. 264-267) follows seamlessly into the quavers of this cadential climax.

The next sections (bb. 382-391 in no. 2, and bb. 268-271 in no. 3) contain the transitional material which lead into the trumpet calls. Both sections are highly scalar, but that in no. 2 mainly contains sequentially falling thirds with a rising tone or semitone in between each fall, creating a staggered downwards scale. This same idea is played by the bassoons and, at b. 384, the flutes. Meanwhile, all remaining instruments play a sustained C, and the timpani rolls on a C throughout. In no. 3, Beethoven uses regular rising scales of C minor, beginning in the violins and violas, and joined by cellos, double basses, and all woodwind two bars later. Just before both trumpet calls, the quaver scales slow down to crotchets for half a bar before in no. 2, and in no. 3 these cover a full bar (b. 271), with staccato marks added on each note. The simplification of the scales and the more obvious approach of the trumpet calls in no. 3 might again have been done for security reasons, so that the
scales are easier to play (particularly by the larger string instruments) and that the trumpet player (who is usually off-stage) can more easily hear when they are to begin.

The trumpets calls first given in bb. 392-397 (no. 2) and bb. 272-277 (no. 3), have been moved from E, major to B, major, a more remote and startling key in relation to C minor, and hence more appropriate for the foreshadowing of the dramatic surprise of the arrival of Don Pizarro which the calls signal (Tovey, 1972, pp. 37-38). The trumpet calls are shown in Figure 1 as (i2) and (i3). We can see that although the general shape of the trumpet call stays the same, rising and then falling in arpeggios, the intervals within the melody line differ. No. 2 uses triplets for its rising arpeggios, whereas no. 3 uses regular quavers and semiquavers. No. 3 also uses much more moderate intervalllic leaps of no more than a fourth, where in no. 2 the trumpeter must leap an octave and a fourth in one triplet quaver. The total range of the two trumpet calls is quite different too, with no. 2 spanning an octave and a sixth, and no. 3 spanning just an octave. Beethoven has clearly made this solo trumpet call easier to play, with a much simpler melodic line, smaller intervals, smaller range, more comfortable tessitura, and more straightforward rhythms. One reason Beethoven might have removed the triplet quavers from the no. 3 version is because of the many triplet quavers he has removed from tutti sections in the upper strings of no. 2.

The passages between the two trumpets calls are also highly different. In no. 2, with just eight bars between trumpet calls (bb. 398-405), Beethoven uses (b) in the first violins, and an idea similar to (ci) in the violas and cellos where, like in b. 339, quavers alternate between two notes, but this time lasting for a bar and a half before a half bar of descending scales. In no. 3, Beethoven takes the passage 'Ach! Du bist gerettet! Grosser Gott!' from the Quartet no. 14 ‘Er sterbe!’, which is sung in the second act (previously the third act in the 1805 version) by Florestan and Leonora, and places it in the first flute, clarinet, and bassoon, with second bassoon and horns accompanying with long notes, for a total of sixteen bars between the trumpet calls. This passage has been strategically placed here because it also appears between the trumpet calls within the opera itself. Strings
accompany with chords using the motif (ii), taken directly from the beginning of the trumpet call, continuously alternating back and forth between the upper and lower strings.

After the second announcement of the trumpet calls, there is a texturally-polarized passage of 14 bars (bb. 412-425) in no. 2. The first bar, for example, has the strings playing long notes outlining C, major in pianissimo. The next bar has two solo bassoons repeating the (ii) motif on octave E, repeating what we just heard in the trumpet calls. This pattern continues for the next six bars (with horns substituted for bassoons) moving to F diminished 7th during bb. 414-417, and then finishing on G7 for the last eight bars (bb. 418-425). The horns continue their (ii) motif on G with a bar gap between, but the strings play individual crotchets on the first beat of the ninth to the eleventh bar of this section (bb. 420-422) still outlining G7. The last four bars contain only the solo horns with (ii), creating a very thin texture and leaving long pauses between bars.

Continuing with Leonore no. 2, we now see an almost complete restatement of the ‘Florestan’ theme (a3) heard in the introduction, in an adagio ¾, but this time in C major (bb. 426-432). The full woodwind now play the melody as it was played by the clarinets and bassoons in the introduction (bb. 10-15), accompanied by horns, timpani, and later by violins, violas and cellos after three bars of no strings. The melody line is almost exactly the same as in the introduction apart from some minor changes in the rhythms and intervals around the fourth and fifth (bb. 429-430) bars. The timpani now takes the (ii) motif from the trumpet calls and places it at the end of each 3/4 bar, alternating between G and C depending on the chordal centre of the bar it is currently on. The final two bars of this section (bb. 431-432) are empty apart from solo violins repeating the very last three semiquavers of the ‘Florestan melody’ at the very end of the two bars.

Returning to material from the slow introduction, and therefore what could be considered ‘outside of sonata space’, begs the question as to whether this is part of a true recapitulatory rotation. It is important to remember that the second subject is a variation of the ‘Florestan’ melody from the introduction (originally Florestan’s aria “In des Lebens Frühlingstagen”). Hepokoski & Darcy (2006, p.
suggest that, because what presented here is not the true second subject, this passage does not tonally stabilise the recapitulatory rotation. Therefore, this area does not tonally stabilise any of the material from the development, and rather restates a theme from the introduction (Hepokoski & Darcy, 2006). Despite this, one could argue that by placing this theme so far towards the end of the piece, after the false C minor recapitulation of the first subject (b), and by also moving it into the tonic key of C major, Beethoven has elected this theme as a replacement for the resolution of the second subject, and that the ‘Florestan’ theme and the second subject are merely homologous twins appearing in different guises. This theory would fulfil the sonata model for this overture, as opposed to what one might believe at a first glance of this work, and that the recapitulation is entirely replaced with unrelated themes before passing straight into the coda.

