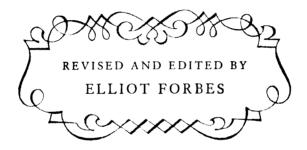
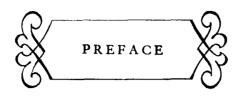


THAYER'S LIFE OF BEETHOVEN



PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS



IT IS interesting to compare the early biographical histories of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven; their patterns have such similarities. First a necrology or hastily assembled biographical book at the time of death: for Mozart, Schlichtegroll's Nekrolog auf das Jahr Siebzehn Hundert Einundneunzig; for Haydn, Mayr's Brevi notizie in 1809; and Schlösser's inaccurate Beethoven in 1827. Then come the worked-out biographical notices by those who knew their subject or one close to him. Mozart's Czech friend Němeček published his Leben in 1708; there was also Von Nissen, Constance Mozart's second husband, who did not complete his biography until thirty years later. In the case of Haydn, three biographies appeared written by men each of whom had had talks with Haydn during his last years. In 1810 appeared Biographische Nachrichten by the painter Dies and Biographische Notizen by the legation officer Griesinger; two years later, the writer Carpani published his Le Haydine in Milan.

It was not until eleven years after Beethoven's death that his old Bonn friend Dr. Franz Wegeler and his student Ferdinand Ries got together to publish their joint Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven. Two years later appeared Anton Schindler's Biographie, a work which assumes a central position in considering the origin of Thayer's Life of Beethoven.

A parallel in the biographical history of these three composers can be made through one more stage. The definitive biography was written, but the respective author's work was followed in each case by the editorial revision of others, which changed the nature of the original literary work. Jahn had his Deiters and Abert; Pohl his Botstiber; and Thayer his Deiters, Riemann, and Krehbiel. The original biographical works appeared as follows: Jahn, 1856-1859 in four volumes; Thayer translated by Deiters, 1866-1879 in three volumes; and Pohl, 1875-1882 in two volumes. Here the comparison ends. For Jahn had completed the account of Mozart's life and Abert's revision of 1919-1921 turned out to be a new book with new analytical insight into the various approaches to the music, based only in part on the research of Jahn. Pohl, on the other hand, had succeeded in bringing Haydn's life only as far as the year 1790, and Botstiber's third volume in 1927 was a necessary completion of this life, and was based on the material that Pohl had left.

Thayer's Life of Beethoven has had a much more complicated history. Like Pohl, he did not live to see his work completed, but succeeded in

bringing Beethoven's life up to the year 1817. For the writing of the last ten years of Beethoven's life, he left a rich collection of source material, including transcriptions he had made in Berlin of the surviving Conversation Books. But Thayer, although accomplished in German, did not feel confident as to the manner of presentation for a German-reading public. Therefore he chose his friend, Hermann Deiters—the same who reedited Jahn's great work for its third and fourth editions—to translate his English text into German and use it as he thought best. The first result of this collaboration was an edition of the work actually completed by Thayer in three volumes appearing in 1866, 1872 and 1879—that is, Beethoven's life through 1816. The first volume bears a dedication: "To Mrs. Mehetabel Adams (of Cambridge in Massachusetts) and Lowell Mason, Doctor of Music, (of South Orange in New Jersey) this German edition of a work, the researches for which they so essentially aided, is inscribed by The Author." Increasing ill health, which had been bothering Thayer since 1852, was responsible for the fatal delay of the work to follow; he died in 1807 at the age of eighty with no more of his life's work in print. Deiters was left with the Thayer papers. He decided first to bring out a revision of Volume I, which appeared in 1901. Then he set out to bring Beethoven's life to a conclusion. The advance sheets of Volume IV were in his hands when he died in 1907. This brought the life to the year 1823. Breitkopf and Härtel meanwhile had purchased the copyright from the original publisher, Weber, and then chose Hugo Riemann to complete the job. Volumes IV and V were brought out in 1907-1908, Volumes II and III reedited in 1910-1911, and a new revision of Volume I appeared in 1917.

From the start, Thayer had wanted to bring out his work in English but felt that for two reasons this could not be done right away: first, he was unable to oversee the printing in his native land; and second, at that time it was not customary to publish works of this kind serially in English. But by the time Riemann was at work, a demand for scholarly books on music was growing in America, and Thayer's niece, Mrs. Jabez Fox, persuaded Henry Edward Krehbiel to undertake the job. Krehbiel's aim was to base the English *Life of Beethoven* as much as possible on the original Thayer manuscript from which Deiters had worked. For the last ten years of Beethoven's life he felt as free as his German counterpart to choose his own method of presenting the material. The result was Krehbiel's English version, which was published by the Beethoven Association of New York in 1921.

