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BEETHOVEN

a pictorial biography



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BY ERICH VALENTIN

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The musical Beethovens originally hailed from Mechlin

Beethoven's ancestors originally came from the Flemish part of Brabant. At the time when Brabant, Flanders and Hainault were setting the pattern for the rest of Europe in music and painting, the Beethovens were unknown farmers and artisans, living their quiet lives far from the bustle of the great world in the villages round about Louvain, the town on the Dyle rich in Gothic churches. They settled in Campenhout, Leefdael, Nederockerzeel, Haecht and various other small towns, but eventually migrated to Mechlin and Antwerp. We know their names, beginning with one Johann van Beethoven in the fifteenth century: but we know nothing of their fortunes. A single tragic incident has come down to us from the lives of those early Beethovens, concerning a certain Josine van Vlesselaer, the first wife of Arnold van Beethoven (a grandson of the above-mentioned Johann), who was burned at the stake for witchcraft in 1595, having been condemned by the terrible and ridiculous 'malleus maleficarum'.

Antecedents

The musically gifted members of this widespread family were descended from the Mechlin Beethovens, from the master baker Michael van Beethoven, a son of the carpenter Cornelius, and not, as was commonly held, from the Antwerp branch. Michael, the baker, who in addition to his own trade carried on a lace business, was a native of Mechlin, as was his wife Marie Louise Stuyckers, herself a baker's daughter, and their son Ludwig van Beethoven.



Clemens August, scion of the house of Wittelsbach and patron of the arts, was the sovereign prince of Beethoven's grandfather

We know that this first bearer of the now famous name was baptised on 5th January 1712, in the church of St. Catherine in Mechlin. Nineteen years later, this young man, the first musician we can trace, left the family circle. When he was only five years old, he had been admitted as a chorister to the choir school of St. Rombaut in Mechlin. Now he left home to go as a tenor to St. Peter's church in Louvain, where he eventually became choirmaster. What circumstances combined to send this prodigy from his family and seek his fortune in the outside world? Were there economic reasons? Was there dissension in the home? Or was he perhaps fired with artistic ambition? At all events both he and his future grandson were destined never to return to their place of origin. In 1732 the tenor of Louvain took up an appointment as bass at the church of St. Lambert in Liège, and in March of the following year His Electoral Highness Clemens August, Duke 'in upper and lower Bavaria etc.', issued a decree summoning one Ludovicus van Beethoven 'at the behest of the undersigned' to be a court musician at the Electoral Prince's chapel in Bonn.



The interior of St. Peter's church in Louvain, where Beethoven's grandfather once held an appointment

Before moving to Bonn, Beethoven's grandfather sang bass in the choir of St. Lambert's church in Liège





A map of the Electorate of Cologne with its capital Bonn

The palace at Bonn, seat of the Electoral Princes of Cologne, under whom the Beethovens held appointments