In no. 3 after the second trumpet call, we again see the passage ‘Ach! Du bist gerettet! Grosser Gott!’ used for 16 bars (bb. 300-315), with some slight changes when compared with the passage within the two trumpet calls. The melody is now only played by the flute in the woodwind, and first violins and cellos now also join the melody. The (ii) motif previously only played by the strings is now also played by the bassoon, along with the remaining strings. Beethoven then takes the final interval of this melody, a rising fourth (Aι-Dι), and turns it into A-ζ, creating A major at b. 316. This rising fourth pattern, played in minims, continues in the first violin and cellos for two bars before turning into A-D (creating D major), then after four more bars becoming C-D (creating D7). Under this, the remaining strings continue their back-and-forth (ii) motif alternation. The next four bars (bb. 326-329) this C-D pattern is rhythmically shortened to crotchets, so that the frequency of notes per bar is doubled. This is again another example of using rhythmic diminution as a technique for creating intensity when approaching a significant cadence point.

Leading into the next section in no. 3 (beginning b. 330), a solo flute begins an ascending G major scale five crotchet beats prior, before launching into the original (b) first subject in G major. A solo bassoon echoes the (biii) portion (b. 333) of the melody in the flute as a call-and-response voice, and
after the rhythmically diminished version of (biili) three bars later, adds an ascending G major scale, which begins halfway through b. 338 and finishes at b. 340. In the next bar (b. 342), the flute begins the full (c) motif as it is heard in the beginning of the exposition. Then Beethoven takes the continuing bars of this melody as heard in the exposition (bb. 86-91) and turns them into triplet crotchets, only turning them back into quavers in the last two bars of this idea (bb. 350-351). Under this whole G major restatement of the first subject, all strings but double basses are playing supporting repeated quavers. Hepokoski & Darcy (2006, p. 278) call this technique a ‘dominant reprise’, as a form of a false recapitulation. This extension of the development section was made possible by the truncating of the first half of the overture, particularly in the numerous areas where individual or a small number of bars have been removed through compression or cutting.

There is then a sudden change to a more sinister character, as the dynamic drops to pianissimo (from piano), and cellos and double basses begin climbing upwards through arpeggios of a B diminished triad, using a fully legato (bi) rhythm (beginning b. 352). Four bars later (b. 356) cellos and double basses start falling back through the same arpeggio, and first violins and violas start climbing the same arpeggios, with second violins joining them two bars later. During these eight bars (bb. 352-359) full woodwind support the B diminished triad with sustained chords throughout. Next, the strings rise through a crescendo poco a poco chromatic scale for ten and a half bars (bb. 360-370). During the first four bars, the scale climbs at one semitone per bar, and then two semitones per bar for the next seven. Lower strings (including violas) are metrically offset from the upper strings, being delayed by two crotchet beats to create a back-and-forth texture between the two parties. During the next seven and a half bars (bb. 370-377), woodwind, horns, trumpets, and timpani join the strings, and trombones three bars later, now all reinforcing G7.

3.2.4. Recapitulation

After this vast rising scale which unfolds into a G7 arpeggio, the true recapitulation finally emerges, largely identical to the exposition (bb. 378-391). From this, Beethoven goes straight to the (f3) motif
(bb. 392-401), which during the exposition (b. 144) is actually heard after the second subject. With a number of changes compared to the (f3) in the exposition, the violins now have four anticipatory notes in the bar before the section starts (b. 391), and there are now sforzandos added in the middle of the bar for the melody instruments, and on the last beat of each bar for the accompanying instruments. The wind play a similar role in the ensemble here as they did during the expositional equivalent, where higher instruments such as flute and oboe follow the violins, and lower instruments such as the bassoon follow the cellos and double basses. Second violins and violas now play supporting quavers throughout, creating a more energetic character during this section when compared to the more placid character of the second subject. What is interesting to note here is that the (f3) motif is treated as if it were the (d3) motif: in the last two bars (bb. 398-399) the whole orchestra is alternating between two notes of two chords (G major and F diminished 7th), and then the final two bars of this section are identical to the final two of the (d3) section (bb. 116-117) where the pace of alternation between the two note is increased. Moreover, this then leads into the second subject, whereas in the exposition it was (d3) motif that lead into the second subject.

The tonic (C major) restatement of the second subject (bb. 402-421) is almost identical to the original version in the exposition (bb. 118-137). The only difference is that the flutes part (which play the (e3) and (e3i) melodies along with the first violins) is now played by the clarinet, and the flutes only join in with their original material towards the end of the passage, at b. 419. Beethoven here creates a different timbre for the resolution of the second subject by changing the melody instrument. The next six bars (bb. 422-427), containing bars of quavers with silent bars in between, are again almost the same as before (bb. 138-143). The oboes’ long notes are now given to the clarinets before being returned to the oboes at b. 426. The horns now join in on the long notes, and the flute is removed from the last two bars. Oddly enough, we then see the true restatement of (f3) at b. 428, using the same material and ideas as at b. 144, the only difference being that the woodwind now double the accompanying strings for the first four bars. The bars restating the section bb. 154-161, namely bb. 438-445, have again some very minor changes. The second violins
now swap places in the canon with the violas so that they now play before, and clarinets and horns now play the same as the violas. The next fourteen bars (bb. 446-459) containing the rising and falling (g3) motif, are largely unchanged apart from the addition of clarinets, the other two horns, trumpets and timpani, the latter which begins rolling at the fortissimo and then after plays on-beat with the wind. These changes are far too minor than to be for anything except a change of colour and voicing which presents the listener with some variation compared to the first time they heard this section in the exposition.

Whereas in the exposition (g3) led into the horn solos that then led to the end of the exposition, in the recapitulation it leads into a variant of the second subject (e3) (b. 460). The held notes in the flute, oboe and bassoon begin a crotchet beat before and tie-over to b. 460, reminiscent of the horn solos beginning at the end of b. 175 of no. 3. They then travel up and down a G major scale to cadence onto C major at b. 468. Cellos and double basses use a short rising scale from G to C reminiscent of the rising notes in (e3) at b. 467, and remain on C for seven bars, and violins and violas climb the same scales at b. 469 and b. 471 respectively. This variation of (e3) is interesting in that it shares similarities with other motifs like the ‘Florestan’ motif (a3), and even (e2) from Leonore no. 2. This is shown in Figure 11, in which one can see other material from both overtures used to create this elongated melody. Most of this melody is based on the ‘Florestan’ melody (a3), with some obvious quotations from other motifs. This is true for both overtures, and where changes are made to the ‘Florestan’ melody in no. 3, the second subject follows suit, as well as other melodic fragments based on the ‘Florestan’ melody. Firstly, the falling third figure, present in the ‘Florestan’ melody (a), and which is also borrowed for the second subject in no. 2, is used to begin the melody once the cadence onto C major arrives in no. 3 at b. 468. The third note of these is extended before it leaps up a fifth, akin to the appoggiatura in the second bar of both (a2) and (a3). Bb. 5-7 of this melody use the same idea as the end of (e2), namely three repeated notes that then fall twice by a semitone. This then flows directly into (e3i) at the end as one continuous melody line. This is the
only time that any of the second subject material, (e2) or (e2i), from no. 2 appears in no. 3, so

