Beethoven's Conversation Books

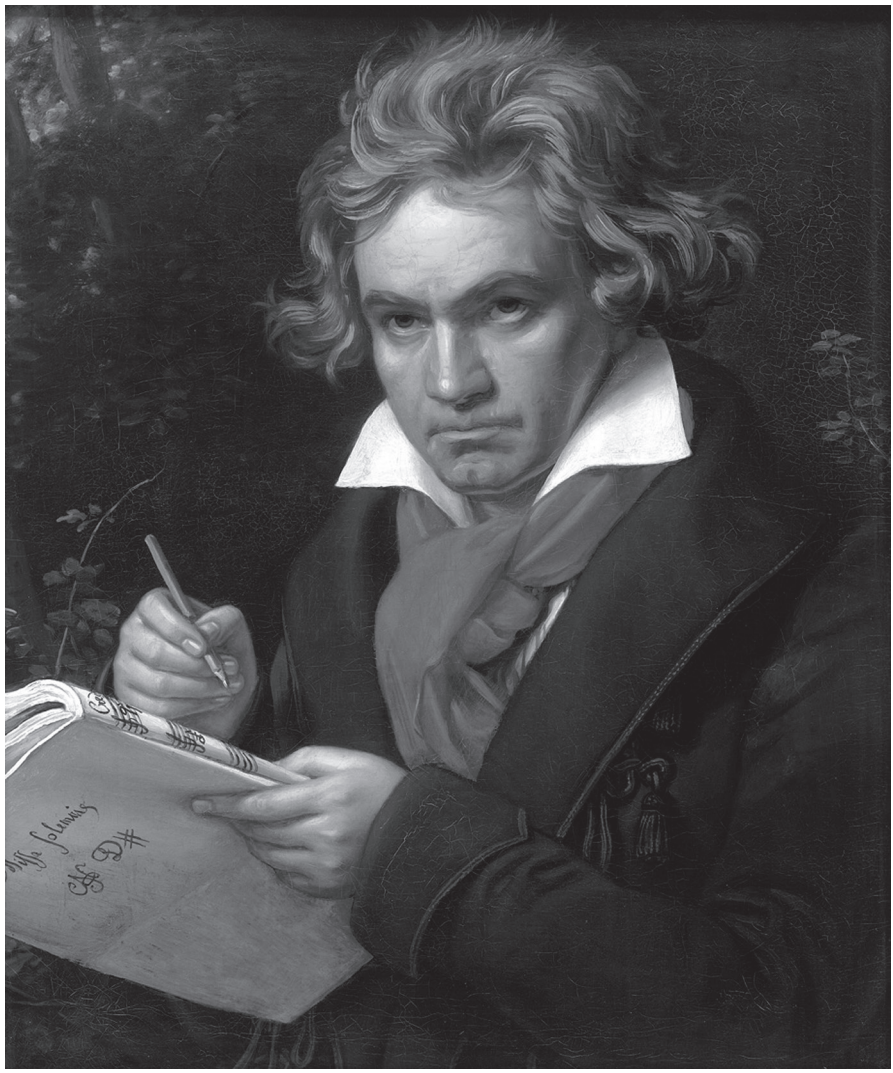
Volume 2

Nos. 9 to 16 (March 1820 to September 1820)

Edited and Translated by

Theodore Albrecht

Beethoven's Conversation Books



Beethoven with the manuscript for the *Missa solemnis*, February 12 – April 10, 1820.
Oil painting by Joseph Karl Stieler (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, B 2389). See p. 66 of this volume to discover what the scowling composer was actually thinking on March 28, 1820.

Beethoven's Conversation Books

Volume 2: Nos. 9 to 16
(March 1820 to September 1820)

Edited and translated by

Theodore Albrecht

THE BOYDELL PRESS

First published 2019
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978 1 78327 151 1
eISBN 978 1 78744 621 2

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620–2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Typeset by BBR, Sheffield

This volume is dedicated to
Lewis Lockwood.

Contents

General Introduction to the English Edition

Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) is recognized the world over as one of the greatest composers of all time and is especially known for his musical triumphs in the face of increasing deafness, beginning around 1798.[1]

In 1801 he confided his early hearing loss to Dr. Franz Wegeler in Bonn and schoolmaster/violinist Carl Amenda in Latvia, friends who had lived in Vienna but were now safely far away.[2] By the summer of 1802 others were starting to perceive lapses in his hearing, and his fear and confusion are reflected in the Heiligenstadt Testament in October of that year.[3] With more good days than bad, Beethoven's hearing slowly became weaker, although it had not yet interfered with his performing in public, even with orchestra on the marathon concert of December 22, 1808.[4]

Between 1812 and 1816 he tried using ear trumpets (made for him by Johann

[1] There are many medical accounts of Beethoven's deafness. Possibly the most complete and objective in English is by the Australian physician Peter J. Davies, *Beethoven in Person: His Deafness, Illnesses, and Death* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), pp. 42–65 and 217–218.

[2] On June 29, 1801, Beethoven wrote to Franz Gerhard Wegeler: "For the last three years my hearing has become weaker and weaker." Two days later, on July 1, he wrote to Amenda: "My most prized possession, my hearing, has greatly deteriorated. While you were still with me, I already felt the symptoms, but I said nothing about them." Amenda had left Vienna shortly after June 25, 1799. See Emily Anderson, transl. and ed., *The Letters of Beethoven*, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1961), Nos. 51 and 53; and (for Amenda's reply) Theodore Albrecht, transl. and ed., *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence*, 3 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), No. 31.

[3] Ferdinand Ries noted brief lapses while walking with Beethoven in the rural paths around Heiligenstadt, confirmed in the composer's so-called "Heiligenstadt Testament." See Franz Gerhard Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, *Beethoven Remembered*, transl. Frederick Noonan (Arlington, Va.: Great Ocean Publishers, 1987), pp. 86–87; and Anderson, Vol. 3, Appendix A, pp. 1351–1354 (the Heiligenstadt Testament, actually close to a fair copy, dated October 6 and 10, 1802).

[4] Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964/67), pp. 446–449. The breakdown in the performance of the *Choral Fantasy*, Op. 80, the last item on the program, was probably caused by orchestral fatigue at the tricky transition between the nocturnal *Adagio, ma non troppo* in 6/8 and the ensuing *Marcia, assai vivace* in 2/4 (*Gesamtausgabe*, p. 22).

Nepomuk Mälzel and possibly his brother Leonhard, also an inventor) with varying, but largely disappointing, degrees of success.[5] Between December 8, 1813, and February 27, 1814, Beethoven conducted (or attempted to conduct) four benefit concerts with an orchestra of ca. 113 professionals, causing considerable commentary about his exaggerated motions, some of which by now were the inevitable result of his weakened hearing.[6] At the performances, which included the premieres of his Symphonies Nos. 7 and 8, as well as *Wellington's Victory*, Beethoven's motions were probably shadowed, much more accurately, by conductor Michael Umlauf. In the fall of 1814, as the Congress of Vienna assembled, Beethoven composed a cantata, *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, for the occasion. On October 10 the Prague pianist and pedagogue Johann Wenzel Tomaschek visited Beethoven, found sketches for the cantata on the piano, and reported that the composer "was especially hard of hearing this day, so that one had to shout, rather than speak, in order to be understood." Tomaschek returned on November 24, just as the parts for the cantata were being copied: "Beethoven received me very politely, but appeared to be very deaf on this day, for I had to exert myself to the utmost to make myself understood." Even though many of his other comments were caustic, Tomaschek did not report that any portion of their conversation took place in writing.[7]

On November 15, 1815, Beethoven's younger brother Carl died, leaving the composer as the contested guardian of his son Karl (b. September 4, 1806). Beethoven soon placed nephew Karl in a boarding school run by Cajetan Giannatasio del Rio, but paid frequent visits, to the extent that Giannatasio's daughter Franziska (Fanny) developed a crush on the composer and reported their spoken conversations in her diary.[8]

The Beginnings of Written Conversations by 1816

In September, 1816, Peter Joseph Simrock (1792–1868), son of the Bonn publisher Nikolaus Simrock (1751–1832), came to Vienna to reestablish his father's earlier close

[5] Davies, pp. 50–52, provides a sufficient survey. On April 8, 1823, Beethoven confided his disappointment in such mechanical devices to a chance acquaintance, Herr Sandra, also going deaf. See Heft 28, Blätter 41v–42v.

[6] For a good survey of accounts of the rehearsals and concerts by Louis Spohr and others, see Thayer-Forbes, pp. 564–567.

[7] Oscar George Sonneck, ed., *Beethoven: Impressions by his Contemporaries* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1926; repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1967), pp. 100 and 102–103.

[8] Ludwig Nohl, ed., *Eine stille Liebe zu Beethoven. Nach dem Tagebuche einer jungen Dame* (Leipzig: Ernst Julius Günther, 1875), *An Unrequited Love: An Episode in the Life of Beethoven (from the Diary of a Young Lady)*, transl. Annie Wood (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1876).

connections with Beethoven[9] and later told biographer Alexander Wheelock Thayer of his activities. Young Simrock often visited Beethoven at Baden (his summer apartment), at his apartment in the Sailerstätte (inside the City walls), and at the restaurant *Zur goldenen Birne* (Hauptstrasse 42 in the nearby suburb of Landstrasse), where Beethoven often ate midday dinner.[10]

Simrock told Thayer that "he had no difficulty in making Beethoven understand him if he spoke into his left ear; but anything personal or confidential had to be communicated in writing." Thayer continues: on one occasion the composer handed him [Simrock] paper and pencil, remarking that his servant was an eavesdropper, etc. A few days afterwards, when Simrock visited again, Beethoven said: "Now we can talk because I have given my servant 5 Gulden, a kick in the rear, and sent him to the devil!" Everywhere in public, said Simrock, Beethoven complained about Emperor Franz because of the reduction of paper money,[11] but he was known and the police officials let him do what he pleased.[12]

Simrock probably departed Vienna on September 29 or 30, 1816, after having spent approximately a month in the Austrian capital.[13]

From roughly November, 1816, through April, 1817, Beethoven reportedly gave

[9] Peter Joseph Simrock had been born in Bonn on August 18, 1792, and therefore had reached his majority of 24 years only on August 18, 1816. As such, he probably could not have made any legally binding business agreements before that date. Thus he must have arrived in Vienna sometime in early September, 1816. For young Simrock's dates, see Lothar Niefind and Walther Ottendorff-Simrock, "Simrock," *MGG*, 2nd ed., *Personenteil*, vol. 15, cols. 835–838. While Beethoven still lived in Bonn, Nikolaus Simrock had been second (low) hornist in the Electoral orchestra, and the young composer (whose lower lip, from portraits and the life mask, seems appropriate to a low hornist) seemingly took lessons from him.

[10] Beethoven's City address during this time was on the 3rd floor [4th floor, American] of Count Lamberti's building, Sailerstätte Nos. 1055–1056 [renumbered as 994 in 1821]. Beethoven's surviving letter to Simrock during this period indicates that the visitor was staying at Landstrasser Hauptstrasse No. 40 [renumbered as 50 in 1821], only two buildings north of the *Birne*, No. 42 [renumbered as 52 in 1821], on the east side of the street. See Anderson, Nos. 647, 661, and 662; Brandenburg, No. 977, 979, and 982; Behsel, pp. 30 and 71.

[11] At this point, the English-language editions by Krehbiel (who *may* have seen Thayer's original notes) and Forbes (copying Krehbiel) quote Beethoven concerning Emperor Franz: "Such a rascal ought to be hanged to the first tree." Thayer's original publication and Thayer-Deiters-Riemann omit this sentence and, instead, drop to a footnote, saying (in German), "We shall pass over the very severe expressions imparted by Simrock."

[12] Thayer (1879), III, pp. 402–403; Thayer-Deiters-Riemann, III, p. 566; Thayer-Krehbiel, III, pp. 343–344; and Thayer-Forbes, p. 647; also excerpted in Davies, p. 52.