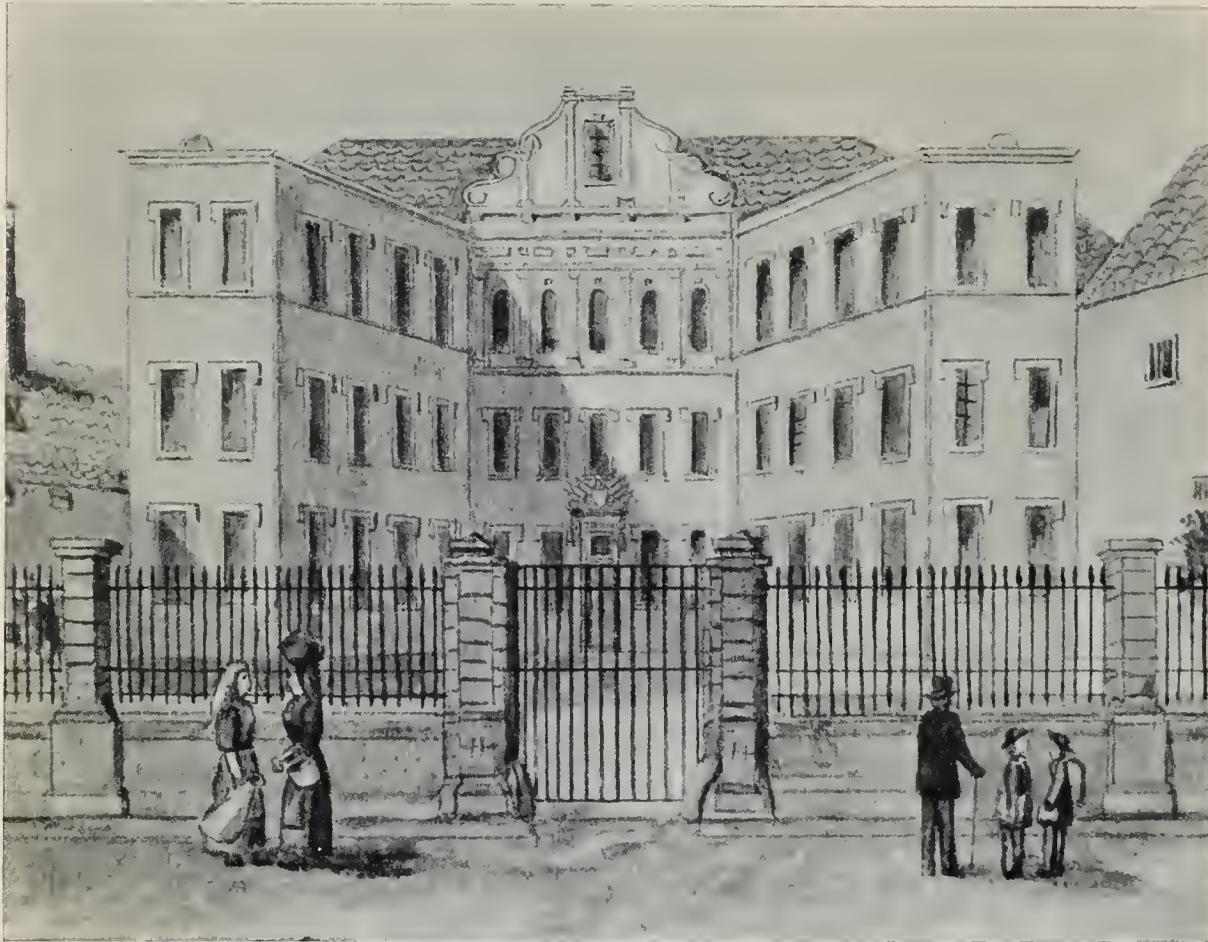




Grandfather Beethoven was a 'tall, handsome man, with a long face, wide forehead, round nose, large prominent eyes, plump red cheeks and a serious expression' (according to Gottfried Fischer, whose parents were grandfather Beethoven's landlords for the house in the Rheingasse)

The Roman Castra Bonnensia had suffered a diversity of fates in the course of mediaeval history, having been destroyed, rebuilt and again destroyed, until, in the thirteenth century, it became the seat of the Electoral Princes of Cologne. This cathedral town, where in the fourteenth century German kings were traditionally crowned, was at all times the meeting place of the political and intellectual trends of the day. The electoral capital was continually forced to adopt a defensive attitude in the struggles of the greater and lesser rival powers which surrounded it — among them the Imperial city of Cologne and the adjoining electorates — but more especially in the conflicts of the 'great powers', which dealt in world politics and international wars. This tendency towards self-assertion meant that life in the little town on the Rhine was suffused with a surprising degree of independence and freedom of thought, which neither the complete destruction of the old town in 1689, nor the hazards attendant on the advancing and retreating tides of war ever succeeded in obliterating. When Ludwig van Beethoven came to take up his new appointment there, eighteenth

Bonn



The old
high-school

century Bonn was already flourishing, and the palace, begun by Joseph Clemens and continued under the supervision of Clemens August, had been completed. The court chapel, the hall of the academy and the palace theatre were to be the 'workshops' not only of Ludwig van Beethoven, but of his son and his grandson.

Clemens August, an innocent where contemporary politics were concerned, was a son of the Bavarian Elector Max Emanuel and a most generous patron of the arts. He was especially appreciative of fine architecture, an appreciation to which the palaces at Bonn, Brühl and Poppelsdorf, as well as many restored churches, bear witness, and his enterprise in this sphere encouraged both the nobles and the wealthy burghers to commission in their turn a great many new buildings. In addition, the Wittelsbach Elector extended his patronage to music and the theatre.