Beethoven most likely saved it for this special purpose of finishing off the recapitulation in no. 3.
Figure 11. The middle stave shows the oboe’s melody line in bars 468-481 of Leonore no. 3. The top left stave is the “Florestan” melody from no. 3 (a3). The top right stave is the second part of the second subject from no. 3 (e3i). The lower stave is the first part of the second subject in no. 2. The circles, line, and brackets represent the borrowing of melodic material from various sources of both overtures into the compound melody at the end of the recapitulation of no. 3.
Following on from this passage (b. 481), Beethoven fragments the (e3i) motif, taking only the last three notes and making the middle note the same length (crotchet) as the others. This is the same motivic idea he used just before the coda in no. 2 (bb. 431-432), except there it was in triple time and *adagio*. This short three-note motif is now used by the first flute, often twice in a row, either outlining G7 or C major. In between the flute’s entries, the oboes and bassoons play the original longer version of the motif (e3i) (with the semibreve) which occupies just as many bars as two of the flute’s motifs. The complete (e3i) motif is supported by full strings playing a single crotchet *sforzando* on the higher note of the motif, each preceded by a slurred quaver travelling from the previous chord. The timpani, meanwhile, play the (ii) motif from the trumpet calls underneath, always landing its last note on the first beat of each four bar phrase. This whole section (bb. 482-498) demonstrates again the successive shortening of motivic rhythms and chord oscillation, but also the time between repetitions of motifs, when approaching an important cadence. In bb. 482-489, the short (e3i) idea is heard twice in the flutes, then the long (e3i) idea is played in the double reeds, then these four bars repeat themselves. During these eight bars (bb. 482-489), all three of the motifs, (e3i), shortened (e3i), and (ii), are heard twice each with no overlapping between them. Over the next eight bars (bb. 490-497), the long (e3i) idea is condensed into the short (e3i) idea, which can be determined by that fact that the *sf* strings are still heard underneath the double reeds. These two motifs oscillate between the flutes and double reeds at the rate of once per bar during bb. 491-495, and in bb. 496-497 the double reeds play this idea twice back-to-back, so that the *sf* strings are heard twice in a row. The timpani’s (ii) motif is shortened at the same rate, so much so that some of the repeated notes are removed to allow the motif to repeat itself once per bar.

At b. 498, the long three-note (e3i) idea is heard for the last time in the double reeds before it is passed to the first violins. Two bars later, the falling G-F is turned into a staccato scale which all strings join, finishing on the B two octaves below. Climbing upwards in *pianissimo* and leaving a full bars rest between each scale in bb. 506-510, the first violins are again left on their own to play a
short staccato scale D-E-F upwards three times, before the presto coda begins. These three notes outline the dominant and seventh of G7.

3.2.5. Coda

Where in no. 2 there is a return to tempo primo after the adagio at b. 433, no. 3 moves from the allegro into a presto at b. 514. Both of these begin the coda, with lengthy scolic runs starting in the first violins before being joined by the remaining strings (and woodwind in no. 2). Robinson (1996, p. 105) believes that these scales were borrowed and ‘brought to full flower’ from Gaveaux’s overture Léonore, ou L’amour conjugale. No. 2 does not reach a presto tempo until the tutti entrance of the first subject (b) at b. 443. Beethoven might have thought that a subito tempo change at the end of this already turbulent section of isolated scales was too risky so moved it to the beginning of this section in no. 3 (b. 514) so that there was no change of tempo in the transition between the scales and tutti section. This scolic section is doubled in length in no. 3, whereby the original 10 bars is supplemented with another 10 bars of material afterwards. Looking at the original ten bars in no. 2 (bb.433-442), Beethoven creates this entire scolic section from the final three notes of the last complete bar of the ‘Florestan’ melody (a2) at b. 430. These three notes are given to the first violins, playing on their own in ppp, which are placed on the last three semiquaver beats of bb. 431 and 432.

After a pause on the last note of b. 432 of Leonore no. 2, the tempo primo arrives at b. 433 and these three notes are transformed into rushing descending scales in the first violins. Each scale begins on a higher note than the one before, so that the top notes of each successive scale moves upwards by step from g’’ (in the three-note motif) to f’’’. This again outlines G7 in the key of C major. With the three notes beginning on the second quaver beat of b. 433, each falling scale consists of six notes before the scale resets back to the top note, until halfway through when seven notes are used. Counting groups of seven in a bar consisting of eight quavers can be difficult enough, but Beethoven keeps this same idea for no. 3 and expands the section further. These 10 new bars (bb. 524-533) act as a rhythmic stabilizer to the previously very unstable section. Beethoven uses a repeating set of
notes (shown in Figure 12) which is implemented for the last eight bars of the scalic passage (bb. 526-533 of no. 3). This repeating pattern of quavers has two C’s at the beginning of each bar, which helps each string group enter more easily, and, more importantly, makes the transition into the tutti (bb. 443 & 534, respectively) easier for the players to anticipate. Looking closely at the intervals of this figure, one might notice that it is written as a never-ending rising scale, where upon reaching F, the scale travels to the G a seventh down and continues to climb. By bb. 530, all string instruments are playing this same figure across five octaves. Where in no. 2 the second violins join the first violins on the fifth bar (b. 437), then the violas on the sixth (b. 438), then the cellos and double basses on the ninth (b. 441), in no. 3 the second violins begin on the ninth bar (b. 522), the violas on the twelfth (b. 525), and the cellos and double basses on the sixteenth (b. 529). Beethoven has also removed the woodwind, which did join the texture in b. 439 of no. 2, from this section in no. 3. This could have been done either to remove complications of coordinating both strings and woodwind around these scales, or for timbral reason; to create a greater variation in texture between the scales and the succeeding passage which involves the full orchestra. By doubling the length of this section, Beethoven has allowed a perhaps more intense layering of the strings textures, as well as a longer crescendo, throughout this build-up towards the final outcry of the first subject (b). To further exaggerate the building of texture throughout this passage, Beethoven asks for ‘two or three violins’ at the entries of the first and second violins (bb. 514 & 522, respectively) in no. 3, with the remaining violins joining at the tutti entrance at b. 534.