[13] Unfortunately, Simrock's name does not appear among the selective daily Arrivals and Departures listed in the *Wiener Zeitung* during this period. Simrock later told Ludwig Nohl that he had eaten midday dinner with Beethoven at the *Mehlgrube* on Neuer Markt (in the City) every day for two weeks (Kopitz and Cadenbach, II, p. 915). Added to the locations reported to Thayer, this suggests a month's stay. Fanny Giannatasio del Rio reported in her diary that Beethoven brought Simrock with him for a visit on September 28, and letters to German destinations that Simrock took with him

harmony lessons to Carl Friedrich Hirsch (1801–1881), a grandson of his own teacher Georg Albrechtsberger. In summer 1880 Hirsch told Theodor Frimmel that Beethoven's deafness had advanced to a point where one had to speak to him very loudly. During his lessons Beethoven watched the student's hands closely and was able to detect his mistakes. Frimmel does not report Hirsch's mentioning any written conversations.[14]

On June 19, 1817, Beethoven wrote to his old friend and patron, Countess Anna Marie Erdödy, who seems to have been living in Paucovecz (Paukovec), Croatia, that he had been ill since mid-October, 1816, adding: "Although my health has improved a little, […] my hearing has become worse."[15]

The Beginnings of Conversation Books by 1818

By 1818 Beethoven's deafness had progressed to such an extent that, with increasing frequency, he began to carry blank books with him, so that his friends and acquaintances, especially when in public, could write their sides of conversations without being overheard, while Beethoven himself customarily replied orally.[16] He wrote in them, too, however: shopping lists, errands to run, or books advertised in the local newspapers.[17] He also used them for the conversations and draft memoranda

suggest that Simrock departed Vienna on September 29 or 30 (Ludwig Nohl, *Eine stille Liebe*, p. 129; Nohl, *An Unrequited Love*, p. 125; Kopitz and Cadenbach, I, pp. 313–314; Anderson, Nos. 660 and 661; Brandenburg, Nos. 978 and 979).

[14] Theodor von Frimmel, "Carl Friedrich Hirsch," in his *Beethoven-Studien* 2 (Munich: Müller, 1906), pp. 53–69, especially pp. 61–62; Kopitz and Cadenbach, I, pp. 443–454; summarized in Thayer-Forbes, pp. 664–665. Although Frimmel reported Hirsch to be sound of mind and body in 1880, many details in the old man's account are mildly or even wildly inaccurate in light of later research, and Frimmel himself was the first to question them.

[15] Anderson, No. 783; Brandenburg, No. 1132 (with more details concerning Erdödy's whereabouts). Paukovec is 10 miles northeast of Zagreb.

[16] Much of this material appeared in Theodore Albrecht, "Time, Distance, Weather, Daily Routine, and Wordplay as Factors in Interpreting Beethoven's Conversation Books," *Beethoven Journal* 28, No. 2 (Winter, 2013), pp. 64–75.

[17] Heft (booklet) 1, a brief booklet of only 12 pages, filled between ca. February 26 and shortly after March 2, 1818, is almost a chronological anomaly and does not exhibit many of the practices of making entries found in later Hefte. It was seemingly not in Schindler's possession and found its way independently to the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn. Heft 2, a much longer book of 210 pages, was filled between March 17 and after May 15/16, 1819. It is the earliest of the booklets that Schindler deposited in the Royal Library in Berlin in 1846. Here we find some of Beethoven's friends (notably Franz Oliva) making horizontal lines between their conversational entries, and Beethoven himself jotting down specific advertisements from recognizable newspapers. There is another chronological break before Heft 3, 136 pages, filled between November 20 and ca. December 6, 1819. Probably three long or several shorter Hefte are missing between May and November, 1819, but beginning with Heft 3, on November 20, Beethoven's use of conversations books seemingly becomes relatively constant.

pertaining to the protracted negotiations, hearings, and lawsuits surrounding the guardianship of his nephew Karl.[18]

The first surviving conversation book, the relatively impromptu Heft 1, dating from February–March, 1818, demonstrates only the earliest phases of the little formalities that would characterize the conversation books in their more mature phases: the writers placing a horizontal line after their entries as a signal for Beethoven to reply, and so forth.

On Monday, November 16, 1818, Beethoven visited the Giannatasio del Rio family, whom he had not seen in a long time, and stayed for three hours. Daughter Franziska (Fanny), who had earlier been smitten with the composer, noted in her diary, "Since his hearing was especially bad on this day, we wrote everything."[19] The conversational entries for this visit must have been extensive—covering nephew Karl's progress in school, the Giannatasio family's activities, Beethoven's latest works, and general gossip around town—but no conversation book survives.

Thus Beethoven must have had associates write down portions of their conversations on individual pieces of paper by ca. 1816, and if his hearing deteriorated during the winter of 1816–1817, he must have begun using gatherings of leaves to make impromptu conversation books (such as Heft 1) by the winter of 1817–1818. Thereafter, the first surviving *systematic* booklet, Heft 2 (from mid-March to mid-May, 1819), presumably a commercially manufactured blank book, dates from only four months after Beethoven's visit to the Giannatasio family.

Preservation and Loss, 1819–1822

From May 1819 until roughly September 1820 Beethoven apparently set aside the conversation books with major references to Karl's guardianship in one pile, while the others probably went into a trunk or box with most of the rest of the correspondence that he had received over the years. Then, around November 1, 1822, as Beethoven was moving from his summer residence in Baden to an apartment in the suburb of Windmühle, back in Vienna, the trunk or box with the correspondence

[18] Karl-Heinz Köhler, *"… tausendmal leben!": Konversationen mit Herrn van Beethoven* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978). A good English-language summary of this 200-page book can be found in Köhler's "The Conversation Books: Aspects of a New Picture of Beethoven," in *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics: The International Beethoven Congress, Detroit, 1977*, ed. by Robert Winter and Bruce Carr (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), pp. 147–161. An even briefer overview of the topic may be found in Nicholas Marston, "Conversation Books," in *The Beethoven Compendium*, ed. Barry Cooper (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1991), pp. 164–167.

[19] Ludwig Nohl, *Eine stille Liebe zu Beethoven*, p. 198, and *An Unrequited Love*, p. 185; Kopitz and Cadenbach, I, p. 331. Fanny's description—that Beethoven's hearing "was especially bad that day"—is remarkably similar to Tomaschek's observations in October and November, 1814, above.

and all but sixteen of his conversation books up to that point probably fell off of the wagon transporting his possessions and was lost.[20] This, rather than any other factor, probably accounts for the gap in the surviving conversation books between 1820 and 1822.

Continuity, 1822–1827

In November 1822 Beethoven simply continued his practice of using blank conversation books on a regular basis, as he needed them. Most often he again squirreled them away in some box or trunk, and this time most of them were *not* lost, though he himself probably lost a few or even gave a few away as souvenirs, as he did to Maurice Schlesinger on September 9, 1825. By the end of the first week in March 1827, his supply of purchased blank booklets may have run out as his health sharply declined, leaving the last three weeks of his life without a systematic record of his conversations.

Posterity and Publication

When Beethoven died on March 26, 1827, his unpaid secretary and future biographer Anton Schindler deemed the nearly 140 surviving conversation books of no particular monetary value to Beethoven's estate, and took them with the intention of using them to document his projected biography of the composer.[21] At first Schindler probably went through them, identifying every author of conversational entries that he could—and in that he has proven to be remarkably accurate, although a few identifications did elude him. He also probably began jotting in reminders to himself about conversations that did take place, and then—getting

[20] Johann Chrysostomus Sporschil, "Musikalischer Wegweiser," *Allgemeine Theater-Zeitung* (Vienna) 17, No. 137 (November 15, 1823), p. 548, signed "S … l." Corresponding from Vienna, Sporschil (1800–1863) had recently published the article in the *Stuttgarter Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, No. 265 (November 5, 1823). The Viennese publication has been reprinted (among others) in Albert Leitzmann, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Berichte der Zeitgenossen …*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1921), I, pp. 264–267. It was cited in Köhler *et al.*, *Beethovens Konversationshefte*, Vol. 4 (1968), p. 372 (endnote 492).

On July 12, 1823, seemingly when writing about the previous summer, Beethoven noted that "an unfortunate accident robbed me of a considerable portion of my papers," independently confirming what Sporschil would report in November. See Anderson, *Letters*, No. 1207; Brandenburg, *Briefwechsel*, No. 1698.

[21] Schindler explained that Stephan von Breuning, Beethoven's executor, had given the conversation books to him as a token payment for his efforts on the composer's behalf, and this seems credible enough.

into dangerous territory—commandeered blank pages and partially filled pages to write or reflect his own opinions or conversations that may or may not have taken place while the composer was alive. Fortunately, once we know that these "falsified" entries exist, we can see that most of them have a tone all their own and can safely regard or disregard them as circumstances warrant.

In 1842 Schindler wrote that he possessed many more than a hundred ("viel über hundert") conversation books.[22] Three years later, in the seldom cited 1845 second edition of his *Biographie*, the publisher wrote of the conversation books: "There are 138 of them in Prof. Schindler's possession."[23]

In 1846 Schindler, who probably lacked a pension from his earlier employers,[24] sold his Beethoven documents—including 137 conversation books—to the *Königliche Bibliothek*, the Prussian Royal Library in Berlin, for what amounted to a pension stipend. This number corresponds almost exactly to the 138 estimated a year before and certainly fits the description of "many more than a hundred" that Schindler had written four years earlier.

A few years later the American Alexander Wheelock Thayer, working on a modern, scientifically based biography of Beethoven, spent months going through the conversation books in Berlin, extracting notes to be used in his work.[25] In the process, in 1854, he also went to Frankfurt, where Schindler now lived, and asked him about the conversation books. Consistent with his earlier reports, Schindler probably told him that there were "viel über hundert" (many more than a hundred) booklets, which Thayer, as proficient as his German was, probably misheard as "vier hundert" (four hundred). Thus began the erroneous perception that there were 400 conversation books present when Beethoven died and that Schindler had destroyed

[22] Anton Schindler, *Beethoven in Paris: Ein Nachtrag zur Biographie Beethoven's* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1842), p. 31.

[23] The original German reads: "Es befinden sich davon 138 im Besitz des Herrn Prof. Schindler." Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, Zweite mit zwei Nachträgen vermehrte Ausgabe (Münster: Aschendorff, 1845), p. 275.

[24] Pensions, when they existed at all, were often based on full decades of employment. Therefore, an employee who had worked for 10 full years would receive a pension equal to 25% of his normal salary; an employee who had worked for 20 full years would receive a pension of 50%, and so on. Schindler had never worked for any theater, either in Vienna, Aachen, or Münster, for the requisite ten years, and so would probably not have been eligible for any pension.

[25] Grant W. Cook, "Alexander Wheelock Thayer: A New Biographical Sketch," *Beethoven Journal* 17, No. 1 (Summer, 2002), pp. 2–11. Thayer spent from October, 1849, to spring, 1851; November, 1854, to February, 1856; September, 1858, to May, 1859; and December, 1859, to February, 1860 (among other periods) working in Berlin.

perhaps two-thirds of them.[26] The answer is plain and simple: Schindler didn't do it! *Nobody* did!

Just as researchers were assembling and editing ever larger compilations of Beethoven's correspondence, so they began to perceive the desirability of having a printed edition of the conversation books. Around the time of World War I, Walther Nohl (b. 1866) began to publish them but was overwhelmed by the amount of editing that they needed as well as by the economics in post-War Germany.[27] In the late 1930s and into the 1940s Georg Schünemann (1884–1945), head of the Music Department at the Prussian State Library, began a much more organized effort with better transcriptions and annotations and published three volumes, a job that took him to July 1823, before World War II and his own death put an end to his project.[28]

In 1943 the conversation books, along with many of the Library's other valuable holdings, were transferred to rural bunkers, but at war's end they came back to Berlin to find that their Unter den Linden home had survived the bombings but was now on the Communist east side of the city.[29] Then, on May 1, 1951, Joachim Krüger, the forty-year-old head of the Music Department of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, stole a number of boxes of rare materials—including all of the Konversationshefte—from the Library and took them to the West, claiming that he had saved them from transport to the Soviet Union. The theft caused a worldwide scandal, especially when Krüger established himself as an antiquarian book dealer. In 1956 Karl-Heinz Köhler (1928–1997), Krüger's successor as head of the Music Department in East Berlin, learned that the stolen conversation books were in the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, and

[26] Even hypothetically filling in the gaps that occur between March, 1819 (when continuous use seems to have begun), and March, 1827, would only bring the total number to ca. 300. For a slightly different estimate, see Theodore Albrecht, "Anton Schindler as Destroyer and Forger of Beethoven's Conversation Books: A Case for Decriminalization," in *Music's Intellectual History*, ed. Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (New York: RILM, 2009), pp. 169–181, specifically 173–174.