It was to the court of this lively, urbane and witty prince that the young Beethoven came. It would seem that he felt secure and at ease in his new surroundings, for on 7th September 1733 he brought Maria Josefa Pohl, presumably a native of Bonn, as his wife to his lodgings in the old high-school in the Wenzelstraße. One of the witnesses at the marriage ceremony, which took place in the church of St. Remigius, was Gilles van den Eeden, who many years later

was to become the music master of the bridegroom's grandson and namesake. In the court chapel, where the Italian influence held sway, Beethoven, honest, reliable, genial and lively as he was, soon found his feet, and through time was held in such esteem that in 1761 he was appointed director of music to the court. This post brought with it a considerable income, which he struggled to augment by means of a wine business, thus endowing himself further with that self-confidence which bespeaks financial security and comfortable living. Everything seemed to have turned out for the best in his professional life. His domestic affairs, however, were less prosperous. Two children died, and the third, his son Johann, caused him much sorrow, while ill-health appears to have driven his wife to seek oblivion in drink. And so this 'highly respectable man, so good-hearted in his social relationships' (as he is described by Gottfried Fischer, in whose parents' house in the Rheingasse the Beethovens had lived since the '50s), gradually became somewhat embittered. In 1773, when his grandson was three years of age, he died in the house at No. 386 Bonngasse, to be followed to the grave a scant two years later by the unhappy Maria Josefa van Beethoven.

His grandson had in his possession a portrait of the old man, whose noble and worthy personality meant much to him, although he himself can scarcely have had any real recollection of his grandfather. Indeed, his respect for his grandfather was perhaps greater than that for his own father, even though in later years he remembered the latter as his 'dear father'.

Many stories and legends have since grown up around Johann van Beethoven, and despite all our researches, it is impossible to know exactly which are based on fact and which on the misrepresentations of political intrigue. The old Elector had died in 1761. His successor, the Dean Maximilian Friedrich von Königsegg-Aulendorf, though a clever and thrifty ruler, was nevertheless not powerful or tenacious enough to hold the reins of government firmly in his own hands. More and more he left the affairs of state to his courtiers, and in particular to

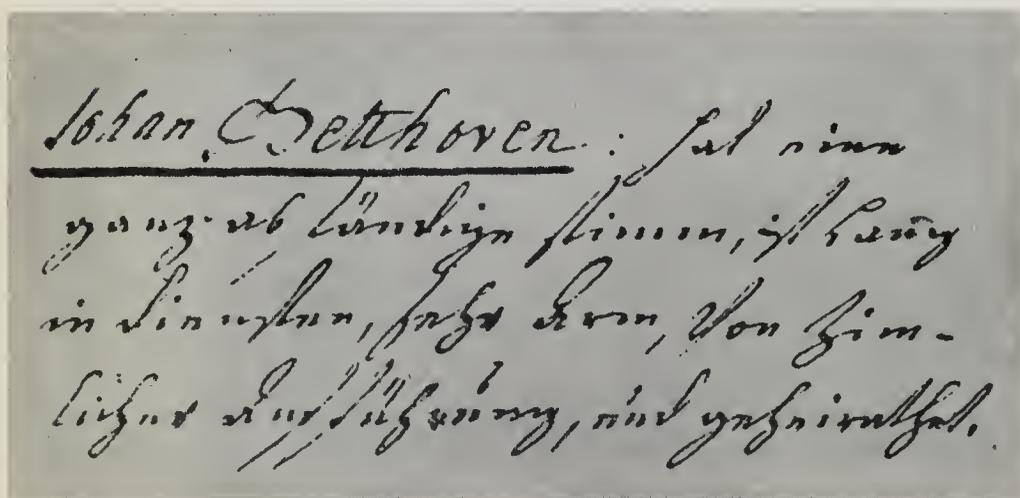
Maximilian Friedrich, Elector of Cologne,
at whose court the tenor Johann van Beethoven held
an appointment



one of his ministers, Kaspar Anton von Belderbusch, who, though much maligned by his opponents, was a clear-thinking, farsighted man of great commercial acumen. The fact that he advocated the new and enlightened ideas of the time rendered him automatically suspect in the eyes of his fellow-politicians. Our picture of him varies according to the likes and dislikes of the different parties; and so it is also with his favourites at court, among whom was undoubtedly Johann van Beethoven. Certain facts may well be accurate: but that same idle gossip which accused the minister of having deliberately engineered the palace fire of 1777, also blamed many outrages on Beethoven, who, among other things, was thought to be an informer. His instability and restlessness, his fast way of life and, if witnesses are to be believed, his fondness for drink, were all a great source of distress to his father, whose own outlook on life was so entirely different. Nevertheless, the elder Beethoven had apparently succeeded in making his son into an excellent musician, for at the early age of twelve Johann was admitted to the court chapel, a point in favour of this much-criticised man. Again we have the testimony of Fischer the master baker, who writes: 'Johann van Beethoven, court tenor, was assiduous in his duties, and gave instruction both in playing and in singing to the sons and daughters of the English, French and Imperial ambassadors in Bonn, to the children of the nobility, and to certain respected members of the bourgeoisie . . . The ambassadors were much attached to him, and instructed their stewards to supply him with wine as often as he was in want and should ask for it, whereupon the cellarers carried whole barrels of wine to his house. However, Beethoven never abused this privilege.'