![Figure 12. Shown are bb. 526-529 of the second violins in Leonore no. 3.](image)

This effect of an increased tempo during the coda is what Hepokoski & Darcy call a ‘theatrical discursive-coda effect’ (2006, p. 286), which aids in heightening dramatic intensity at the end of a
piece of music. This idea was first used by Cherubini in the overture to his opera Les deux journées (1800), written by the very same author of Léonore, ou l'Amour conjugal on which Leonore is based, Jean-Nicolas Bouilly. Beethoven also highly revered Cherubini, acknowledging him as his master in the world of opera (Tovey, 1972, p. 29), and therefore had taken Cherubini’s operas as the model for his own. Not only did he borrow this fast-coda effect from Cherubini, but Beethoven also took the behind-the-stage trumpet call from Bouilly’s libretto Heléne (1803), where it is used as a deus ex machina device, just as it is in Fidelio. It is quite clear that Beethoven acquired as much help as possible for the construction of his own opera from the popular French works of the previous few decades of which he was so fond of.

Not only does b. 443 of no. 2 suddenly jump to a presto tempo from the frantic scales before, but the first subject, played by first and second violins, is played at double speed, using half note lengths in comparison to the original first subject. Beethoven probably realised that this was too much to ask of the violins and changed it back to the original note lengths in no. 3, now with only first violins taking the melody. Despite this, Beethoven uses quavers throughout this restatement of (b) in no. 3 in the first twelve bars. Filling the melody with quavers allows the individual notes to be heard more clearly, particularly now that the first violins alone must make this melody sound above the entire orchestra. This is probably still easier to play than in no. 2, because the first subject does not use any shorter note values than a crotchet, so playing the motif fully with quavers means that all the notes are repeated at least once directly after the initial change of pitch, as opposed to the much faster changing melody line in this passage of no. 2.

Comparing motifs (k2) and (k3), which appear in bb. 462 and 554 respectively, one can see that Beethoven has turned the rising arpeggios into scales. This might either be because he simply preferred scales over arpeggios for this figure, or perhaps he thought these quick arpeggios were too cumbersome to play at the tempo he desired for the presto. Both of these (k) passages lead into (g) motif passages (bb. 478-497, & 570-589, respectively), which have been doubled in length from their
expositional equivalents. The long downwards scale resets back up to e''' (in the first violins) after completing the full motif (bb. 486 & 578, respectively). Both these sections are twenty bars long, consisting of two groups of eight bars beginning with e''', followed by a group of four bars that continue outlining the tonic base of C major, using the chords I, VI, II and V.

It could be said that both sections treat their respective (g) areas as it appears in no. 2. The original phrase containing (g2), beginning at b. 210 of no. 2, is twelve bars long, although the full phrase could be considered to be eighteen bars long if one were to include the material in bb. 222-227. It also begins at an fff dynamic before dropping to piano just three bars later. The first time we hear (g3) in no. 3 (b. 168), the phrase is eight bars at its absolute longest, and stays in ff for the full duration. Beethoven has decided to swap these two characteristics during the coda, so that now this section in no. 2 remains in ff, but in no. 3 the first eight bar phrase is in p before erupting out in ff for the next 12 bars (bb. 578-584). Beethoven not only experiments with dynamics here, but also with voicing. In the original version of (g3) in the exposition (beginning b. 168), the strings were syncopated, playing a crotchet beat ahead of the woodwind, which were playing the notes of their scales on the first and third beat of the bar. In the coda version, Beethoven swaps these two roles in the first eight bars during the p, so that strings are now playing straight crotchets, while the woodwind play syncopated ones. The voicing reverts to normal eight bars later (b. 578), with the syncopation now in the strings, when the dynamic level rises to ff.

Continuing with no. 2, at b. 502, we see eight bars of staccato crotchets scales in all instruments except brass. Next, there is an eight-bar section (bb. 510-517) where the tutti orchestra play only on the first beat of the bar, and the dynamic level jumps between piano and forte. There is then a final exclamatory climax, with the tutti orchestra playing unison/octave Gs at fff dynamic for the whole of b. 518, before dropping with arpeggios through C major.

It is easy to see how Beethoven wanted a more meaningful and dramatic ending to the overture in no. 3. Starting at b. 594, Beethoven begins a sixteen-bar chromatic scale in the woodwind and upper
strings with a long crescendo, climbing from f” to a””, an interval of a major tenth. Lower strings, trumpets and timpani retain a dominant pedal on G throughout this passage until b. 603. The four bars (bb. 606-609) pass through F♯ diminished 7th, F7, A minor and D7 before the climax onto G7 with an added minor ninth on bb. 610-612 (which resolves to G at b. 613). This is surely the ending Beethoven desired: an explosive romantic climax on a very strained harmony in fff, which, as Tovey puts it, ‘makes the rejected grandeurs of No. 2 fade into insignificance’ (1972, p. 40). This was perhaps the reason Beethoven held back on the previous dynamic levels in the coda of no. 3. In no. 2, the tutti first subject (b) enters at the dynamic level of fff (bb. 443). The (g2) section (bb. 478) enters on ff, which remains until bb. 509. fff then returns at bb. 518 for the final affirmation of C major to end the piece. In no. 3, Beethoven chose to delay and intensify the final climax by suppressing dramatic events until the very end. One next sees the motif (bii) brought back in full woodwind and both violins at bb. 614 for eight bars. After eight bars, the two overtures converge again, with no. 3 (bb. 622) joining no. 2 (bb. 518) in the fff unison/octave Gs which run down through the arpeggios of C major over three bars. The final short attacks are also very similar, except that full woodwind now play descending arpeggios outlining C major during bb. 626-631, reminiscent of the silences of bb. 37-41 of no. 2 which became filled in bb. 28-29 of no. 3. To finally exorcise the previous overture, Beethoven adds an extra four bars to the end of no. 3 (bb. 635-638) after the three attacks which finish no. 2 (bb. 528-530). Where no. 2 has its final chord, the timpani now begins a roll on C which is followed by two further attacks separated by one bar each.
4. Conclusion

Certain ideas within the analysis, particularly in regard to the recapitulation sections, were not discussed in detail so that they could be explained in the conclusion. These will be discussed in Section 4.1. Section 4.2 discusses the complicated history of the scores of the *Leonore* overtures. Section 4.3 recalls the three research questions put forth in Section 1.2 and, using information from the study of the historical background discussed in Section 1.1, and the analysis of the two pieces beginning in Section 2, suggests answers for them.