[27] In addition to several essays based on various later conversation books, Nohl systematically published booklets (today termed Hefte 2 and 3) covering from March, 1819 to March, 1820. Walther Nohl, ed., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte* (Munich: O.C. Rech/Allgemeine Verlagsanstalt, 1923–1924). By 1935, Nohl had transferred the publication rights to the Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion in Berlin-Potsdam, which sought subscriptions for the *Konversationshefte*. In a "Beethoven-Sonderheft" of its *Athenaion Blaetter* 4, No. 1 (1935), pp. 2–29, the press published a descriptive essay about the conversation books (pp. 2–6), an essay by Nohl about how he became interested in the conversation books and his experiences in editing them (pp. 6–8), noteworthy quotes from the conversation books, as well as illustrations of Beethoven's own handwriting in them.

[28] Georg Schünemann, ed., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1941–1943).

[29] Horst Kunze, "Geleitwort," in Köhler *et al.*, *Beethovens Konversationshefte*, Vol. 4, pp. 5–6.

called for their return. Finally, in August 1961, a decade after they were stolen, the conversation books were restored to their rightful owners in East Berlin.[30]

Almost immediately, Köhler organized an editorial team including Grita Herre (in 1963) and Dagmar Beck (added in 1971),[31] to make state-of-the-art diplomatic transcriptions with a more sophisticated scholarly apparatus, and to continue editing the conversation books where Schünemann had left off. But now, increasingly isolated behind the Berlin Wall, they enlisted the aid of their counterparts at Vienna's Austrian National Library and other Viennese institutions to help with the documentation needed for dating, identification, and other annotations, and they published Volume 4 in 1968 and Volume 5 in 1970. At the same time, they began replacing Schünemann's now outdated volumes, starting with a new Volume 1, published in 1972.[32] Then, in 1977, Peter Stadlen (1910–1996), a Viennese-born music critic living in London, created virtually a criminal sensation when he detected that Schindler had falsified many of his (Schindler's) entries in the conversation books and implied that the East Berlin team had been negligent in not making such an obvious discovery.[33] The Berliners, who themselves had begun to suspect this problem as they worked ahead on the project, published a list of these falsified entries already with Volume 7 in 1978 and continued to identify them in subsequent volumes. But their swift forward momentum was broken by this distraction, and Grita Herre finally published Volume 11, taking the 139 surviving booklets[34] through early March 1827, only in 2001.[35]

[30] Köhler, "*tausendmal leben*," pp. 186–188; and especially Martin Hollender, "Joachim Krüger … Bücherdieb …," *Bibliothek* 30, No. 1 (2006), pp. 69–75. While Köhler discreetly declined to name names, the investigative reporter Hollender openly revealed that the conversation books had been in the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, and that Joseph Schmidt-Görg, then its Director, had denied that the stolen goods were there. The demeanor of that venerable institution has changed remarkably in the ensuing half century.

[31] Köhler, "*tausendmal leben*," p. 200.

[32] Therefore, the material in the present Volumes 1–3 (Hefte 1–31) is based on the "second wave" of the East Germans' experience, as published in 1972, 1976, and (post-Stadlen) 1983.

[33] For Stadlen's possible motivation, see Albrecht, "Anton Schindler as Destroyer and Forger," pp. 171–172.

[34] In addition to Schindler's 137 conversation books in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, two more booklets, Hefte 1 and 95, are in the collection of the Beethoven-Haus Bonn, making a total of 139 that survive reasonably intact.

[35] This standard German-language edition is Karl-Heinz Köhler, Grita Herre, and Dagmar Beck, eds., *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte*, in collaboration with Ignaz Weinmann, Peter Pötschner, Renate Bormann, Heinz Schöny, and Günther Brosche, 11 volumes to date (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968–2001). The three primary editors were based in Berlin, their numerous collaborators in Vienna. More recently, Heft 95 has seen a separate facsimile publication: *Beethoven im Gespräch: Ein Konversationsheft vom 9. September 1825*, transcription and commentary by Grita Herre, with English translation by Theodore Albrecht (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2002).

Therefore, when set against more than a half century of war and political division, theft and recovery, ideological and geographical isolation, and attempts to discredit it, the East Berlin edition of *Beethovens Konversationshefte* remains one of the true miracles of modern musicology, and no one can reasonably diminish the accomplishment of its editors!

The Quest for an English Edition of the Konversationshefte

As early as 1977, *Konversationshefte* editor Karl-Heinz Köhler announced that "a translation of this edition into English is being contemplated by a press in the United States."[36] During the 1980s a British team including author-researcher Susan Lund and Dr. Robert Terence (Terry) Llewellyn (1933–2013) began negotiations with Oxford University Press for such an edition. Llewellyn was on the German faculty of Christ's College, Cambridge, with research interests in Beethoven and Goethe.[37] In 1985, however, Oxford University Press announced, "A complete English translation of the Conversation Books is being prepared by Professor Lewis Lockwood of Harvard University."[38] Nothing came of that project, but Lockwood teamed up with the Trieste-born Dr. Piero Weiss of Peabody Conservatory with the idea of compiling a one-volume English-language anthology of the most significant entries in the conversation books and made selections through Volume 2 of the German edition.

Meanwhile, I had published my three-volume *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence* in 1996 and was researching Beethoven's orchestral colleagues. I had included draft letters from the conversation books in my *Letters* collection so was aware of Lockwood's involvement. By 1998, however, he indicated that he was no longer interested in the project. Sometime later he made his materials available to me,[39] and I tentatively embarked on the present complete edition in

[36] Köhler, "The Conversation Books: Aspects of a New Picture of Beethoven," p. 148. Köhler's paper, delivered in Detroit in 1977, may have been revised, with this parenthetical statement added, shortly before its publication in 1980.

[37] Susan Lund (London), personal communication, August 16, 2015. A third participant in the project was to have been Llewellyn's Viennese-born wife Gudrun, who predeceased him. See Geoffrey Ingham, "In Memoriam," *Christ's College Magazine* (2014), pp. 93–94.

[38] The announcement appeared in Martin Cooper, *Beethoven: The Last Decade, 1817–1827*, revised edition (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 470 (at the end of Cooper's bibliography).

[39] Lewis Lockwood, personal communication with files, Cambridge, Mass., January 27, 2004. Lockwood's files consisted of 128 double-spaced typed pages, seemingly generated between ca. 1985 and 1989/1991. The selection of entries seems to have been Lockwood's work, while the translations

English.[40] By 1998, however, it was also obvious that the *Konversationshefte* (which, after all, had begun to appear three decades before) would need a major revision in conjunction with any translation into English.

The Present English Edition of the Conversation Books

The German editors were diligent in establishing a rough chronology for the entries at the beginning of each *Heft* (or booklet) and provided ample endnotes to identify individuals and explain those entries. Even so, the inexperienced user (and especially the English speaker) was likely to view the unadorned diplomatic transcriptions as a virtual stream of consciousness without any immediately perceptible relationship to specific place or time. As a result, many misunderstandings and misinterpretations arose from even these published conversation books—problems that a closer identification of their organization, chronology, and contents might clarify.

Translations

When I began this project, several colleagues warned me that translation would be especially difficult because many of the conversational entries were "in the Viennese dialect." At the time of writing this General Introduction, I have drafted translations and annotations through Heft 79 (more than halfway through the project) and have encountered very few entries in *Wienerisch*, something of a Viennese counterpart to London's Cockney.[41] Instead there are often regional terms used by the normal population: *Kren* (rather than *Meerrettich*) for horseradish, *Semmel* (rather than

into facile, colorful, and idiomatic English were Piero Weiss's work. The final entry in the material that I received was from Heft 22, Blatt 61v (February, 1823), from the very end of Vol. 2 of the *Konversationshefte*.

[40] Although the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz had granted me permission to make a translation and edition in 1999, and the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, did likewise in 2001, I concentrated my work on the period surrounding the premiere of the Ninth Symphony in 1824. Only in 2007, as Boydell & Brewer undertook negotiations to license the published material from Breitkopf und Härtel, did I embark on a systematic translation and edition, starting with Heft 1, Blatt 1, and with strong encouragement from Lewis Lockwood.

[41] To this end, however, there is a vast literature on the subject, including Peter Wehle, *Sprechen Sie Wienerisch?* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1981/2003); Hans Eidherr, *Also fåhr ma Euer Gnadn: Wiener Redensart—Wiener Musik*, book with 4 CDs (Vienna: Edition Wien/Pichler, 1996); and Susanne Finsterl-Lindlar, *Lilliput Wienerisch* (Berlin/Munich: Langenscheidt, 2011). For the last-named dictionary of 381 pages, I am grateful to Herr Franz-Josef Schmiedl (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv) and Frau Gertraud Heindl (Archiv, Allgemeines Krankenhaus, Vienna).

Brötchen) for rolls, *Fisolen* for green beans,[42] *Licitation* for an auction, and so on. These examples might be similar to using couch, sofa, or davenport for the same (or similar) piece of furniture in the English language.

German spelling was not yet fully standardized in Beethoven's time, and so B could be phonetically interchangeable with P, and C with G or K, or D with T, and even F with V. Haydn could be spelled Haidn or Heiden. A "tz" sound could be represented as a "z" or a "c." The name Joseph in Beethoven's time would frequently be spelled "Josef" as the century progressed and Germans sought to distance their language from foreign influences.

Compared to many of his contemporaries, Beethoven was a tolerably good writer. His handwriting was an extension of late Baroque style, more akin to Johann Sebastian Bach's than to an early nineteenth-century clerk's. His variable phonetic spelling was more standardized than that of most musicians of his time,[43] and when he copied an advertisement from a newspaper, it was usually remarkably accurate.[44] By comparison, his brother Johann (1776–1848), a trained apothecary and landowner whose entries are frequent in the *Conversation Books*, was a less advanced writer than Ludwig. On an understandably lower level, Beethoven's favorite copyist Wenzel Schlemmer (1758–1823) and his housekeeper-cook Barbara Holzmann (1755–1831) wrote almost exclusively in a phonetic and ungrammatical style, and one must often read their entries aloud to "hear" how they sounded and understand what they meant.

The conversational entries themselves have largely been translated into modern conversational American English, to include contractions that might not otherwise be proper to scholarly English. There has been no attempt at rendering them into "a sort of timeless English," as Emily Anderson characterized her translation of Beethoven's letters.[45]

[42] See the menu in "Das himmlische Leben," the fourth movement of Gustav Mahler's Symphony No. 4.

[43] Brandenburg, *Beethoven: Briefwechsel*, I, pp. xxi–xxxiv; and Harald Süss, *Deutsche Schreibschrift* (Augsburg: Augustus Verlag, 1995), pp. 11–13.

[44] Judging from his letters from ca. 1802 to 1805, Beethoven's younger brother Carl (1774–1815) was probably the best writer of the three surviving siblings.

[45] Anderson, *Letters*, Introduction, Vol. 1, p. xix, circularly terming it "an English translation that would stand the test of time."

Dictionaries

My home library includes almost two dozen German dictionaries in varying degrees of depth and focus. For everyday translation I have used a *Cassell's German-English, English-German Dictionary* from the 1970s, but also editions in Gothic lettering as far back as Cassell and Heath in 1909. One of my major criteria for any such dictionary was that the English translations of the German word *Kur* had to include an Elector or some historical Electoral function.

In addition, I have regularly used the two-volume *Muret-Sanders Enzyklopädisches englisch-deutsches und deutsch-englisches Wörterbuch* from 1910, and the four-volume *Muret-Sanders encyclopädisches Wörterbuch der Englischen und Deutschen Sprache* from 1899.

Among specialty dictionaries, *Lang's German-English Dictionary of Terms Used in Medicine* (1924)[46] and the *Illustriertes Landwirtschafts-Lexikon* (1884)[47] have proven helpful, as has, occasionally, the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* (2006). Various German-language dictionaries by Wahrig, Duden, or Grimm have been potentially helpful, although the 32-volume Grimm (like the Oxford English Dictionary) is a bit excessive for our purposes.