We must now take up the life of the author and the circumstances which persuaded him to undertake this great task in the first place.

Thanks to the archives in the Beethoven-Haus at Bonn, a short sketch of Thayer's life in his own words has been preserved in the form of a letter written to Deiters on August 1, 1878. This is the year before the appearance of Volume III of the first edition.

I have received several requests to furnish materials for a sketch of my biography! I shall give you some particulars and refer the applicants to you. Perhaps you can earn a few marks in this way—

Father. Alexander Thayer, a physician and surgeon of great talents and skill, but he died too young to have attained more than local fame. He lived in South Natick in the state of Massachusetts, where he died in 1824.

Mother. Susanna Bigelow, died 1845.

My Thayer ancestor came from England to Massachusetts as early as 1636, my Bigelow ancestor in 1629—so that I am descended from two of the very oldest Anglo-American families.

I am the eldest of three children—two sons and a daughter—the latter died in 1844—I was born at South Natick, October 17, 1817.

Education. Public schools at Natick.

Academy (quasi Gymnasium) Andover.

Harvard University, Cambridge. I graduated from the college in 1843, was there three years as assistant in the University Library, and graduated from the University Law School in 1848. In the summer of 1848 I was employed in the United States Geological Survey of the copper mine district around Lake Superior.

In 1845, while employed in the library, I thought of preparing an American edition [Umarbeitung] of the English translation of Schindler's book on Beethoven; and some volumes which I imported from England for this purpose bear my date of receiving them as 1846. In April, 1849 I sailed for Europe.

From May to October I was in Bonn studying German and collecting facts on Beethoven. I supported myself in part by writing letters for American newspapers. In October I went to Berlin where I was most of the time until the spring of 1851. That year I went to Vienna for a short time and afterwards to the great London Exhibition. As I had no more money to remain in Europe, I returned to America in a sailing vessel from Bremen, arriving in New York in November, 1851.

By various kinds of literary labor I paid my debts and supported myself until the summer of 1852, when I took a position on the editorial staff of the great newspaper, the New York Tribune.

My duties were at night, and my health failed, and from that time to this I have lived in almost constant suffering with my head. I overworked my brain on that newspaper and have never recovered.

In the summer of 1854, I returned to Berlin to work out a plan I had now formed of a pretty exhaustive biography of Beethoven for *American* (not for German) readers, with the hope of supporting myself by writing for the Tribune and one or two other papers. I studied the Beethoven Conversation Books and all the materials then in the Royal Library. But the sickness in my head became very bad again, and after several months of incapacity for labor, I went back to America (Spring of 1856), as my Berlin friends believed—to die!

In the autumn of 1856 I had a long and severe illness—fever—I was an invalid from August to December. In 1857 I had earned a small sum of money to bring me back to my Beethoven work in Germany. One day in New York I learned

that the man who had had this money in his hands was bankrupt! I was left with about f_2 sterling in my possession.

By the aid of the gentleman and lady to whom my Beethoven biography is dedicated, I was enabled to return to Europe in August, 1858.

I remained in Berlin the following winter laboring hard; in the summer of 1859 I went to Vienna—Autumn of 1860, Bonn, thence to Paris, thence to London—I returned in August to Vienna, where I was employed in the American Legation. I remained in that position until the end of 1864 when I moved to Trieste and assumed the function of U.S. Consul on January 1, 1865.

My writings have been almost exclusively for periodicals and most of all, newspapers; especially for Dwight's Journal of Music and the New York Tribune. Several articles—Beethoven, Bach, Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Gluck—in Appleton's American Encyclopedia are by me. A volume (small one) of musical novelettes in English, my *Chron. Verzeichniss* of Beethoven's works, and the two volumes of his biography are my printed volumes.

If you prepare anything about me, please note that I was the first person ever to use Beethoven's Sketch Books for chronology, as well as the first to seek out old advertisements and the like.— The fact that the Chronologisches Verzeichniss was in part intended as a basis for the researches of others should also be noted. What is surprising is this: that so very much has proved to be correct.