4.1. Review of analysis

Table 2 shows the structure of both overtures in terms of their sections. The percentages of each section of the whole are also shown, as well as the lengths of each section in bars, which are in brackets. This is so that one can compare the distribution of each overture into its sections, and also see how many bars a particular section of no. 3 has gained or lost during the revision. With the aid of the corresponding pie charts, Figures 2 and 3, it is possible to visualize the difference in proportion between the overtures. This is very useful when discussing the reasons for Beethoven’s decisions in making the changes he did.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage of each section of the whole overture to the nearest 0.1% (bars)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leonore no. 2</strong></td>
<td>10.6% (56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leonore no. 3</strong></td>
<td>5.6% (36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 2. Each section shown as a percentage of the whole for both overtures, including, in brackets, the number of bars of each section.
Figure 13. Pie chart of the data shown in Table 2, specifically the distribution of sections in *Leonore* no. 2.
One can see from Table 2 that, in general, the earlier sections (introduction and exposition) have been shortened, and the later sections (recapitulation and coda) have been lengthened in no. 3. "Leonore" no. 3 as a whole is 108 bars longer than "Leonore" no. 2. From the ‘notes’ column of Table 1, one can also see that where sections have been condensed, complex harmonic progressions have often been simplified, and therefore there are generally less chords used in any given area. An example of this would be bb. 24-35 (no. 2) and bb. 20-26 (no. 3) where many of the chords have been removed and only the chords that are needed for the modulation from B major to Ab major remain. The introduction has been shortened by 20 bars, and the exposition has been shortened by 32 bars, whilst the recapitulation has been lengthened by 129 bars and the coda has been lengthened by 27 bars. The development sections are very similar in length despite containing very
different material, with the development of *Leonore* no. 2 being only four bars longer than in *Leonore* no. 3.

The most significant change that Beethoven made was the expansion and ‘completion’ of the recapitulation section in *Leonore* no. 3. Why Beethoven wrote such a brief, inconclusive attempt at a recapitulation in *Leonore* no. 2 is not known, but he makes every effort to rectify this in his revision. It may have been that, for the original overture, Beethoven was composing more creatively, and set out to fully ‘dismantle’ the sonata form by curtailing the recapitulation. This would also explain the unexpected 3/4 section in *Leonore* no. 2 (bb. 426-432). Tovey (1972, p. 37) believes that Beethoven does not ‘attempt any such thing as a recapitulation’ in *Leonore* no. 2, and Robinson calls the overture ‘lopsided’ (1996, p. 37). This is easy to understand when there is no appearance of the first subject until what is ‘probably best regarded as coda-space’ at b. 443 (Hepokoski & Darcy, 2006, p. 248), and the second subject appears at the very beginning of the development section (b. 244) but in F major, before it is moved swiftly along to other tonal centres.

Discussed in several areas of Section 3.2, Hepokoski & Darcy tackle the complicated nature of *Leonore* no. 2’s recapitulation, describing it as an early example of an *anti-recapitulation*, in which all the aspects of a regular recapitulation that are usually expected do not happen, and the thematic material of the exposition returns mutilated (2006, p. 249). Examples of this are the very brief C minor first subject entry at b. 348, the trumpet calls which interrupts from outside of sonata space, and the 3/4 reintroduction of the ‘Florestan’ melody which has been taken from the introduction (bb. 426-432). Hepokoski & Darcy believe that this deformed, stressed structure, without harmonic resolution, reflects the tension of the narrative (2006, p. 249).

The beginning of the recapitulation section in no. 2 is difficult to locate for a number of reasons. The first sighting of the first subject theme appears at b. 348, although it appears in C minor rather than C major. Hepokoski & Darcy (2006, p. 348) believe that this is a false recapitulation, designed to trick the listener. This could have been the case if it were still in a major key and therefore better
disguised, but being in a minor key it must be considered a variation of the first subject. In this way, this passage could act as an anticipation to the true arrival of the tonic first subject, and therefore the recapitulation. But this is not the case, and instead the trumpet calls ‘interrupt’ what could have been the first subject arrival. After this delay, C major is eventually reached (b. 426), but by the arrival of the introductory version of the ‘Florestan’ melody. Here begins the rotated recapitulatory process. Although this is not strictly the second subject, the second subject is a variation on the ‘Florestan’ melody, and so here the introduction version of the melody substitutes for the second subject theme. This then leads directly into the coda (b. 433), which is also the point where the first subject is heard in C major for the first time after the exposition, and therefore fulfils the return of the tonic first subject for the recapitulation.

An example of a real false recapitulation would be at b. 330 of no. 3, where the full first subject theme appears in the flute in G major. Where the previously mentioned ‘false’ recapitulation of no. 2 did not anticipate a true recapitulation, this one does, at b. 378. This false recapitulation section, situated after the trumpet calls of bb. 272 & 293, ends a fairly lengthy development section, and was made possible by the large and small cuts and compressions of the introduction and exposition to allow for room later in the overture.