One of translationdom's relics, the *Thieme-Preusser: Neues vollständiges kritisches Wörterbuch der Englischen und Deutschen Sprache* (1859),[48] once widely used, contains some amusing and archaic definitions, but also mistranslations that are misleading or even unintentionally harmful in the area of musical terminology.

For translation of occasional French terms, I have used Cassell's (1960–1980s), the original two-volume Clifton and Grimaux (ca. 1880), and the two-volume Harrap (1940/1961). Other languages have followed similar patterns.

While the translations are overwhelmingly my own work, I have occasionally sought assistance from colleagues, including Dr. Michael Lorenz, Ing. Walther Brauneis, Dr. Helmut Weihsmann, Karl Misar, Dr. Karen Wilde, Josef Bednarik, Thomas Gröger, Dr. Bernhard Paul, Dr. Ernst Kobau, Dr. Rita Steblin, Klaus George Roy, Dr. Irving Godt, Dr. Alan Krueck, and my wife, Dr. Carol Padgham Albrecht. For mistranslations or misinterpretations (and there may be many in these volumes), I alone am responsible.

[46] *Lang's*, ed. Milton K. Meyers (Philadelphia: K. Blakiston's Son, 1924), although it (like other dictionaries) does not list or define the term *Schleimschlag*.

[47] *Landwirtschaft*, ed. Guido Krafft (Berlin: Paul Parey, 1884).

[48] *Thieme-Preusser*, ed. H. Breithaupt (Hamburg: Haendcke & Lehmkuhl, 1846/1859). This dictionary was probably used for the century-old English translation of Richard Wagner's *Mein Leben*.

Conclusion

There have been several editions of Beethoven's correspondence in both German and English over the past 150 years, and so a succession of editors and translators has had the opportunity and good fortune to learn from the mistakes of others.[49] The East Berlin edition of Beethoven's *Konversationshefte*, which appeared from 1968 to 2001, was roughly the third edition of the conversation books to be begun but only the first to be completed.

This edition of the *Conversation Books* is likewise only the first in English, and yet it has had the privilege, after the four-decade gestation period of the German edition, to enlarge upon and clarify it. As with my *Letters to Beethoven* (1996), I have tried to do so in an appropriately objective manner[50] and in the interest of scholarly progress, knowing full well that errors in my own translations and annotations will naturally be corrected by scholars in the future.[51] I merely beg my successors' indulgence with the same perspective in mind. Music research is still a cumulative effort, over the years and across national and linguistic boundaries. If I have made these conversation books more useful to scholars, performers, and admirers of Beethoven for even a moment in that continuum, then my efforts will have been richly rewarded.

Theodore Albrecht
Vienna, Austria
Kent, Ohio
August 30, 2015

[49] In fact, Emily Anderson was highly critical or dismissive of virtually all of her predecessors, German or English, in compiling and editing collections of Beethoven's letters. See Anderson, *Letters*, Introduction, Vol. 1, pp. xii–xix and *passim*.

[50] When I detect minor inaccuracies in the German edition of the *Konversationshefte*, I usually correct them silently, without further commentary.

[51] Subsequent volumes in the English-language *Conversation Books* will provide an opportunity to correct substantive mistakes made here.

Acknowledgements

A project as massive as this one could not have come even this far—the publication of the first three of a projected twelve volumes—without the assistance of a great number of individuals, both known and unknown to me. For the source materials themselves, I am most grateful to Dr. Helmut Hell, Frau Grita Herre, and Dr. Martina Rebmann (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz) and to Dr. Sieghard Brandenburg, Dr. Bernhard Appel, and Dr. Michael Ladenburger (Beethoven-Haus, Bonn), as well as to Breitkopf und Härtel/VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik (Wiesbaden and Leipzig), who negotiated with Dr. Bruce Phillips and, most recently and effectively, Dr. Michael Middeke of Boydell & Brewer (Martlesham, Suffolk) to secure the rights for this English translation, adaptation, and new edition.

This project has become one developed in Vienna (and indeed in suburban Josefstadt) as much as in the United States, and in that I am grateful to Dr. Otto Biba, Dr. Ingrid Fuchs, and Frau Ilse Kosz (Library/Archive, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde), as well as Herr Karl Misar (Handschriften-Sammlung, Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Rathaus) and his wife Edith. Herr Misar's gift for imitating and clarifying accents and dialects as used in the conversation books has proven invaluable.

Much of my work has been done in non-musical libraries and archives such as the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, where Dr. Michaela Laichmann, Dr. Klaralinda Ma-Kircher, Dr. Susanne Pils, Dr. Heinrich Berg, Dr. Brigitte Psarakis, and Dr. Andreas Weigl, as well as their reading-room colleagues, Herr Mehmet Urhan, Herr Franz-Josef Schmiedl, Herr Edmund Knapp, Herr Alfred Prohsmann, Herr Erich Denk, and Frau Silvia Ableidinger (among others), have provided continued assistance over the years.

At the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, I am grateful to Dr. Joachim Tepperberg, as well as its retired director, Dr. Leopold Auer, and its retired librarian, Dr. Clemens Höslinger. At the world-renowned Musical Instrument Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum (whose future and location are currently seriously

threatened), its director Dr. Rudolf Hopfner has been especially encouraging of this project, which has, in turn, benefited from his research.

The Österreichisches Theatermuseum is located in the Lobkowitz Palace. Three rooms east of its famed *Eroica*-Saal is the Library where, for over two decades, Herr Othmar Barnert has provided what is possibly the most expert (and the most effortless) reference service in Vienna, including answering questions about various details from across the Atlantic.

Most of Vienna's church records (for baptisms, marriages, and funerals) have now been placed online, but before they were, the following representative churches were particularly generous with access to these *Matriken*: Stephansdom, archivist Dr. Reinhard H. Gruber; Augustinerkirche, Frau Ursula Lechner, but also P. Matthias Schlögl and P. Albin Scheuch (welcoming us non-Catholics, especially on Sundays); Michaelerkirche, Frau Constanze Gröger; Paulaner Kirche, Frau Monika Bauer and Msgr. Franz Wilfinger (who often stopped, pipe in hand, to ask researchers about their projects); St. Joseph ob der Laimgrube, Frau Maria Doberer; and the Karlskirche, with Herr Josef Macháček, P. Milan Kučera, and especially Frau Stella Pfarrhund.

For over a decade the Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wiener Oboe has kindly supported my study of orchestral instrumentalists in Beethoven's time with a grant, and has encouraged the edition of the *Conversation Books* as an extension of it, especially in connection with the Ninth Symphony. Josef Bednarik, Bernarda Bobro, Thomas Gröger, Dr. Bernhard Paul, Dr. Ernst Kobau, and Dr. Rudolf Führer deserve special recognition in this connection.

Likewise, the Wiener Beethoven-Gesellschaft has always been encouraging through Ing. Walther and Frau Vera Brauneis, Frau Rosemarie and Prof. Martin Bjelik. I am especially grateful for the tour of Beethoven's apartment in the Laimgrubengasse that Ing. Brauneis and Frau Bjelik provided my wife Carol and me. On the American side, Dr. William R. Meredith, Patricia Stroh, and Dr. William George of the American Beethoven Society and the Ira. F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies at San Jose State University in California have been friends and supporters since the 1980s.

At the University of Vienna, Dr. Gerhard Kubik and Dr. Regine Allgayer-Kaufmann (ethnomusicology) have been supportive, as has Dr. Michael Lorenz (musicology), who probably knows more about archival work in Vienna than anyone and is always generous in offering many details as he discovers them. Dr. Rita Steblin and the professional bass tubist Mag. Gerhard Zechmeister are also active archival researchers and helpful, as well. The violinist and conductor Dr. Eduard Melkus and artist Frau Marlis Melkus deserve special thanks for their encouragement and generosity.

Living accommodations and meals were important to Beethoven, and Carol and

I have learned firsthand the Viennese concept of a *Stammlokal* from Frau Elisabeth Schmid (Pension Columbia), Frau Grazyna Gierlichs and Frau Maria Ribar (Pension Lehrerhaus), Frau Sushma Sood (Oliva Verde), Frau Ernestine Rathgeber and Rudi (*Zur goldenen Schale* [Josephstadt No. 96] and *Berg'l Wirt*), and, for the past decade, Mag. Werner Kremser, Frau Dika Masić, Frau Leila Masić, and Frau Ana Mostić (*Weinhaus Sittl*, *Zum goldenen Pelikan* [Neulerchenfeld No. 1]). The *Pelikan* was first mentioned in documents by ca. 1740, and it is possible that Beethoven and Franz Oliva walked by it (or even stopped in for a glass of wine) on an excursion to or from the more distant Gallizinberg.

Several colleagues at Kent State University (some no longer living) have been encouraging and helpful over the years: Dr. F. Joseph Smith (musicology), Dr. Kazadi wa Mukuna (ethnomusicology), Mary Sue Hyatt (director), Raymond DiMattia (flute), David DeBolt (bassoon), Harry Herforth (trumpet), Ma Si-Hon (violin), Dr. Moshe Amitay (violoncello), Lois Ozanich and Dr. Robert Palmieri (piano), Dr. John Lee and Dr. Ralph Lorenz (directors), Scott Curfman (bands), Jack Scott (music librarian), and especially former orchestra director John Ferritto, with whom I happily shared an office for nine years.

In Vienna, these are well-matched by our engaging and perceptive colleagues Prof. Eugenie Russo (piano, Akademie der Musik, Wiener Neustadt) and her husband Dr. Helmut Weihsmann (architecture historian).

Several scholars around the world have read and commented upon my rough drafts as they have emerged over the years: Dr. Barry Cooper (University of Manchester), Susan Lund (London), Dr. Susan Kagan (Hunter College), Dr. Bathia Churgin (Bar-Ilan University), and especially this project's most enthusiastic and encouraging supporter, Dr. Lewis Lockwood (Harvard University).

But the final and most appreciative word must be reserved for my wife, Dr. Carol Padgham Albrecht, who has walked every one of Beethoven's Viennese miles with me.

Reader's Guide

Beethoven's Vienna

BEETHOVEN'S DAILY ROUTINE

Except for unusual circumstances (clearly presented in the German edition), the entries in most of Beethoven's conversation books start at the beginning of a Heft and continue to its end. Internally, the entries essentially reflect the composer's daily routine, even though it changed periodically, depending upon whether he employed a cook at home or ate his meals at a restaurant, whether he lived in Vienna or in a summer apartment in the country, and so on.

In the third edition of his biography,[1] Anton Schindler described Beethoven's routine, as he knew it from roughly November 1822 through May 1824. Moreover, the young journalist Johann Chrysostom Sporschil became acquainted with Beethoven in late 1822 or early 1823, and in November 1823 published essentially a feature story about Beethoven that corroborates many of Schindler's observations.[2] From these, and random comments like Franz Oliva's that Beethoven got up at 5 o'clock in the morning,[3] we can reach a composite daily routine that would, of course, vary from time to time and place to place:

[1] Anton Felix Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, third edition, 2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860), Vol. 2, p. 192, translated as *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966; repr. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 1996), pp. 385–386.

[2] Sporschil, "Musikalischer Wegweiser," p. 548.

[3] Heft 7, Blatt 66r (February 11, 1820), in Köhler *et al.*, *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 1, p. 259. Oliva (1786–1848) was a bank official and friend of Beethoven's, who helped the composer in financial and practical affairs until he moved to Russia in late December, 1820. For a chart comparing Schindler's, Sporschil's, and Oliva's accounts, see Albrecht, "Time, Distance, Weather, Daily Routine," p. 65.

Early morning (ca. 5 a.m.)	Beethoven rose early and, while fresh, worked as long as he could (composing and/or writing letters) without distractions, often jotting lists of errands and shopping items along the way.
ca. 12 noon	He might wash and leave his apartment about noon and run a few errands before dinner.
ca. 2 p.m.	He ate his midday dinner at 2 p.m. or so (often with friends).[4] If he ate at his apartment, he might invite friends to arrive about 1:30 p.m.
ca. 3:30 p.m.	After dinner, more errands and shopping.
ca. 5 p.m.	A late afternoon visit to a coffee house to drink coffee, perhaps smoke a pipe, read current newspapers, and make notes of advertisements that interested him.
until ca. 7 p.m.	Perhaps a late errand or a meeting.
Evening	Perhaps a light supper, possibly some reading, and then to bed by 10 o'clock.