*Ludwig van
Beethoven's
birth and early
years*

Side by side with the carefree waywardness and the wanderlust which as late as 1770 (the year of his son's birth) almost led Johann van Beethoven to move to Liège, there was a sober streak in his character, for he was a scrupulous and thoroughly orderly man. When he judged himself to have reached the appropriate age, he married, on 12th November 1767, the lovely young widow Maria



A personal description of Johann van Beethoven in the electoral records

The summer house in the Bonngasse, where Ludwig van Beethoven first saw the light of day ▶





In this attic room Beethoven was born

Extract from the baptismal register in the church of St. Remigius

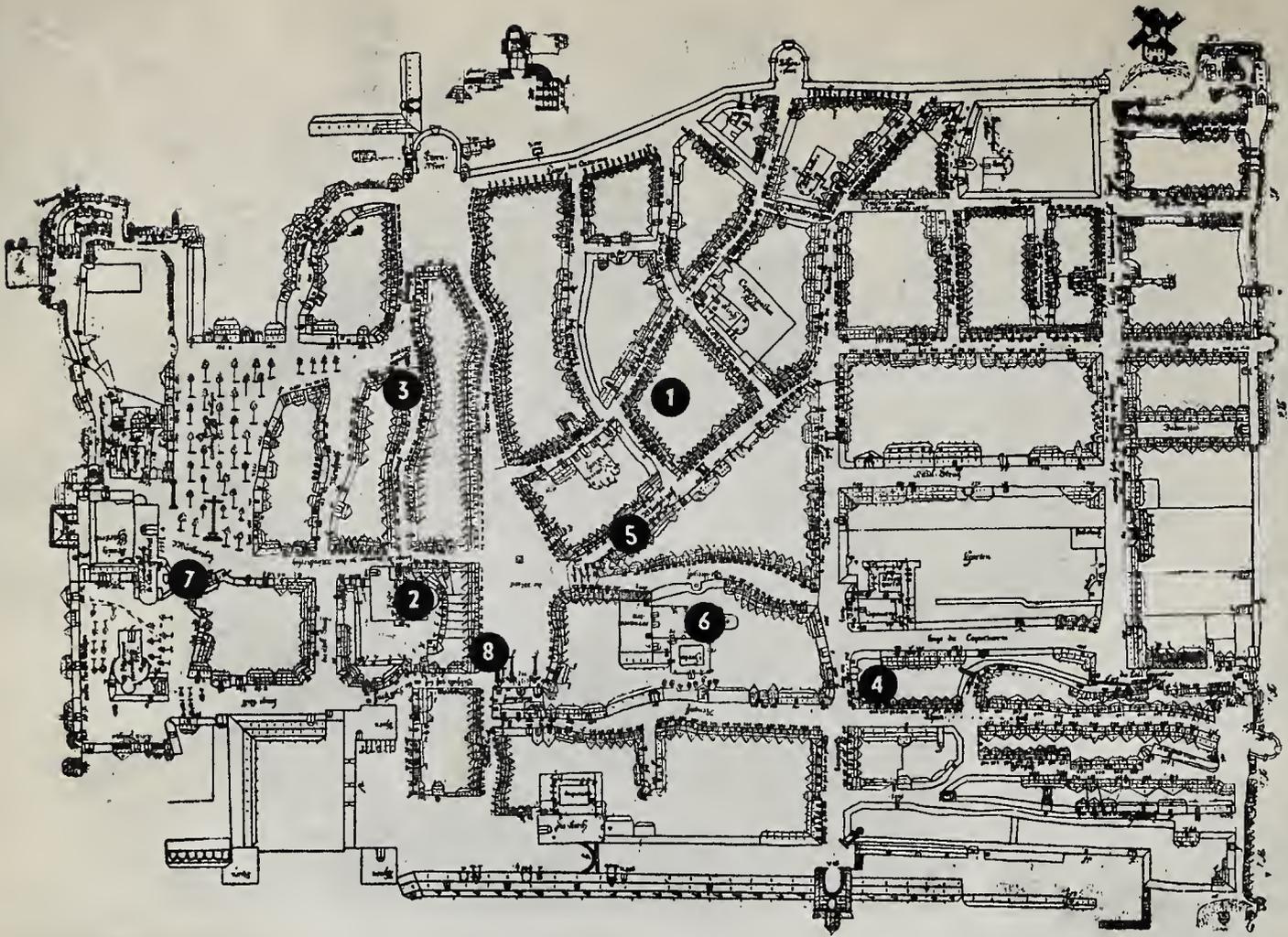
166.	1770.	
Parents	Proles	Patrim
P. Joannas van Beethoven & Helena nupti conjug.	1770. Xbris Ludovicus	P. Ludovicus van Beethoven genitricis mädern Sieb. Baums.