4.2. Manuscript Debates

Writing four overtures over nine years for one opera does not come without complications, and we must tread carefully when discussing each overture’s role and importance. There are two ways in which the overtures can be considered. The first is that Beethoven, after the failure of the first performance, wrote *Leonore* no. 3 as a replacement for *Leonore* no. 2, with what could be considered improvements to the old overture, which would have been discarded or at least stored away. The same ideology could be applied to the *Leonore* no. 1 overture, followed by the *Fidelio* overture, where each subsequent piece is a replacement for the previous.
The second way is that each subsequent overture was not a replacement of its predecessor, but that Beethoven considered each work *as a piece in its own right*. In this way, Beethoven thought of each version (of the opera as well as the overture) as separate from one another, and with some of the significant differences between the first and the last version of the opera, this is easy to see why. Thus, the first and last versions could be seen as two different operas.

One support for the second standpoint comes from some sparse pencil entries in a copyist’s score of *Leonore* no. 2. At first glance, it would be easy to presume that the markings on this score were revisions made in early 1806 during the composition of *Leonore* no. 3, but Tyson (1977, p. 193) explains through knowledge of copyists and paper analysis that in fact these markings were made in 1814, just before the premiere of the final version of *Fidelio*. It is unusual that Beethoven did not try to use a copy of *Leonore* no. 3, the most recent overture, and so it must be that either he had decided that he preferred *Leonore* no. 2, or did not have a copy of *Leonore* no. 3 to hand. It is also difficult to tell whether these annotations in the score were a last-ditch attempt at having an overture ready for the 1814 performance, or if Beethoven had gained a renewed interest in *Leonore* no. 2 and perhaps wanted to have it performed at a later date, although this date never came. This ‘edited’ score of no. 2, which is the only source preserving the full, original text of *Leonore* no. 2, was obtained by the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin from Otto Jahn in 1870 and is now housed in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin (Tyson, 1977, p. 192).

The correct dating of this manuscript is paramount to understanding the history of the *Leonore* overtures. Before 1870, the only surviving score of *Leonore* no. 2 that was known belonged to Breitkopf & Härtel and was missing a number of leaves at the end. When Mendelssohn performed all four *Leonore/Fidelio* overtures in 1840, he used this defective score, and, struggling to locate a full score of *Leonore* no. 2, completed the end of the piece with the appropriate passage from *Leonore* no. 3. This defective score also contains some red crayon markings, made by not just Beethoven, but also by Mendelssohn. Beethoven decisively crosses out the first trumpet call and the following
passage, leaving just the second trumpet call. Mendelssohn, confusingly writing in the same colour, suggests that the crossed-out section ‘should remain’, and performed it at the 1840 event (Beethoven Haus Bonn, 2018). The markings in this score, as well as the markings in the complete copy of Leonore no. 2, would provide very different information than if they had not been dated correctly. Mendelssohn also corrects the numerous missing accidentals throughout the score and alters some of the phrasing. Where before the first subject theme (b) was written by Beethoven to be played fully legato, Mendelssohn adds in the two staccato marks on the last two notes, as can be seen in modern scores. In fact, all of Mendelssohn’s alterations were retained in Breitkopf & Härtel’s first edition of Leonore no. 2 in 1842, including both trumpet calls. Had it not been for Mendelssohn’s revisions, the published score of Leonore no. 2 would probably be quite different and, specifically, shorter.

4.3. Answers to Research Questions

We can now start to try to find answers to the research questions proposed in Section 1.2. To clarify, these are:

1. For what reasons might the original production of 1805, and Leonore no. 2, have been a failure?

2. What did Beethoven change when revising Leonore no. 2 into Leonore no. 3?

3. For what purpose did Beethoven make these changes?

It is very important to remember that it is only the overtures being discussed here, and not the music within the opera itself. The overture only makes up a very small portion of the entire musical work, and therefore probably has an equally small, if not smaller, significance within the work, and does not really have any significance in respect to the drama. Because of this, it could be fair to say that the revision of Leonore no. 2 was more of a by-product of the larger scale revision, and that this
gave Beethoven an opportunity to take another look at the overture. Further, this might suggest that the overture was of little importance to Beethoven during the revision, understandably when one considers the problems of the rest of the opera.

It is also important to take care when removing any of the overtures from their corresponding mediums. Although there has always been a definite sense of separation between an opera and its overture, for example the 1814 premiere of Fidelio in which the Die Ruinen von Athen overture, Op. 113, was used, analysing the overture separately can cause one to forget its almost complete dependence on the parent opera. Also, Beethoven never actually discussed his own thoughts on the overtures he wrote for Leonore/Fidelio in any kind of detail, and only mentioned them in correspondence when he was going to write a new one. Whenever he mentioned Leonore/Fidelio, he was almost always referring to the main body of the opera – where all the important and noteworthy events occur.

3.3.1. Question 1: For what reasons might the original production of 1805, and Leonore no. 2, have been a failure?

Question 1 is perhaps the most complicated to answer. There are numerous reasons as to why the opera might have failed, some far less obvious than others, and none mutually-exclusive. Firstly, what were Beethoven’s own thoughts on these overtures? Did he not think the first overture was good enough, or was he merely experimenting with new ideas for the 1806 revision? Neither of these suggestions is immediately apparent just from analysing the scores. Also, Beethoven does not discuss any problems with no. 2, or any of the other overtures, in any of his correspondences. The reviews of the performances, however, do discuss the overtures. The Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 8 wrote on 8 January 1806 ‘The overture consists of a very long Adagio, which strays into all keys, whereupon an Allegro in C major enters, which likewise is not first rate, and which bears no comparison to other instrumental compositions by Beethoven’ (Senner,
The long Adagio is certainly apparent, more so when one considers the lack of a full recapitulation section, and hence a shortened sonata form. Although Table 2 shows that the introduction accounts for around ten percent of the total bars of no. 2, this does not consider the tempo of the introduction and therefore the actual performance duration of the piece. As a rough guide of the tempi that might have been used during the premieres of this piece in 1805, anywhere between the first 30% and 40% of modern recordings of Leonore no. 2 consist purely of the introduction. Perhaps upon hearing no. 2 during the premieres Beethoven understood the mistake he had made in terms of proportion, and this was the main factor for the major restructuring that created no. 3. It might be, however, unwise to assume that Beethoven was not aware of this imbalance he was creating with a long introduction and very short recapitulation. Beethoven was most likely experimenting with different structural ideas, swapping the order of the first and second subject statements of the recapitulation and overlapping the recapitulation with the coda. Just because the overture received criticism does not mean that Beethoven necessarily considered Leonore no. 2 a failure.