In getting around Vienna, except for special occasions such as major performances of his own works, Beethoven *walked* virtually everywhere, and so distance and time must also be factored into his daily routine and other activities.

DIRECTIONS OF THE COMPASS

Directions in Vienna can be difficult. As any map of Europe will show, the Danube River generally flows from west to east across Austria, with the left bank on the north side and the right bank on the south side. A dozen miles upstream from Vienna, however, the Danube turns to the southeast and when it reaches the City, its Channel (*Canal*) decidedly flows from northwest to southeast, with the Inner

[4] On May 6, 1803, Ferdinand Ries in Vienna reported to Nikolaus Simrock in Bonn that he received three lessons a week from Beethoven from 1 to 2:30 p.m., suggesting that the composer ate dinner after that on those days, consistent enough with Schindler's observation that Beethoven ate at 2 or 3 o'clock, and a few instances in the conversation books (1820–1824) where Beethoven met someone for dinner at 1:30 p.m. It suggests a routine consistent with Viennese practice at the time, but without rigidity. See Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven*, No. 58.

City on the right bank to the southwest and suburban Leopoldstadt on the left bank to the northeast. A century ago Bertha Koch had problems of directionality in her volume of photographs of surviving Beethoven residences and attempted to solve them by designating views as northeast and southwest, but also as north, south, east, and west.[5]

This edition of the *Conversation Books* adopts a more Vienna-specific orientation and views the Danube as more of a north-to-south axis when it reaches the City, with the sun rising over the Leopoldstadt to the east and setting in the vicinity of the Gallizinberg or the Schmelz in the west (please see the maps on pp. xxxviii–xxxix). Suburban Rossau is therefore north, and suburban Landstrasse south, with the Burgtor looking west. All of these directions still remain approximate (and even open to individual interpretation), depending upon the season of the year, but once the Danube has passed Vienna, it can safely turn again toward Pressburg (Bratislava) to the east.

HOUSE NUMBERS

Vienna enjoyed three separate *Haus* (house or general building) numberings during Beethoven's lifetime there. These are often called *Konskriptions-Nummern*, whereby every building in the walled City and every building in each of the suburbs had its own individual number in addition to its street location. When Beethoven arrived in 1792 he found a numbering system that had been in effect since 1770. In the ensuing years new buildings would have been built, or two smaller old buildings might have been torn down to make room for a single larger building. Thus a new numbering was needed by 1795.

This numbering of 1795 was in effect in 1818 when the conversation books began, and remained so until still another renumbering, generally called the "renumbering of 1821," although several parts of the City had received their new numbers by late 1820. In the walled City and most suburbs, the renumbering of 1821 remained in effect until 1862, although several of the growing suburbs (most notably Landstrasse, Wieden, Mariahilf, and Gumpendorf) needed another renumbering by 1830.

In this edition of the *Conversation Books*, buildings mentioned in or associated with entries before 1821 (i.e., in Hefte 1–16) are also identified by their future numbers in the renumbering of 1821 supplied in brackets, for instance: City, Seilergasse No. 1154 [renumbered as 1088 in 1821]. This is done so as to avoid confusion of

[5] Bertha Koch, *Beethovenstätten in Wien und Umgebungen, mit 124 Abbildungen* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1912), for instance pp. 9, 18, 20, 22–23, 27–29, 33–35, 38, 40–41, 53–54, 65–66, 72, 81, 83–84, 90, 94, and 96.

numberings and in an effort to make the renumbering of 1821 the consistent identification of houses throughout the conversational entries.

The best contemporary source for comparing house numbers is Anton Behsel, *Verzeichniss aller in … Wien mit ihren Vorstädten befindlichen Häuser*, dating from 1829. This guide, arranged by the 1821 house numbers, also provides the 1795 and 1770 numberings; the name of the building's owner in 1829; its house sign, if any (e.g., Golden Dragon or St. Florian); the street or square where the building was located; the administrative unit handling its affairs (usually the *Magistrat*, but also possibly an ecclesiastical division such as the Cathedral Chapter); its Police district; and its parish.

Behsel's *Verzeichniss* is located in several libraries in Vienna and is now available online, but the copy used for this edition of the *Conversation Books* is located in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, and is also latterly supplied with the house numberings of 1830 (as applicable).[6]

MAPS

One of the most helpful attributes of Sieghard Brandenburg's *Beethoven: Briefwechsel* (1996) was the inclusion, as a Supplement to Volume 3, of a separate folder containing two full-sized maps of Vienna and its suburbs: one published by J.V. Degen in 1809, the other published by Artaria in 1824. The Degen map includes the house numberings used from 1795 to 1821, the Artaria map those initiated in 1820–1821. The most accurate modern maps of the Inner City and selected suburbs are found as folded supplements to the historical/topographical studies by Robert Messner, dating from 1962 to 1998.

Virtually all of the addresses mentioned in this edition of the *Conversation Books* have been verified (usually without further source citation) in Behsel's *Verzeichniss* and the Degen and Artaria maps, often supplemented by Messner. The reader may wish to consult them as well for the additional perspectives that they may offer.

[6] Some readers will be disappointed that I have not also added today's street numberings for these locations, but that seemed a separate activity and could have created potential confusion. Readers can readily find these later parallels in the guides to the buildings of the Inner City (1996–1998), as well as the Leopoldstadt (1962), Landstrasse (1978), Wieden (1975), Josefstadt (1972), and Alsergrund (1970) by Robert Messner, all cited in the Bibliography.

CURRENCY VALUES

The lowest practical value in Austrian coinage and currency in Beethoven's time was the *kreuzer* (sometimes spelled *kreutzer*).[7] Other values included:

1 groschen	=	ca. 3 kreuzer
1 gulden	=	60 kreuzer
1 gulden	=	1 florin, abbreviated as fl., but still pronounced "gulden"
1 fl.	=	60 kreuzer (kr.)
1 ducat (#)	=	ca. 4½ gulden (or 4½ florins)
10 gulden	=	ca. £1 (British)

After Austria officially went bankrupt as a result of inflation during the Napoleonic Wars, the government initiated a *Finanz-Patent* on February 20, 1811, and ultimately a number of reforms in currency values, with figures given in *Conventions-Münze* (C.M., convention coinage) and in local paper currency, *Wiener Währung* (W.W., Viennese currency).[8] Under this system, in effect during the entire period covered by the conversation books,

1 fl. C.M.	=	2½ fl. W.W.

Beethoven never forgave Emperor Franz for allowing the devaluation of paper money, and said so, loudly, in public in 1816.[9] Shortly thereafter he began using conversation books.

Guide to the Conversational Entries

GERMAN TERMS

The English-language reader who uses this edition of the *Conversation Books* must still learn two German terms, most often used for locating conversational entries within the texts:

[7] Some writers used upper case while others used lower case for currency values (e.g., Kreuzer *versus* kreuzer or Ducats *versus* ducats). In the service of sanity in these and similar situations, I have not attempted any standardized form for this edition.

[8] A concise view of the whole subject appears in Barry Cooper, "Economics," *Beethoven Compendium*, ed. Cooper (London/New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991), pp. 68–70.

[9] As reported by Peter Joseph Simrock, visiting from Bonn in September, 1816. Thayer (1879), III, pp. 402–403; Thayer-Deiters-Riemann, III, p. 566; Thayer-Krehbiel, III, pp. 343–344; and Thayer-Forbes, p. 647.

Heft:	a booklet, the individual *Konversationsheft* (conversation book); its plural is *Hefte*.
Blatt:	a sheet, page, double-sided page (front: *recto*; back: *verso*; abbreviated r and v); its plural is *Blätter*.

In addition, a few other German terms may occasionally be helpful:

Stadt:	City, generally meaning the walled City of Vienna.
Haus:	house or building.
Stiege:	stairway.
Wohnpartei:	apartment.

CONVERSATIONAL ENTRY FORMATS

In this English edition of the *Conversation Books*, the names of the writers of conversational entries appear in CAPITAL LETTERS in normal typeface, followed (to the extent that they can be determined) by **place, day of the week, date, and time of day** in bold face and brackets. Sometimes this designation will include other elements—religious holidays, for instance—where these might affect Beethoven's environment.[10]

In many cases the method of determining a date and time for conversational entries will be found in an explanatory footnote, although in general it will be assumed that Beethoven loosely followed a daily routine, as described above.

The entries themselves are presented in a paragraph format, with a new paragraph for every apparent change in conversational topic. This largely clarifies the problem of a cluttered stream-of-consciousness format found in diplomatic transcriptions. Even so, the reader should be aware that, given the ambiguous nature of some entries, this system is susceptible to error.

As noted elsewhere, when Beethoven's conversational partners place a horizontal line at the ends of their entries for him to reply, this line is represented by // in the present paragraph format. Where there is no horizontal line in the original, but a pause of some sort seems apparent in context, that pause is represented as [//]. In early conversation books, where the horizontal line had not yet become a standard division in conversation, pauses in the entries are already designated editorially as [//]. A Blatt number in brackets pertains to the material following the designation;

[10] Beethoven very seldom attended church services, and his acquaintances often had to remind him that a certain day in the future was a religious holiday. Therefore, he was still affected by closed businesses, school visitation days, etc. Even so, his lawyer Johann Baptist Bach often held office hours on Sunday mornings, the same time frame when Matthäus Andreas Stein might come to his apartment to regulate his piano.

therefore, [Blatt 33v] indicates that the following material appears on the verso of Blatt 33.

External movements during conversations—for instance, the **arrival** or **departure** of correspondents, the **continuation of conversations** that might be unclear, or the **ending of long conversations**—are given in **bold print** and brackets, in order to clarify what is happening in Beethoven's immediate environment.

The result is very much like the script of a play, with character designations, dialogue, and stage directions. With this almost three-dimensional quality, it might bring Beethoven's world to life to an unprecedented degree.

SCHINDLER'S FALSIFIED ENTRIES

When excerpted entries from Beethoven's conversation books began appearing in Schindler's *Biographie* (especially the third edition of 1860) and then Thayer's *Leben* (1866–1911), musicologists thought that they had discovered the mother lode, from compositional processes (*Zwei Principe*) to nicknames for compositions (*Tempest* Sonata). They embellished these terms, titles, and slogans into seminal articles and books that helped to build major careers and influential positions within the field.[11] Then in 1977 Peter Stadlen demonstrated that many of Schindler's conversation book entries were *fingierte*, falsified, forged, fictitious—in any case entered into the conversation books (often at improper places, reflecting improbable subject contexts or chronology) long after Beethoven's death.

Scholars who had set their hopes on Schindler's slogans now felt betrayed by their unlikable hero and turned on him with a vengeance, virtually vying with each other to assassinate him, using the most vitriolic names and epithets. Gradually, however, it began to emerge that at least some of Schindler's falsified entries, if viewed in a reasonable and adjusted context, might contain a grain of historically useful truth.[12]

When I began translating and editing Beethoven's *Conversation Books*, several respected scholars in the field (still under Stadlen's spell) advised me to omit Schindler's falsified entries altogether. Ultimately we agreed that the entries had a certain function in the surviving documents and that I would retain them, generally with the sufficiently visible designations: [falsified entries begin→] and

[11] See, for instance, Arnold Schmitz, *Beethovens Zwei Principe; ihre Bedeutung für Themen- und Satzbau* (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1923).

[12] See, for instance, Theodore Albrecht, "Beethoven and Shakespeare's *Tempest*: New Light on an Old Allusion," *Beethoven Forum* 1 (1992), pp. 81–92; his "Anton Grams: Beethoven's Double Bassist," *Bass World* 26 (October, 2002), pp. 19–23; and especially his "Anton Schindler as Destroyer and Forger … Decriminalization," pp. 177–181.

[←falsified entries end].[13] Posterity may be glad that the "falsified" entries remain, as there is still a great deal to be learned from them about both Schindler and Beethoven.