Thayer showed an early inclination for serious writing. At Harvard he won the Boylston Prize for an essay on tendencies in modern philosophy. Later he was to write an anti-slavery story and a scientific study on "The Hebrews and the Red Sea." Meanwhile, Thayer had developed a love of music, first as a singer of hymns and glees in his native Natick, then through his own research, a project compiling a volume of New England Psalmody from 1620 to 1800, which was never published. He read Schindler's Beethoven biography as translated by Moscheles and compared it with Edward Holmes's Life of Mozart (New York, 1845) and found the latter a good example of a composer's biography in English. He was to do battle with Schindler's writings and theories until the end of his life, and his point of view may be summed up by a gem from a contribution to Dwight's Journal (IV, p. 165): "An ounce of historical accuracy is worth a pound of rhetorical flourish."

During his graduate years at Harvard, Thayer was struck by the discrepancies between the reminiscences of Anton Schindler, on the one hand, and the biographical notices of Ferdinand Ries and Franz Wegeler on the other. Wegeler, through their common friends, the Breunings, had known Beethoven up to the age of 19 in Bonn, and was in close touch with him again during the first two Vienna years, that is, until October, 1794. Ries's family were also from Bonn, and he became Beethoven's pupil in Vienna for a few years until he had to leave in 1805 for service in the army. He returned for two years in 1808. Schindler, on the other hand, while he met

Beethoven in 1814, did not become his close associate until 1822. Schindler's quickly formed ambition to become Beethoven's official secretary, helper and spokesman-a claim to fame that he clung to until his death in 1864was threatened by the younger Karl Holz, to whom Beethoven was attracted in the last two years of his life-a cheerier, more imaginative companion than the bluff, serious Schindler. Thayer noticed not only the inconsistencies in available sources concerning Beethoven's life but also that Schindler in his preface lashed out against the recently published Notizen by Ries and criticized him for representing Beethoven's character in such rough terms ("so schroff"). Beethoven was Schindler's own hero, and nothing deprecatory about him was to be said by others. The historian in Thayer was awakened, and he determined to bring Schindler's biography, the Notizen of Wegeler and Ries and other material from English sources into an ordered, connected account. But the more he got into the project the more it fascinated him, and he soon realized that to pursue this aim satisfactorily, he would have to get at original sources in Europe. The trials that he underwent in this labor have already been reviewed in his own words.

Thayer's material came from these different sources: court records (particularly at Düsseldorf), contemporary notices and accounts, Beethoven's own documents-letters, sketches, memoranda, and Conversation Books-and reminiscences from anyone he could visit who had been in any way associated with Beethoven or had personal recollection of him. While he was continuing his research, a body of literature more fanciful than anything written by Schindler had sprung up concerning Beethoven's life. This German prose provided a strange contrast to the careful, methodical first volume of text which, still in English, Thayer handed over to Deiters in 1865 to be translated and edited. In a letter to his collaborator he stated his principle: "I fight for no theories and cherish no prejudices; my sole point of view is the truth.... I have resisted the temptation to discuss the character of his (B's) works and to make such a discussion the foundation of historical speculation, preferring to leave such matters to those who have a greater predilection for them. It appears to me that Beethoven the composer is amply known through his works and in this assumption the long and wearisome labors of so many vears were devoted to Beethoven the man."

Unlike Jahn, then, Thayer was concerned only with the facts about Beethoven, the man and his music, not with analytical interpretation of the music, or even the external description of the construction of the music, as in the case of Pohl. Thayer's area of interpretation was with the relative validity of the evidence he was using, which he tried to judge as objectively as possible. Further, he was concerned with factual information in depth. He did not start with the year 1770, but with the history of the Bonn Court for a century before, not with the members of the Breuning family per se, but with a sketch of their past and their position in Bonn society.

Now we may consider why there is need for a new edition of Thayer when other biographies such as Jahn and Pohl are allowed to rest as they are. These other biographies are more nearly period pieces in that they represent a combination of biographical and musical thinking of their period, or periods as in the case of Pohl-Botstiber. But inasmuch as Thayer's work is primarily the orderly organization of documentation, with judgments concerning the trustworthiness of the varying types of evidence, the only element that may be called dated in his writing is its style. Meanwhile, the inaccuracies that Beethoven research of the last thirty years has disclosed in the texts of both Thayer-Deiters and Thayer-Krehbiel call for correction in the very spirit of Thayer's original inquiry.