To make educated assumptions on reasons for Beethoven discarding Leonore no. 2, one could look at reviews of the subsequent overtures and versions of Leonore/Fidelio. For example, Leonore no. 3 is mentioned in the review Zeitung für die elegante Welt 6, being described as ‘displeasing, due to the ceaseless dissonances and the almost constant pretentious buzzing of the violins’ (Senner, 2001, p. 179). Because of the many similarities between Leonore no. 2 and no. 3, one might suggest that a similar review to this could have been written for no. 2, or at least the overture might have been negatively commented on in a similar way. Also, for both the 1806, cancelled 1807, and 1814 versions, Beethoven insisted that he write a new overture for each. This leads one to believe that Beethoven was not necessarily unhappy with the previous overtures, but that he felt inclined to write a new overture for a new version, rather than reuse an old overture for a new production.
As discussed in Section 1.1.1 (beginning p. 6), the situation of Vienna at the end of 1805 was tumultuous, to say the least. Having been delayed by a month due to censors, Leonore was premiered just after the surprise arrival of the Grande Armée in Vienna, and was performed on 20 November to mostly French officers, as well as to some of the critics who had not fled the city along with most of the population. Had there been no delay, and had the opera had been performed in October, might the original performances have been a success? It would seem most likely not, because the critics were still able to give their negative verdict on the performances. There must have been a reason for a work by Beethoven to be judged so harshly by every critic present whose accounts have been recorded. Beethoven, in his letters during this time, was far more concerned about the lack of rehearsal time of the orchestra, singers, and choir, which could well have been affected by the occupation of the French army. This is particularly understandable when one considers many of the aspects of difficulty in no. 2. These include the fast triplet quavers in the upper strings during tutti sections of the allegro (bb. 38-38, for example). Could a combination of difficult music and unrehearsed performers have led to a truly disastrous premiere?

The other issue was the drama, and in particular, the translation of Bouilly’s libretto that had been prepared by Joseph Sonnleithner. Already slow in dramatic pace, Sonnleithner extended the early sections further, with the addition of three numbers to the already steady first act: the canon quartet No. 3 ‘Mir ist so wunderbar’, ‘Ein Mann ist bald genommen’, and the trio No. 5 ‘Gut, Söhnchen, gu, hab’ immer Mut!’. The addition of Beethoven’s music, with its repetitious and elongated numbers, slowed the scenes further, hence the reflection in the reviews of the premiere: ‘the third act is very extensive, and the music, ineffective and full of repetitions’ (Senner, 2001, p. 172). The result of this was the shortening of the original three acts into two for the second (1806) version. Robinson (1996, p. 37) also points out that the more ‘leisurely’ concertante layout of solo violin and cello belongs more so in the Pre-Revolutionary rescue operas of Mozart’s Die Entführung.
3.3.2. Question 2: What did Beethoven change when revising Leonore no. 2 into Leonore no. 3?

Question 2 has largely been answered in the analysis of Section 3, and also at the beginning of Section 4. Despite strong similarities between Leonore no. 2 and no. 3, with many of the thematic ideas kept, there were many minuscule and inconspicuous changes made to all aspects of no. 3 that separate the two overtures. Below is a list of the main changes that Beethoven accomplished with his revision:

- Shortening of the introduction and exposition
- Lengthening of the recapitulation
- Completion of the standard recapitulation rotation
- Dramatic events from earlier sections moved into the recapitulation and coda
- Removal of needlessly difficult material

3.3.3. Question 3: For what purpose did Beethoven make these changes?

Question 3 involves combining the answers of the previous two questions, as well as information from the analysis of the two overtures and from the historical background of the opera. One aspect of this situation which could have had an effect on the composition and revision of these overtures is Beethoven’s interest and willingness to write them.

The main argument suggesting Beethoven’s concern for the overtures would be the intense detail and care that Beethoven put into the compositions, and revisions of later overtures, evident in the above analysis, not only making significant large-scale changes to the later sections of the overture, but many more smaller changes in all aspects of the music throughout Leonore no. 3. This would suggest that Beethoven felt that the overture served an important purpose in the opera and perhaps spent more time composing, or revising, it than Beethoven might have suggested in his letters when he specifically wanted to write it last of all, and very close to the performance (Beethoven &
Anderson, 1961, p. 141). Schindler (1966, p. 128) suggests that Beethoven might have only revised the overture because he had begun revising the rest of the opera, but claimed that the task was still important to Beethoven and he went to great lengths to improve it. (The discrepancy involving many of Schindler’s comments means that they should be taken with some degree of scepticism).

Schindler also discusses some of the reasons behind the changes. He suggests that ‘a considerable portion of this version [Leonore no. 2] was always spoiled by the woodwind’ (1966, p. 128). Here, he implies that the antiphonal passage for the woodwinds in the development of no. 2 (bb. 292-321) using the motifs (c) and (ci) is in fact too difficult, and that it was an ‘obstacle to good performance’. The woodwind parts in the new development in no. 3 could be described as easier than in no. 2, mostly due to longer note values. The two exceptions for this would be the bassoon joining the lower strings in playing (h3) during bb. 192-203, and the flute and bassoon duet during bb. 328-351. This would reinforce many of the comments one has made in this area about difficulty, in that changes might have been made purposefully for reducing difficulty.

Not only this, but Schindler suggests that the woodwind and strings were unable to play the running scales that start both codas (b. 433 in no. 2, b. 514 in no. 3), which must surely be an exaggeration. This may have resulted in the alteration that was discussed in the analysis of the coda: the presto marking was moved from the tutti entry of the coda (b. 443 in no. 2) to the beginning of the coda and of the scales (b. 514 in no. 3). Again, by placing the presto at the beginning of the section, it is now only the first violins that must adjust to the faster tempo rather than the entire orchestra having to adjust immediately after a difficult section.