EXTRA CONVERSATION BOOK BLÄTTER

Many individual Blätter were ripped out of Beethoven's conversation books while he was alive. In fact, he probably did so himself: he might send his housekeeper, his nephew Karl, or an acquaintance on an errand and jot the address on a blank conversation book page before tearing it out and giving it to the person. At least one of the individual Blätter preserved at the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, served this function.[14] If there were entries already on the other side of the sheet that was removed, that might have been immaterial to Beethoven at the moment. The German editors often indicated where a sheet may have been removed from a conversation book, and I have designated several more, often in bold print in between entries. Dozens of such sheets survive in libraries and private collections worldwide.[15] Frau Grita Herre will include them in a Volume 12 of her Berlin edition, and so this English edition of the *Conversation Books* will not duplicate or "scoop" that project in any way.

FOOTNOTES

In the German edition, a diplomatic transcription with annotations and explanatory endnotes, footnotes were used to note technical variants or visual anomalies within the transcribed texts: the mistaken upper- or lower-case beginning of a German word; other mistakes in starting or spelling a German word; reinforced words or letters in them (sometimes covering a penciled word in ink), corrected on the spot; and routine flourishes or other doodles. These notes have generally been omitted as not pertinent to an English-language edition.

Occasionally, in the early years, young nephew Karl drew profile heads and other cartoons into the conversation books; these are noted in German footnotes and largely retained in the present edition. Karl also used the pages for calligraphic and spelling practice, footnoted in the German edition; these are selectively retained here. The German footnotes also indicate editorially how the authorship of an entry has been authenticated; these are largely retained in the present edition

[13] Very brief falsified entries, possibly only a word or two, might have a commensurately brief designation of the fact.

[14] My gratitude to Dr. Michael Ladenburger for making these materials available to me when I visited the Beethoven-Haus in September, 2014.

[15] Some of these are available as illustrations on the internet.

as one of the English-language footnotes and generally designated KH (meaning Konversationshefte).

Explanatory notes (which had appeared almost exclusively as endnotes in the German edition) generally appear as footnotes at the bottom of the appropriate page in the English language edition. Notes simply translated from the German edition (*Konversationshefte*) with virtually no change are "signed" at the end of the note as KH. Notes from the German edition that have been significantly updated, corrected, or otherwise changed in the English edition are noted as KH/TA. Footnotes that are new to the present edition are designated TA.[16]

STANDARD FOOTNOTE SOURCES

As consistent with scholarly practice, sources are not cited for material that is available in multiple sources. The German edition cited articles in the encyclopedia *MGG* (*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*) without providing the names of the authors of individual articles. This edition provides the names of those authors and abbreviated titles of their articles in the footnotes, but (in the name of economy) cites only *MGG* (under M) in the Bibliography. English-language users will know to consult *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* for parallel articles, and so these will not be given here. For the most part, this edition will eschew citing the second editions of *MGG* and *New Grove* as editorially and often factually problematical. Similarly, this edition retains references to Frimmel's *Beethoven-Handbuch*[17] but largely avoids the most recent Beethoven encyclopedias and compendia in German. For relatively recent biographical articles concerning Beethoven's contemporaries, however, Peter Clive's *Beethoven and His World* (2001) provides a convenient, if not exhaustive, source in English.[18]

Oddly enough, there are materials collected by Alexander Wheelock Thayer and available in the German editions of his biography that have never been included or translated in full in its English-language editions. The names of the members of the Bonn orchestra in the 1780s or Stumpff's account of visiting Beethoven in September 1824—and its direct application to interpreting the conversation book entries—are just two of many such instances. Therefore the German edition's

[16] If I have inadvertently misattributed the authorship of any footnote among the 4,800 in these first three volumes, I apologize.

[17] An abridged English translation of the Frimmel *Handbuch* (1926), along with a few items translated from Wurzbach, appeared as *Beethoven Encyclopedia*, ed. Paul Nettl (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956).

[18] Clive's articles are often based on the first edition of *MGG*, but also include more unusual sources.

references to Thayer-Deiters-Riemann have been retained, usually paired with references to corresponding passages in the English-language Thayer-Forbes.

Fortunately, modern editions of Beethoven's correspondence by Anderson, Albrecht, and Brandenburg largely supersede their predecessors and are cited almost exclusively here.[19]

COMMON ABBREVIATIONS

Whenever possible this edition prefers full words, rather than any system of cryptic initials or acronyms, no matter how standardized. Thus the source of a death or estate record is given as "Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv" rather than "WStLA." Fully written out surnames such as Anderson, Behsel, Brandenburg, Clive, Thayer, Wurzbach, and so forth are probably recognizable, but in any case will send the less experienced reader to the appropriate item in the Bibliography, as will the abbreviation *MGG*. The few abbreviations used are mostly common sense. There may be a few inconsistencies through these many volumes, but the intention should still be relatively clear.

CROSS-REFERENCING AND INDEXES

The amount of detail in the *Conversation Books* is enormous and almost impossible to control without an index as voluminous as the volumes themselves. A cumulative index for the entire set of *Conversation Books* is almost unthinkable. Therefore, during the translating and editing processes, cross-references from one subject to another, sometimes across Hefte and volumes, were made using Heft and Blatt numbers to identify the location of the reference. After the pagination was applied, an Index of Persons, an Index of Beethoven's Compositions, and a General Index could be made, with page numbers used to designate the location of a reference.

MISCELLANEOUS EDITORIAL MATTERS

Names are generally given in their original languages. The Austrian emperor during this period was Franz rather than Francis; his military younger brother was Archduke Carl (or occasionally Karl), rather than Charles. Most cities like Vienna and Munich, however, are given in their English forms, but Wagner's *Meistersinger* still sang in Nürnberg (with an Umlaut and only two syllables).

[19] Even so, *New Beethoven Letters*, transl. and ed. Donald W. MacArdle and Ludwig Misch (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), remains valuable for its extensive and lively commentaries and explanations.

The capitalized word City generally refers to within the walled city alone. When used from a distant location, it can refer to metropolitan Vienna as a whole.

Because the translator/editor is an American, spellings and editorial practice will follow American style. One of the few exceptions is that the editor prefers the monosyllabic "bar" rather than "measure" when referring to locations in a piece of music.

This edition transliterates the German ess-zet (ß) as "ss" or rarely "sz" (so as to avoid the novice's temptation to render it as "B"), but retains the vowels with Umlauts, as having some counterpart in English orthography.

Translations may vary: titles such as *Wellingtons Sieg* and *Wellington's Victory*, for instance, are used interchangeably.

When referring to a building, *Stock* generally designates the *Oberstock*, the number of the floor *above* the ground level. Therefore, the 1st *Stock* or floor in Viennese terminology would be called the 2nd floor in America. In an effort to achieve accuracy and clarity (but not pedantry), this edition will identify the floor in Viennese terms, with the American designation in brackets: "3rd floor [4th floor, American]."

In this edition of the *Conversation Books* the abbreviations p. (page) and pp. (pages) are used more extensively than usual, in the interest of clarity and completeness. This is true in other instances, as well, including library sigla.

Editorial Conventions

In most cases, the following symbols or editorial directions are based, for relative consistency, on the common-sense practice followed by the German edition:

//	Signifies a pause in the conversation where Beethoven's conversational partner drew a horizontal line as a signal for Beethoven to reply. This practice took some time to be standardized, and always remained open to variations. Few conversationalists wrote a line under the final entry on a page, for instance. Conversationalists new to Beethoven's circle (or merely passing through) often did not follow the practice. Sometimes Beethoven himself used the horizontal line to divide advertisements copied from newspapers, items to buy, or errands to run.
[//]	Signifies a place in a conversation where a pause seems to have occurred, but the conversationalist did not insert a horizontal line for Beethoven to reply. This editorially supplied "line" is very common throughout the early conversation books.

[Blatt __] Indicates that the text that follows was taken from a particular Blatt in the manuscript, as indicated in the German edition. Thus, a bracketed [Blatt 35r] indicates that the following text came from Blatt 35r. Retaining these locations is especially helpful in locating editorial cross-references.

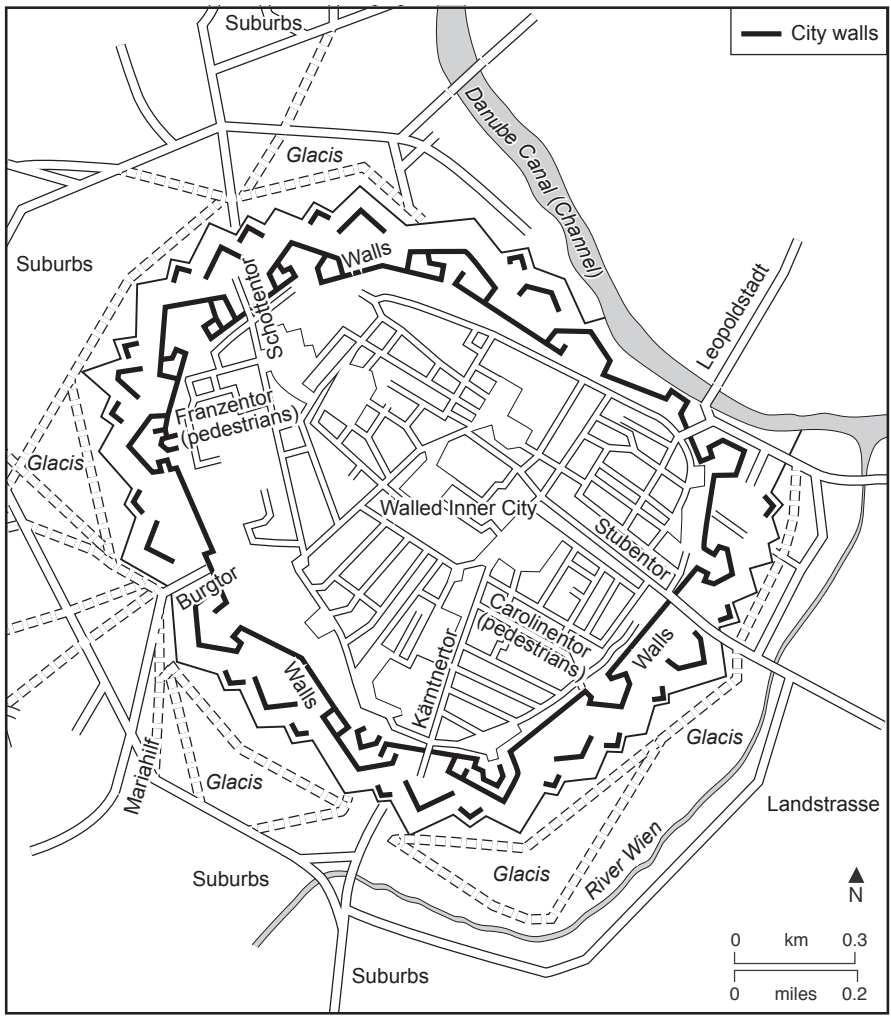
[written vertically→] [←written vertically] Indicates that part (or all) of the designated text was written vertically (or at least diagonally) as opposed to the customary horizontal entries.

[falsified entries begin→] [←falsified entries end] Points out Schindler's falsified entries at the point where they are found in the manuscript. Brief falsified entries have commensurately brief designations.