However, there is a school of thought in this field that maintains: if the text needs to be revised, and if what is left is in the style of the mid-nine-teenth century, why not rewrite the whole biography? The answer is, first, that Thayer's literary work is a classic in its field and should be preserved, and, second, that his method in Beethoven biography, so revolutionary in his day, is now not only accepted but is in tune with the spirit of contemporary research in this field.

However, to distinguish between what is real Thayer and what is the work of his editors, is not always easy because of the deplorable fact that after Krehbiel's use of the Thayer papers in the first part of this century they disappeared—whether destroyed or mislaid we do not know. Of their history we know only the following facts. When Thayer died in 1897, his belongings were shipped to America. His niece, Mrs. Fox of Cambridge, asked Mr. Krehbiel, who had been in correspondence with Thayer for the last ten years, to take charge of sifting the material in his papers. What was needed for completion of the German edition of the biography was sent back to Dr. Deiters in 1898. There the bulk of the papers remained until Riemann had first completed the editing of Volumes IV and V in 1907-1908 following Deiters' death, and then the reediting of Volumes II and III for a second edition in 1910-1911. Krehbiel acquired them again, and his work was virtually completed in 1914; but World War I, plus complications with publishers, postponed the printing of his edition until 1921. At this point, the situation becomes unclear. Mrs. Fox's daughter, Gertrude Behr of Tamworth, New Hampshire remembers several boxes and packing cases of her great-uncle's papers in Cambridge. In 1953 the late Miss Helen Krehbiel. daughter of the editor, wrote that since she was not living at home at the time of her father's death, she did not know how her step-mother had disposed of the papers, but "merely signed whatever she asked, as the Thayer Beethoven went from one owner to another. There were papers, boxes of them, notes, conversation books etc." Unfortunately, the legal files of the estate of the widow, Mrs. Marie Krehbiel, have all been destroyed. Krehbiel's Beethoven library was left to the Beethoven Association in New York

upon his death in 1923. When this society disbanded in 1940, its collection of books was left to the New York Public Library. Neither in the 125th St. Warehouse, nor in the old Beethoven Room (alas, no more in existence), nor in the basement vaults of the Library, have these boxes shown up. All that is left of the papers is a loose-sheet draft of the Thayer-Krehbiel collaboration, consisting of some sheets in Thayer's handwriting, some with Krehbiel's writing pasted over parts or all of them, and the rest in Krehbiel's own characteristic red ink.

Thayer's own ideas as to editorial procedure and Deiters' response to them are represented in the Foreword to Volume I of the first edition, in the form of a letter from author to translator and a reply from translator to author. We have already quoted from the first, in which Thayer makes clear that he is concerned with the facts about Beethoven, the man. In an earlier paragraph, he states that in writing his English text he had an Englishspeaking public in mind who knew little about Germany and the history of her music, and that he therefore expected Deiters to select from this mass of material what was appropriate for German readers. Deiters in his reply asserts that German readers can also derive benefit from Thaver's historical survey that precedes the life proper. Thayer pleads that, as he called it, "fine writing" in connection with the facts be sacrificed in favor of presentation of their documentation. He asks that a distinction be made between his own words and Deiters' additions and that the former be used literally. The close degree to which Deiters was faithful to Thayer in the presentation of the early years can be checked by comparing the first German edition with those passages that Krehbiel retained in his presentation of an edition based on Thaver's original text. By implication this comparison also shows the extent to which Krehbiel trimmed Thayer's original bulk of documentation. But, when in 1901 Deiters brought out the second edition of Volume I, he could no longer resist the temptation mentioned by Thayer, namely to describe the music or as he put it, "supply a short passage concerning the characteristics of individual works." These passages at any rate can be safely identified as non-Thayer.

Where Riemann expanded this feature of discussions of compositions as he went along, Krehbiel rejected it throughout. In addition, he deleted rather than added historical detail, the opposite of what had been suggested by Thayer as appropriate for American readers—but then this was 1914 and not 1865.

When we consider the last ten years of Beethoven's life, the problem of interpreting what is original Thayer becomes much more complicated. Since Thayer left only a mass of notes, now lost, each editor was on his own. The difference has been summarized by Krehbiel in the Introduction to his edition: "Being as free as the German editors in respect to the portion of

the biography which did not come directly from the pen of Thayer, the editor of this English edition chose his own method of presentation touching the story of the last decade of Beethoven's life, keeping in view the greater clearness and rapidity of narrative which, he believes, would result from a grouping of material different from that followed by the German editors in their adherence to the strict chronological method established by Thayer."