We also see Beethoven simplifying the configuration of the horns. In no. 2, the two pairs of horns begin in E₃ and C, so that the E₃ horns can be used for the two main A₃ section during the introduction: the ‘Florestan’ melody (bb. 10-15) and the A₃ running scales of bb. 36-38, which are preceded by E₃ major and E₃7 chords. After the A₃ running scales, the E₃ horn is then changed to E, specifically at b. 41, to prepare for the beginning of the exposition in C major. In no. 3, Beethoven
foregoes this horn change by starting the pairs of horns in C and E, and using them more strategically. For example, the horns do not play during the ‘Florestan’ melody, where they would have much more difficulty manoeuvring around the key of Ab than the Eb horn did in no. 2. Where in no. 2 the E₃ horns simply play octave E₃s throughout the E₃7 – A₃ major cadence (bb. 34-40), in no. 3, the C horns play Es during the E minor and E diminished 7th areas (bb. 23-25). For the chords E₃7 and A₃ major (bb. 26 & 27), the C horns simply play G and C respectively, the mediants of both chords. The C horns then play as they were in no. 2 without the E horn having to retune to C.

Although this strategy removes the obstacle of retuning, one could argue that it is dissatisfactory to have the horns play the mediant of the chords during this area, and that playing the tonic and dominant of the chords during this cadence, as they do in no. 2, might be more timbrally favourable. The C horns in no. 2 are then able to take over whilst the E₃ horns retune at b. 41, leaving no gap in the horn part, and also sharing the load between both horn parties, rather than the E horns not playing during this section at all in no. 3 and only appearing next when the tutti first subject arrives in the exposition.

The changes to the ‘Florestan’ melody in both the aria ‘Gott, welch Dunkel hier!’ and the overtures from the 1805 version to the 1806 version again suggest Beethoven’s concern with the difficulties that the performers face with his music. As shown in Figure 1, and discussed in Section 3.2.1., the ‘Florestan’ melody is altered in a number of small ways from Leonore no. 2 to no. 3, being made shorter and using more stepwise movement as opposed to leaps. One reason for this change could be to make it easier for Florestan to sing in his aria ‘Gott, welch Dunkel hier!’ Wigmore (2009), discussing Friedrich Christian (also known as Fritz) Demmer, who played Florestan in the original 1805 version, suggests that Beethoven was dissatisfied with his performance, and thus gave the role to Röckel in 1806. It may have been that Beethoven made changes to the solo line of this aria because he felt that it was too difficult, resulting in the ‘Florestan’ melody being slightly altered in the 1806 version. A similar situation involved Anna Milder-Hauptmann, who sang Leonore in the premieres of all three versions, and who demanded Beethoven to write a simplified version of her
aria (presumably ‘Ach, brich noch nicht, du mattes Herz’) because she refused to go on stage with the aria Beethoven had wrote for her (Robinson, 1996, p. 146).

Despite many large and small-scale changes, *Leonore* no. 2 and no. 3 are very similar to one another both on the page and to the ear. It may have taken Beethoven a full revision of the opera for him to realise that these two overtures are not only too substantial in length, but also reveal much of the opera’s plot. Many writers, such as Robinson (1996), believe that it was these foreshadowings of the narrative that was the downfall of the opera, and why both overtures were critiqued so harshly in their first few performances. Robinson also believes that the *Leonore* overtures not only reveal too much of the story, but are too dramatically weighty; *Leonore* no. 3’s ‘massive stature throws much that follows into shadow’ (Robinson, 1996, p. 45). Tovey agreed, and felt that despite Beethoven ‘raising it [Leonore no. 3] to one of the greatest instrumental compositions in existence’, he ensured that the overture would ‘absolutely kill the first act’ (Tovey, 1972, p. 31).

In review of all the information, it must be decided that the weaknesses within the drama, caused by the much-criticised libretto of Joseph Sonnleithner, was the main cause for the failure of the three performances of the first version of *Leonore*. Critics from the premiere up to the modern day point out the extreme use of repetition, mediocrity, and lack of original flair, particularly in the uneventful first act. By the second version of 1806, every number that had not been removed had been shortened by at least some amount, and three acts had been merged into two.

The idea that the invasion of Vienna by the French army days before the premiere seriously affected the reception (p. 5) does not carry enough weight, when many critics were still able to watch the opera. The invasion was non-violent, this time, and although many of the noble classes fled to their other properties out of fear, most of the population remained, and there were very few problems whilst the French stayed. Many of the same critics attended the premiere of the 1806 version and were able to report the improvements Beethoven had made since the first version.
The main downfall of *Leonore* no. 2 itself is perhaps its dramatic pacing, with such a long introduction and a shortened ending. We must not, however, presume that Beethoven was not aware of this, as he was clearly experimenting with form during the recapitulation. Although the quality of the playing or singing of the orchestra or singers is not discussed in any of the reviews for this version, it could be assumed that the musicians were not as prepared as they could have been. Most of the difficulty changes should be thought of more so as by-products created passively whilst Beethoven was revising the overture. Many of the changes, it seems, were made to remove unnecessary difficulties, such as the triplet quavers of the first violins, often found during the first subject, which were made into regular quavers.

I believe that this dissertation has cleared some of the ambiguity surrounding the first version of *Leonore* and its overture, and has put forth some new ideas on the subject. I also believe it has brought together various sources on the subject, such as those involving the historical background of the opera, as well as analytical studies of the overtures. In this way, I have been able to make informed decisions on questions which have previously gone unanswered.

3.4. Future Research

For research endeavours which travel into similar areas as this dissertation, there are various paths which could be taken, and which have not been covered here due to the nature of one’s research questions. The first might be looking more in detail at the opera itself, and to track its journey through the many revisions it has taken. The narrative changed drastically from the first version to the current *Fidelio*, as many of the unnecessary and ridiculous ideas taken from Bouilly’s libretto were removed. Another idea might be looking in depth at the political situation in Vienna and the surrounding areas, involving the Napoleonic Wars and its influence on the arts. This wave of French arts brought with it *Opéra comique*, which became the fashion in central Europe. One more aspect which is very clearly neglected (although perhaps for obvious reasons) is the cancelled 1807 Prague version, complete with the overture *Leonore* no. 1. This mysterious version appears almost nowhere
in any sources, and the details of the opera are even more obscure. Some writers suggest that some minor changes had been made to this version from the second version of 1806, but there is almost no way of knowing exactly what they are, as Beethoven does not discuss any of these changes or any other information on this production.
4. Reference List