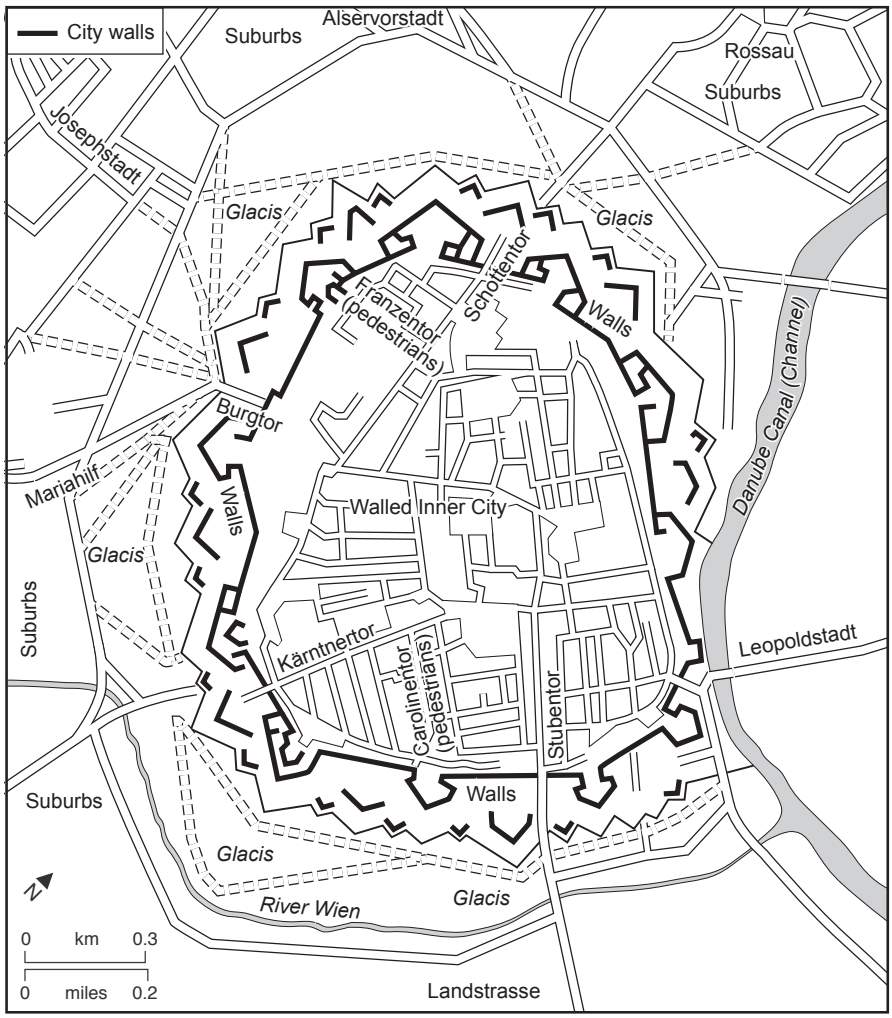
<crossed out> Indicates a text that has been crossed out in the manuscript, and generally follows the German editors' attempts to read or reconstruct it.

[illegible word] Signifies what it says. This and similar phrases in editorial brackets occur frequently throughout the conversation books.

Directionality in Vienna (True and Perceived)



True, with the Danube flowing from West to East at 45 degrees



Perceived, with the Danube essentially flowing from North to South

Heft 9

(March 11, 1820 – March 19, 1820)

[Inside Front Cover]

BEETHOVEN: From March 11, 1820.[1]

[Blatt 1r]

JOSEPH CZERNY **[seemingly at the *Birne* or a similar establishment close to Beethoven's apartment on the Josephstadt Glacis; probably the afternoon of Saturday, March 11]**:[2]

I am married—I go somewhere in the evenings only to rest from the exertions of the day. // One lives only for himself here. Were you at [the] *Kam*[*eel*]?[3] // I drink only water at midday; today, however, I will drink wine in the end. //

<I have also learned a great deal already, of the matters which—*u ei de*.>[4] [//] [Blatt 1v] I only wanted to say that I have learned a great deal of what is being spoken about. // Against you and for you. //

You surely want to demonstrate only good deeds for Karl, and any other mother would kiss your hand for it. // <She is> One knows her. // It is to be wished that

[1] In the final entries of Heft 8, Beethoven seems to have been sitting in a restaurant or coffee house later in the day on Saturday, March 11, in the company of Joseph Czerny and the Rhenish wine dealer Neberich. He may have had Heft 9 along with him, since Czerny makes the first entries, or Beethoven and Czerny may have headed to the Josephstadt together (where Czerny was going to deliver the "Archduke" Trio to Karl), and stopped off at Beethoven's apartment along the way.—TA

[2] This conversation seemingly continues from Heft 8. Beethoven may have had the new blank book with him. Czerny may have stopped by to see the composer before or after visiting Blöchlinger's Institute. Beethoven's jottings from the *Beobachter* of March 11 on Blatt 3v seem to confirm the date.—TA

[3] Given the context, this almost surely refers to the spice and wine house *Schwarzes Kameel* (Black Camel), one of the places where Beethoven's circle often gathered after they stopped visiting *Zur Stadt Triest* in early to mid-February, 1820. The original reads: "bey Kam." In Heft 10, Blatt 4r, a previously unknown writer, now believed to be Georg Adam Sattler at Artaria's, referred to the wine house as "bey Caml," which placed the emphasis on the first syllable.

Earlier editor Georg Schünemann also considered Andreas Kamm, a *Wundarzt* (wound doctor) living at eastern suburban Leopoldstadt, No. 496 (*Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1820, II, p. 342).—TA

[4] It is possible that Czerny and Beethoven were in danger of being overheard.—TA

these matters will soon be over. That is the opinion of all your friends and admirers. [//] [Blatt 2r] You have a great deal of annoyance. // It would be better for her child, if she [Johanna] were perhaps in the penitentiary—like so. //

She [Beethoven's housekeeper?] wanted to tell me that concerning the butter, but I do not understand it. // She wanted to do it very well, and in the future she will know it already. //

I also love life in the country, and this year shall also go to the country, but unfortunately only for 4 weeks. // To Heiligenstadt[5] or Baden.[6] [//] [Blatt 2v]

She [Beethoven's housekeeper?] says that today she didn't deserve any wine at all, but in the future, she wants you to look over everything that you wish personally. //

Yesterday I was at Count Traun's,[7] and the day before yesterday at Kollowrath's, where Wildfeuer is.[8] // He is in the military. //

Your Karl has asked me to bring him some [piano] piece with accompaniment [of one or more instruments], which he then wants to play on St. Joseph's Day (Blöchlinger's name day).[9] [Blatt 3r] Now I am bringing him the Trio in B-flat major. Are you satisfied with that?[10] [//] **[presumably continues on Blatt 5r→]**[11]

BEETHOVEN **[jotting for himself and copying from the *Beobachter*; afternoon of Saturday, March 11]**: Czerny [and] his wife are buying me oil [and] sugar at the *Kameel*. [//] [Blatt 3v]

Great Britain.[12] "Under the portrait of Handel, a throne was erected, under which the sarcophagus rested.—The Dead March from Handel's *Saul* was performed,

[5] Heiligenstadt, a small wine-growing village at the foot of the Kahlenberg; part of Vienna's 19th *Bezirk* since 1892. Possibly because of its modest-sized spa, Beethoven had spent time there in the summers of 1802, 1807, and 1817. See Groner (1922), p. 159.—KH/TA

[6] Baden, a well-known and very popular thermal spa resort, ca. 15 miles south of Vienna, frequented especially by the upper middle class and nobility in Beethoven's time. Located at the passage from the Wienerwald (Vienna Woods) to the Viennese basin.—KH/TA

[7] Counts Franz and Anton von Traun-Abensberg were I.R. Chamberlains in actual service; Count Adam von Traun-Abensperg was a member of the Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft (Agricultural Society) in Vienna. See *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1820, I, pp. 66–67, and II, p. 290; and Blatt 44v, below.—KH

[8] Wildfeuer (Wildfeyer) was the tutor in the house of Count Kollowrath, Dorotheergasse No. 1182 [renumbered as 1116 in 1821]; see Heft 7, Blatt 19v.—TA

[9] Joseph Blöchlinger's name day was March 19.—KH

[10] On Ash Wednesday, February 23, 1820, Czerny had supervised a performance of the "Archduke" Trio, Op. 97, at the Lobkowitz Palace, with young Prince Joseph playing piano, Anton Kraft playing violoncello, and presumably Anton Schreiber playing violin (see Heft 7, Blatt 56v, and Heft 8, Blatt 5r). As can be surmised from Blätter 93r–94v, below, violoncellist Joseph Linke accompanied Czerny to Blöchlinger's party, possibly with Schreiber as violinist, and Beethoven did not attend.—TA

[11] Czerny may have excused himself to go to the bathroom.—TA

[12] Beethoven took these notes from a report on the funeral of the English King George III, who had died on January 29. See "Grossbritannien und Irland," in the *Beobachter*, No. 71 (March 11, 1820), pp. 345–346; and "Grossbritannien" in the *Wiener Zeitung*, No. 61 (March 15, 1820), p. 242.—KH/TA

[Blatt 4r] as well as the Funeral Cantata on the Death of Princess Caroline, composed by Handel, performed with great effect." [Blatt 4v]

Variations on Handel's Funeral March for full orchestra, for the *Akademie*, perhaps add voices later [in the work?]. & These *Variations* must likewise contain various *Klagen* [laments].[13] [//]

[Blatt 5r]

JOSEPH CZERNY **[presumably continuing]**: Can he [Karl] then make up the examination when he gets well? //

Bernard is also under the weather. I saw him [last?] evening at the Peters's. [//] He was coughing. //

Your C-minor Symphony will be done at the next concert of the [Musik-]Verein. They want to ask you for the score, [also] about conducting.[14] [//] [Blatt 5v] A week ago, they performed your Symphony in E-flat very well.[15] // He [presumably

[13] In connection with the Overture to *Die Weihe des Hauses*, in summer, 1822, Schindler recounted that Beethoven had long wanted to write a work in the style of Handel (Schindler-MacArdle, p. 234). Mozart must also have known the Dead March from *Saul*, and used it as a model for the march that accompanies Tamino's trials by fire and water in *Die Zauberflöte*.—TA

[14] Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Op. 67, would be performed, along with the final chorus from *Christus am Ölberge*, under Franz Pechaczek at the third concert of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in the Grosser Redoutensaal on Sunday, April 9, 1820. See Perger, p. 287; *Wiener AmZ* 4, No. 37 (May 6, 1820), col. 289; Thayer-Forbes, p. 770; Concert Zettel, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde; and Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume*, p. 234.—KH/TA

[15] The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde's first concert of the season had taken place on Sunday, February 20, 1820, at the Grosser Redoutensaal and included Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony in E-flat (Programm, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde). Perhaps coincidentally, the 11th *Concert spirituel* under Franz Xaver Gebauer, held at the Mehlgrube, also included this symphony, although the date of that concert—demonstrably within this time frame as well—remains open to some question.

An unsigned article by Ignaz von Mosel, *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 4, No. 28 (April 5, 1820), cols. 217–220, provided an overview of the organization's projected eighteen concerts (one every two weeks, from 4 to 6 in the afternoon) from fall, 1819, through spring, 1820, but without giving precise dates for each one. Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (1869), p. 189, includes this list, likewise without dates. Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume*, p. 234, provides dates (the 11th *Concert spirituel* as Friday, February 18, for instance), based on a chronology established in Martina Pfeiffer's dissertation, "Franz Xafer [*sic*] Gebauer: Sein Leben und Wirken" (Universität Wien, 1995), pp. 147–151. The *Wiener AmZ* 4, No. 48 (June 14, 1820), cols. 377–379 (supplementary article, *not* by Mosel), notes that *Concert spirituel* No. 18 took place on Friday, May 19. Working backward every two weeks from that date, however, provides us only an implausible solution. As given in Weinzierl, the concert numbers and supplied dates do not coordinate completely (possibly because the sequence might have been modified around Easter).

Closer to the present time frame, in a conversation entry on Thursday, March 16 (Blatt 47r, below), Gebauer invited Beethoven to hear a symphony by Haydn and a new Mass by Friedrich Schneider (noted in the *Wiener AmZ*'s repertoire list as Concert No. 13) the next day, Friday, March 17. Working backward, this still places Concert No. 11 on February 18, but it is difficult to believe that there would have been two independent performances of the *Eroica* on the same weekend. One

conductor Franz Pechatschek][16] owes this position[17] solely to Wrbna[18] and Kutschera.[19] // But you already have fame enough. [//] Fame. //

<Understand that> [//] [Blatt 6r] <The fore ….>[20]

At the New Year, when she [Johanna] was at his place, he [Blöchlinger] turned her away, with the statement that you are adequately taking care of Karl. // Since that time, she has not been to his place. // <crossed-out letters> 1 fl. 48 kr. the finest. // It doesn't depend upon her. [//] [Blatt 6v] 1 fl. 54 [kr.] //

wonders, therefore, if Gebauer might not have postponed his performance until the next concert date *after* February 18, which would have been Friday, March 3. If this were the case, then Joseph Czerny's March 11 observation that Beethoven's Symphony in E-flat had been performed "a week ago" would be quite accurate.

The Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 22, No. 20 (May 17, 1820), cols. 333–334, provides a summary of concert contents, with no dates.—TA

[16] Franz Pechatschek/Pechaczek (b. Vienna, July 4, 1793; d. Karlsruhe, September 15, 1840). Son of Bohemian-born Franz Martin Pechatschek (1763–1816), a popular Bohemian-born composer active with the irregularly organized Theater in the Landstrasse from 1783. Young Pechatschek reportedly studied violin with Schuppanzigh and composition with Albrechtsberger (d. 1809). He joined the Theater an der Wien's violin section in 1809, and by 1817 was a member of the first violin section (with Clement as first concertmaster and Sina as second concertmaster). By December, 1820 (and probably some months before), he had succeeded to the second concertmaster's position; and in August, 1821, he set out on an artistic tour of Germany on his way to Paris, returning by September, 1822. Shortly thereafter, he was called to the ducal orchestra in Stuttgart, remaining until 1826. From 1826, often troubled by ill health, he was a member of the orchestra in Karlsruhe. Ultimately, he conducted only two concerts of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, both of them in 1820.

His nephew Franz Pechatschek (b. December 9, 1791; d. Vienna, January 29, 1840) joined the Tonkünstler-Societät as a violoncellist [*sic*] and Magistrat's Councillor in May, 1830, and left orphans who received benefits through 1853: see Schilling, V, pp. 407–408; Clive, pp. 259–260; *Theater-Journal … 1817 … Theater an der Wien* (Vienna, 1818), p. 7; Kanne's *Wiener AmZ* 4, No. 105 (December 30, 1820), cols. 834–836; 5, No. 68 (August 25, 1821), col. 543; 6, No. 82 (October 12, 1822), cols. 651–653; Böckh, p. 375; Pohl, *Tonkünstler-Societät*, pp. 110, 122, 135; Pohl, *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, p. 65; as well as sundry reports in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.—TA

[17] Presumably the second orchestra director (second concertmaster) position at the Theater an der Wien. It is possible that the pressures of a position for which he may have been marginally qualified, as well as the seeming disapproval among various members of Vienna's musical community, caused Pechatschek to set out on tour in summer, 1821.—TA

[18] Count Rudolph von Wrbna und Freudenthal (b. 1761; died January 30, 1823), High Chamberlain to Emperor Franz since December 30, 1806. His sphere of influence included the Court Theaters and beyond. He lived in his own house, Spiegelgasse No. 1162 [renumbered as 1096 in 1821]. See *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1820, I, p. 3; Behsel, p. 33; also Franz Hadamowsky, *Wien. Theater. Geschichte*, pp. 261, 309–335; *Wiener Zeitung*, No. 27 (February 3, 1823), p. 68; Heft 19, Blatt 2r; and Heft 28, Blätter 1v–2v.—KH/TA

[19] Baron Johann von Kutscherá (1766–1832), lieutenant field marshal, and adjutant general to Emperor Franz since 1805. On ca. April 9, 1819, Franz Oliva had already made a negative allusion to him as the emperor's "single confidant and friend" (Heft 2, Blatt 34v).—KH/TA

[20] German original, *Die Vors*, could also be an abbreviation for *Vorsicht* (caution), especially if the preceding crossed-out entry meant that people nearby could hear their conversation.—TA

I have a wife, 3 children, my mother, and a servant,[21] but I have never been in such a financial embarrassment as Bernard is. // There is no order in his life. // Are they a married couple? //

He[22] just told me that you passed by [Blatt 7r] his place yesterday; he would very much like you to visit him. He would like to know whether the tone of the steel quills would have an effect on your hearing. // One plays on it the same as on the piano. [//] His shop is in the Weihburggasse.[23] [//] Have a look at it. [//] [Blatt 7v] Every tone has its own damper. [//] The tone is like a [glass] *Harmonika*. // But weaker. //

Don't you know anything about Oliva?[24] // His chest is bad. // I don't believe he has many needs. //

[End of conversation with Czerny.]

[Blatt 8r]

BEETHOVEN **[possibly annotating the next entry]**: About the razor sharpener. [//]

WOLFSOHN [?] **[possibly returning to bring an answer to an earlier question]**: The cutler Gokel[25] has his shop in the Schottenhof, next to the [Faculty of] Surgeons' warehouse for bandages.[26] [//]

[Seemingly the end of entries for Saturday, March 11.]

[21] See Heft 1, Blatt 1v, for family details.—TA

[22] Czerny is writing for watchmaker Franz Schuster, to whom he must have introduced Beethoven on ca. February 15 (Heft 7, Blätter 81r–81v).—KH/TA

[23] A sales shop of Franz Schuster in the Weihburggasse cannot be traced.—KH

[24] Oliva's most recent appearance in the conversation books was on ca. February 28–29 (Heft 8, Blätter 31v–33v), although they had not seen much of each other since the unfortunate incident with the wine that Beethoven had ordered from Seelig for him a month before.—TA

[25] Possibly Mathias Goeckel, surgical instrument maker to the Josephs-Akademie, living [in 1820] at suburban Alservorstadt No. 177 [renumbered as 200 in 1821], for whom, however, no shop within the walled City can be traced. Alservorstadt No. 200 was the *Schwarzspanierhaus*, where Beethoven would move several years later and die on March 26, 1827! Böckh (1822), p. 416, gives Goeckel's address as Alservorstadt No. 213 [which had been 190 in 1819], his own house, one block behind the *Schwarzspanierhaus*. See *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus*, 1820, II, p. 128; Böckh (1822), p. 416; Behsel, p. 201.—KH/TA

[26] In the Schottenhof No. 143 [renumbered as 136 in 1821], Anton Schlösser the Elder, a "maker of surgical machines, bandages, and trusses," had a shop. He lived on Lerchenfelder Hauptstrasse, in suburban Strozzigrund No. 55 [renumbered as 2 in 1821]. See Redl, 1822, p. 120; and Behsel, pp. 5 and 188.—KH/TA

STEIN[27] **[at Beethoven's apartment on the Glacis with Joseph Blahetka; possibly the morning of Sunday, March 12]**:[28] You don't write above the c''''.[29] // I would like to know whether you could better hear a piano that wasn't leathered.[30] // Then come and see me if you get out to the Landstrasse someday soon. [//]

[Blatt 8v]

JOSEPH BLAHETKA[31] **[continuing; evidently offering to accompany Beethoven to Stein's shop]**: That would be another couple of festive hours for me some time. //

STEIN **[continuing]**: Therefore in the afternoon. // The heating is to blame.[32] // There is nothing worse than [a piano] with 4 strings. // I have superior strings now. [//] [Blatt 9r] If one has such strings, then one does not need it 4-stringed. // You <must> should not allow Graf[33] to do anything to your [Broadwood] piano. // You can allow him to see everything, but just don't let him do anything. // I don't know what Graf actually wants, because he has already seen your instrument at my place.[34] [//] [Blatt 9v] You must be cautious. It is probably not right with him that

[27] Matthäus Andreas Stein (1776–1842), the brother of Nannette Stein Streicher, partner in the Streicher piano firm, which had its shop in suburban Landstrasse, at Ungargasse No. 334 [renumbered as 371 in 1821], house sign "St. Florian" (Behsel, p. 80). On ca. Saturday, March 4, Joseph Czerny had noted in Beethoven's conversation book (Heft 8, Blatt 70v) that Stein intended to visit Beethoven someday soon. On Blatt 10v, below, the unknown visitor who accompanied Stein wrote "here in the house." Therefore, the present conversation took place at Beethoven's apartment. Schindler identifies Stein's handwriting in Heft 35, Blatt 31v. There would be further conversations about this matter at least until ca. March 18 (Blätter 85r–88v, below); Clive, p. 351.—TA

[28] Stein is probably accompanied by the previously unknown writer, below, now tentatively identified as Joseph Blahetka. The conversation essentially lasts to Blatt 10v.—TA

[29] Beethoven's Erard piano had an upper range to c''''.—TA

[30] That is, a piano that did not have leather on the hammers.—TA

[31] On Blatt 25r, below, presumably written on Monday, March 13, Joseph Czerny remarks, "[Herr] Blahetka was at your place yesterday," and then notes several points covered in this conversation, presumably Sunday, March 12. Therefore this writer, who was "unknown" to the Berlin editors, may now be tentatively identified as Joseph Blahetka (see Heft 3, Blatt 53r), father of young piano virtuosa Leopoldine Blahetka, living ca. 5 blocks north-northwest of Beethoven on Florianigasse at approximately its intersection with today's Buchfeldgasse.—TA

[32] Probably the heating in Beethoven's apartment on the Glacis, which had been a problem since before he moved there full time on ca. February 2, 1820.—TA

[33] Conrad Graf (1782–1851), piano maker, lived in the Wieden, Kirchengasse No. 542 [renumbered as 182 in 1821 and as 336 in 1830]. During the summer of 1820, Emperor Franz and Archduke Rudolph visited Graf's establishment and admired his four-stringed pianos. On Tuesday, January 24, 1826, after taking Beethoven's Broadwood piano to his shop for repairs somewhat earlier, Graf loaned the composer the 4-stringed instrument that is now in the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn.

See Frimmel, *Handbuch*, I, p. 179; Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch* (1823), p. 251; Behsel, p. 92; *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 22, No. 40 (October 4, 1820), col. 673; and Heft 102, Blätter 33v–34r.—KH/TA

[34] On ca. February 15, Joseph Czerny had remarked to Beethoven that Stein had said that he had learned something from Beethoven's Broadwood piano. See Heft 7, Blatt 81v.—TA

I praised it that way. // It would give him the greatest joy if you couldn't use it [the Broadwood piano] any longer. // If you move out someday, I shall put the piano completely back into order for you. [//]

[Blatt 10r]

JOSEPH BLAHETKA: He has Instrument No. 372 by the same builder. He knows the construction and asks that, sometime soon, you allow him to come with paper and measuring stick and take the measurements, because he has a mind to make 2 such instruments.[35] [//] [Blatt 10v] He says that it could be done here in the house in half a day; you need only give the word. [//]

[End of visit by Stein and Blahetka.]

BEETHOVEN **[presumably still at home; late morning of Sunday, March 12]**: Candles, half and whole. [//]

[Blatt 11r]

BEETHOVEN **[presumably in a coffee house, looking through the previous day's *Conversationsblatt*;[36] late morning or early afternoon of Sunday, March 12]**:

The World is a king, and it wants to be flattered in return for favor. But true Art has its own mind and does not allow itself to be pressed into the mold of flattery.[37]

Famous artists are always [financially] embarrassed; therefore their first works are also their best, although they blossomed forth from a dark womb.[38]

[35] Probably the piano (numbered "7362") that Beethoven received early in 1818 as a gift from the English firm of Broadwood. See Thayer-Deiters-Riemann, IV, pp. 84–86.—KH

[36] Excerpts from the tragedy *Herostratos* by Baron Franz Maria Nell von Nellsberg (b. Brno, 1795; d. Frankfurt, 1852) appearing in the *Conversationsblatt*, No. 30 (March 11, 1820), pp. 280 and 281. The entire work appeared from Gerold in Vienna in 1821. Nell came from an old Rhenish family, but his father was a judge in Brno. He was educated at the Theresianum in Vienna and then in Klagenfurt. He entered civil service in Vienna in 1819 and rose to the highest ranks in the postal system. He was friendly with the Orientalist Joseph von Hammer(-Purgstall) but retired from literary life after his early adulthood.

See Köhler *et al.*, *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 2, p. 452; Wurzbach, Vol. 20, p. 169; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 20 (1886), p. 418; Thayer-Forbes, p. 747, quoted in Maynard Solomon, "Reason and Imagination: The Aesthetic Dimension," *Late Beethoven: Music, Thought, Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 92–101 and 260–265.—KH/TA

[37] Cited in Kerst & Krehbiel, *Beethoven, the Man and the Artist*, p. 12 (No. 2); modified version in John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, 15th edition, ed. Emily Morison Beck (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), p. 421; and Willis Goth Regier, *In Praise of Flattery* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), p. 56.—TA

[38] Cited in Kerst & Krehbiel, p. 50 (No. 102).—TA