This decision results in a certain amount of confusion to the reader and therefore has not been followed by the present editor. Let us cite an outstanding example. In his account of the years 1824-1826, Krehbiel writes about all aspects of the composer's life except that concerning his troubled relationship with his nephew. This account includes the period at Gneixendorf in the fall of 1826, which preceded Beethoven's last illness. This trip to his brother Johann's estate in the country was undertaken solely because Karl, the nephew, had a head wound caused by an attempt at suicide; and Beethoven and Breuning (who was now co-guardian) did not think it wise to be in Vienna under these circumstances. But only after Beethoven has reached Gneixendorf is the reader let in on the background of the crisis that made this move necessary. Then he is taken back to late 1823, from which time the growing state of attrition between uncle and nephew is traced up to the dramatic climax of a suicide attempt.

The editorial problem in handling Beethoven's last years may be further illuminated by considering the existing representations of Beethoven's relations with his close associates. Wegeler and Ries have very little to offer concerning this period; Schindler a great deal—plus the Conversation Books that Schindler allowed to survive. Added to this is the interesting little book by Stephen von Breuning's son, Gerhard, who was a young boy at the bedside of Beethoven in his last illness, a book entitled *Aus dem Schwarz-spanierhause*.

Schindler, in his effort to be Beethoven's right-hand man, resented anyone who threatened this position: the young Karl Holz, brother Johann, and also nephew Karl, who, by 1824, was included in decision-making councils and often burdened by his uncle with secretarial jobs. One of Thayer's great labors in the writing of the later years was to correct the prejudices and the consequent slantings of Schindler. In an address which Thayer gave to the Schillerverein in Trieste, later published in book form (Ein kritischer Beitrag zur Beethoven-Literatur [Berlin, 1877]), he disclosed how Schindler and all the pseudo-biographers that followed in his wake have misrepresented Johann's feelings toward his famous brother by painting him as one utterly callous to the needs of Ludwig. The matter of the latter's lodging in rooms next to his brother in the spring of 1822, which Schindler described as "so dark that they are hardly fit for a cobbler," provides a case in point. Both Beethoven's letters to his brother and excerpts from the Conversation Books show clearly that the rooms finally settled upon

were of his own choice. The point is that in this and other matters Schindler had evidence that he did not care to investigate or to use. His diatribes against Beethoven's relatives and associates had had a vast effect which Thayer felt he had to answer by extensive dialectic.

Now, the matter of Beethoven's relation to his nephew is not so completely set to rights. What Thayer left in the way of complete notes and a guide to their treatment can only be guessed. Deiters takes a fairly lofty position and sympathizes along the way with the boy's duress, but implies that really he was a pretty shallow wayward person. Krehbiel warms to his subject and gives a rather subjective interpretation of the relationship; the more he writes the angrier he gets as he visualizes Beethoven's sufferings. Thus his presentation lacks the objectivity of a Thayer and ignores evidence that shows that some of the notions concerning Karl's behavior cannot withstand close scrutiny without comment concerning extenuating circumstances. The pitfall, of course, is that in presenting the evidence from the Conversation Books we usually have only one side of the conversations recorded (except in public places, where Beethoven sometimes did resort to writing his part, as he could not judge the volume of his own voice). Thus Krehbiel, let us say, can slant the probable gist of Beethoven's remarks one way to support his convictions, while the Sterbas in their recent controversial book, Beethoven and His Nephew, can slant it just the opposite.

The present editor has attempted to sustain Thayer's manner strictly in the treatment of the final years: that is, to guide the reader to the matter at hand by presenting all pertinent evidence in chronological order as objectively as possible so that the reader may make his own value judgment in each case as fairly as possible.

The work for the present revision of the Thayer text has taken the following form. First, a full comparison of all the German texts with the English was made, then the documentary material from all these sources worth including was chosen. Wherever the information to be included was clearly the contribution of Deiters, Riemann, or Krehbiel, it has been so indicated. However, the majority of the text used consists of the coordinated treatment of Thayer's notes and manuscript by these three editors, and this material represents the Urtext of the present edition. It was found to be impractical to make distinctions in the text between those portions which are to be found only in the German edition and those which are common to both. To have done so would have impaired its readability, interrupted the flow, and needlessly confused the reader. However, it is necessary that the reader know what additions and corrections of the text are the work of the present editor. For this purpose a printer's sign, — A has been used to mark off these passages and distinguish them clearly from the Urtext.

Before examining the method of presenting new material, a word more must be said on the problem of handling Thayer's material. It has been

{ xiii }

necessary to delete some portions of his text because recent Beethoven research has proved them inaccurate, but a number of other passages have been deleted because they are now redundant. For Thayer, at the time that he was preparing his work, was trying to set the record straight concerning Beethoven's life to counteract not only Schindler, whose revised third edition had appeared in 1860 with further inconsistencies, but Lenz (Beethoven-eine Kunststudie-Part 1 concerning the life, in 1855), Oulibischev (Beethoven, ses Critiques et ses Glossateurs, 1857), Marx (Ludwig van Beethovens Leben und Schaffen, 1850), and finally Nohl (Beethovens Leben, Volume I of which came out in 1864). Only Nohl had come up with new material based on work with newspapers, almanacs, court calendars, etc. As a result there is a certain amount of Thayer that is concerned with false arguments followed by his counter-arguments, all of which is of no interest to the present-day reader, since the falsehoods that had been perpetuated until the appearance of his own biography have been refuted repeatedly since then.

Here seems to be the best place to give an explanation of the so-called Fischoff Manuscript. This manuscript is a collection of some sixty pages of miscellaneous Beethoven notices, which Thaver had summed up in his aforementioned letter to Dr. Deiters (in the Preface to the first German edition) in the following way. Its importance lies first in the copies it contains of a great number of letters and documents that have no longer survived; second, in a great number of notes, remarks, and memoranda and their particular order; and third, some personal reminiscences of Beethoven's friend Zmeskall von Domanovecz, which, while they show the uncertainty of the author's memory after thirty-five years, nevertheless make a very interesting and worthwhile supplement to the knowledge of Beethoven's first years in Vienna. Furthermore, the manuscript has been assembled from the few printed sources existing in the years 1830-1837. The material was left to the composer's nephew Karl, and after his death in 1858 to his widow Caroline. She lent the greater part of the collection to an unknown person who sold it for his own profit! But luckily, Karl's guardian, Jacob Hotschevar, had previously made a copy of the material to which he added some anecdotes and the like. This copy, which is all that has survived, appears to have been given to Joseph Fischoff, Professor in the Vienna Conservatory of Music. After his death in 1857, it passed through the hands of the music dealer, Julius Friedländer, who sold it to the Berlin Library in 1859. As material received second hand, the history of which was imperfectly known, Thayer urged caution in its use for establishing biographical fact.

A comparison of the German and English editions shows a certain amount of difference in the order in which material is presented in the later years. As we have said, this difference becomes marked in the presentation of the last ten years of Beethoven's life. The present editor has rearranged the order

of some portions of the text for greater readability. These changes have been necessary both because new material has been woven into the old and because portions of the old text concerned with what is now useless dialectic have been deleted. The basis for this rearrangement is the presentation of the material in the strict chronological order of Thayer's original concept. Thus the genesis of the composition of the Missa Solemnis is presented in the chapter of 1819 and not delayed as in the German edition until 1823. Each of the later chapters concludes with a list of the works composed and published in that given year. An indispensable aid in the preparation of these lists as well as the list of posthumous first publications in Appendix D has of course been the Thematisches Verzeichnis of Georg Kinsky, completed by Hans Halm.

Unless otherwise indicated, the quotations in the text from the sketch-books are those from past editions. After the path-breaking contribution by Nottebohm to the deciphering and interpretation of the sketchbooks, an ideal editorial standard for their publication was established by Karl Lothar Mikulicz in his edition of the so-called Landsberg Sketchbook. This has been followed by the fine Beethoven-Haus (Bonn) sketchbook editions under the editorship of Joseph Schmidt-Görg and Dagmar Weise, and most recently the so-called Wielhorsky Sketchbook edition by Nathan Fishman. For the chronological implications of these sketchbooks I am in debt to such scholars as Max Unger, and for the continuing discovery of new works and different versions of old ones to a number of others, and in particular, to Willy Hess.

The readings of the Conversation Books have been checked with the partial three volume edition of Georg Schünemann and cross references to this source have been supplied. His indications of separate entries—between which there were presumably replies by Beethoven—have been followed and indicated by the sign . The work of Theodor von Frimmel in almost all areas of Beethoven biography has been a basic source for the revisions of the text, as has been the research of Donald W. MacArdle.

Three important contributions to our knowledge of Beethoven's correspondence have been Max Unger's Ludwig van Beethoven und seine Verleger, Oscar Sonneck's Beethoven Letters in America and New Beethoven Letters edited by Donald W. MacArdle and Ludwig Misch. A complete understanding of this area has been made possible by the exhaustive research of Emily Anderson, which resulted in her definitive three-volume work, The Letters of Beethoven.

It was the privilege of this editor to work with the late Miss Anderson in her home in Hampstead, England, in the spring of 1953, and she most kindly allowed the checking of the letters translated by Krehbiel against her reading of the original German text. These translations have been revised where necessary. Beethoven's characteristic use of dashes and underlinings (indicated by italics) has been observed throughout. Since

Thayer's wish was to represent a document in full wherever possible, a few letters that are given in substantial form in an older edition have been given in their complete form without the addition of the sign which denotes my own contributions.

The aim in the preparation of this edition has been to present Thayer's Life of Beethoven to an English-reading public as I believe he would have wanted it, using all the new research on Beethoven that Thayer would have used himself had it been available. In the text to follow, the word writer or author refers to Thayer, the word editor always the present editor. Inevitably, a fine line has had to be drawn between significant corrections which are indicated as the editor's and insignificant ones, which are not so indicated and which undoubtedly would have been made by the author were he living today. These latter come from misprints, simple inaccuracies due to our present-day knowledge of the available data, the need for more complete source identifications, and the necessity for adjusting the spelling of certain words to correspond with present-day usage. The spelling in documents and letters has been made to correspond with that of the original as nearly as possible. The spelling of proper names and geographical places in the narrative has necessitated a compromise for the sake of uniformity and hence, clarity. For locations, the spelling most commonly used today has been adopted. A proper name like Razumovsky may be found in a number of different forms, and the choice of spelling must be based on that in most common usage in Beethoven's time. A further refinement is made in the case of the name of Beethoven's nephew. Since his uncle usually spelled his name Karl, the name of the boy's father appears consistently as Carl Caspar for the sake of clear distinction.

Footnotes have been limited to source identification wherever possible. Lengthy footnotes in the Krehbiel edition have either been added to the text, to the appendix, or omitted. Footnote material drawn from past editions is followed by the source in parentheses; any other material is the editor's. Since the footnotes in the German editions are more complete than in the English, these have been the basis for citation except in cases where the English edition has supplied new information. In certain cases, the footnote material in the present edition has been drawn from the main text of past editions and is so indicated. In the rare case where a footnote reference has been inaccurate in the German edition, the cross reference has not been made. Occasionally, material from past editions has formed the basis for my additions to the main text. If this addition has been essentially rewritten, it is indicated as my own; such a case is the discussion of the Diabelli Variations in Chapter 36, where in footnotes 64 and 74 the references to the German edition are given.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to those who helped prepare this edition: to Professor Oliver Strunk, who invited me to undertake the task and offered encouragement at every phase of the work; to the late Professor

Erich Hertzmann, whom I consulted early and often as to how to proceed; to Donald W. MacArdle, who was generous in offering the assistance of his own wide knowledge and experience in the field and the use of his valuable abstracts of periodical writings; to the late Miss Emily Anderson as already noted; to Professor Joseph Schmidt-Görg and Dr. Dagmar Weise, who gave me cordial assistance in Bonn; to Professor Otto Erich Deutsch, who offered counsel in the undertaking of research in Vienna; to the late Kurt Smolle, who kindly offered a copy of his findings concerning the succession of Beethoven's residences; to Dr. L. Ashby Adams, who evaluated the evidence concerning Beethoven's deafness; to Professor and Mrs. Arthur Mendel, who were kind enough to be readers of early chapters; to Professor Lewis Lockwood, who gave valuable suggestions after reading the entire text; and to Mrs. William Hanle, of the Princeton University Press, who with fine patience, wisdom, and humor has shepherded the text into print.

Lastly, an expression of profound gratitude goes to Kathleen A. Forbes, my wife, who not only typed all the drafts of this edition, but also offered constant editorial assistance through every phase of its preparation.

Elliot Forbes Cambridge, Mass. January, 1964.

NOTE TO THE REVISED EDITION

Since the printing of the first edition, there has come to light the welcome news of the discovery of the tomb of Alexander Wheelock Thayer. This editor received a letter dated November 24, 1964, from John P. Sabec, a member of the local staff of the Trieste American Consulate, which describes the event. In the course of studying the history of the American Consulate in Trieste, Mr. Sabec read in a book, *Trieste and America* by Oscar d'Incontrera, that Thayer had been buried in Trieste. With Vice Consul Samuel E. Fry, he set out thereupon to find the grave. A search through the Anglican cemetery and the nearby Evangelical cemetery produced no results. Finally Mr. Sabec persuaded Mr. d'Incontrera, who had seen the grave, to revisit the plot, and the tomb was rediscovered. It was located at the lowest level of the Evangelical cemetery, hidden from view by a thick growth of ivy.

Mr. Sabec's concern did not stop there, for he discovered that the lease on the tomb had expired and that unless funds were forthcoming the tomb-

¹ See Kenneth E. Linlithgow and John P. Sabec, "Thayer Centenary" in *Foreign Service Journal* (January, 1966), pp. 34-36.

stone would be removed and reused. The present editor was able to put him in touch with Mrs. Gertrude Behr, the grandniece of Thayer, in Tamworth, New Hampshire, who has generously supplied the money for the back rent and for forty years future lease on the burial plot. Meanwhile the Evangelical community has rebuilt the leaning retaining wall behind the tomb and will undertake the continuing preservation of this historic grave.

On Memorial Day, 1965, there was held a commemoration ceremony at the tomb. To the original inscription, "Alexander Wheelock Thayer—born in Natick, Mass. U S A, October 22, 1817—Died in Trieste, Austria—July 15, 1897" were added the two lines, "Biographer of Ludwig van Beethoven" and "American Consul in Trieste 1865-1882."

A number of corrections have been made in the text of this edition and a few translations improved. Also the index has been thoroughly revised in attempt at greater completion.

The editor would like to thank the following people for helpful suggestions which have come either from letters or from printed reviews of the first edition: Norman C. Brennan, Alfred Frankenstein, Lewis Kandel, the late Donald W. MacArdle, Ludwig Misch, Walter L. Strauss, and Alan Tyson. Most of all, thanks go to my wife, who has done a substantial share of the work.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A Emily Anderson, Letters of Beethoven. Three volumes. London, 1961.
- AMZ Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung. Leipzig. Also referred to as Allg. Mus. Zeit.
- Beeth. Gustav Nottebohm, Beethoveniana. Leipzig, 1872.
- II Beeth. Gustav Nottebohm, Zweite Beethoveniana. Leipzig, 1887.
- BJ Beethovenjahrbuch, Theodor von Frimmel, editor. Two volumes. Leipzig, 1908-1909.

 Beethoven-Jahrbuch, Paul Mies and Joseph Schmidt-Görg, editors. Volumes 1953/54, 1955/56, 1957/58, 1959/60.
- Biographie Anton Schindler, Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven. Third edition, two volumes in one. Münster, 1860. Anton Schindler, Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven, first edition, Münster, 1840, is occasionally cited and is indicated by Biographie, 1840 or first edition.
- DM Die Musik. Berlin and Leipzig.
- FRBH Theodor von Frimmel, Beethoven-Handbuch. Two volumes. Leipzig, 1926.
- GA Beethovens Werhe. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Twenty-five volumes. Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig, 1866-1868, 1888. Also referred to as Collected Works Edition.
- Kerst Friedrich Kerst, editor, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven*. Two volumes. Stuttgart, 1913.
- KHV Georg Kinsky, Das Werk Beethovens. Thematisch-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen. Completed and edited by Hans Halm, Munich, 1955.
- KK Kastner-Kapp, Ludwig van Beethovens sämtliche Briefe, Emerich Kastner, editor. Revised and enlarged by Julius Kapp. Leipzig, 1923.
- MQ The Musical Quarterly. New York.
- NBJ Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch, Adolph Sandberger, editor. Augsburg and Braunschweig.
- Notizen Franz Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, Biographische Notizen über (Not.) Ludwig van Beethoven. Coblenz, 1838. With a supplement (Nachtrag) by F. Wegeler. Coblenz, 1845.
- Schünemann Georg Schünemann, editor, Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte. Three volumes. Berlin, 1941-1943.

{ xxiii }