Magdalena Leym, daughter of one Keverich, inspector of kitchens at the court of the Elector of Trier. She was a good-hearted, kindly woman from Ehrenbreitstein, and her ancestors, who came from the Rhein-Moselle region, were honourable and eminent people. Together they set up house at No. 515 Bonngasse, and there, in the little grey attic room with its sloping ceiling, Ludwig van Beethoven was born.

He was the second son in a family of seven children. His elder brother, born a year before, died when only a few days old, and of the other children only Kaspar Anton Karl, born when Beethoven was four, and Nikolaus Johann, born in 1776, lived beyond childhood. Ludwig van Beethoven was baptised on 17th December 1770 (the actual date of his birth is not known) in that same church of St. Remigius where both his parents and grandparents had been married.

In his novel *Jean-Christophe* Romain Rolland, himself a great admirer of Beethoven, portrays the tragic fate of the young Jean-Christophe. We see the child in the gloomy, melancholy atmosphere of the parental home, where life is dominated by the depravity of the brilliant father, and the gifted child is protected from destruction only by the kindly severity of his lonely old grandfather and the mute suffering of his mother. It has been claimed that this episode is borrowed from the life of the young Beethoven. This legend may, however, be ascribed to poetic licence, for it was not until much later, when the ailing mother was dead and disorder prevailed in the home, that Johann van Beethoven abandoned himself to the excesses which overshadowed his children's existence. Before that, as far as we know, the intelligent, though shy little boy, lived in an atmosphere of tranquil security, largely created by his mother. He played like other children, and, like them, loved boyish pranks. He trotted to school with the rest, carrying his slate and schoolbooks — though by this time not from the house in the Bonngasse, but from the 'Dreieck' or the Rheingasse, where the family occupied the Fischers' house. Sometimes he was taken for walks by the maid along the banks of the Rhine or in the palace gardens; or he would lie dreaming at his bedroom window, or climb up into the loft and look out over the broad landscape, away beyond the Rhine to the Siebengebirge. When he was older, he accompanied his father on long excursions into the surrounding district. On the sensitive mind of the introspective child the awareness of his native countryside made a lasting impression, just as other events, such as the Rhine bursting its banks or the palace fire, filled him with terror.

There was a great deal of music-making in the Beethoven household, and the boy went with his father to musical gatherings in other houses. How and when the child's own talent first became apparent is not known. Johann van Beethoven was no Leopold Mozart (the latter's son von Wolfgang was causing



This was Bonn when Beethoven was a child



- ① *The house in the Bonngasse, where he was born*
- ② *The church of St. Remigius, where he was baptised*
- ③ *The Dreieck, where the family lived until 1776*
- ④ *The Rheingasse (1776/87)*
- ⑤ *The Wenzelgasse (until 1792)*
- ⑥ *The Minorite church*
- ⑦ *The Breuning house on the Münsterplatz*
- ⑧ *The Zehrgarten*

From a map of Bonn in 1773

Beethoven grew up in the Fischer's house in the Rheingasse, previously occupied by his grandfather

A V E R T I S S E M E N T.

Seut dato den 26ten Martii 1778. wird auf dem musikalischen Akademiesaal in der Sternengass der Churkölnische Hoforganist **BEETHOVEN** die Ehre haben zwey seiner Scholaren zu produciren; nämlich: Madlle. Averdonc Hofaltistin, und sein Söhngen von 6. Jahren. Erstere wird mit verschiedenen schönen Arien, letzterer mit verschiedenen Clavier-Concerten und Trios die Ehre haben aufzumarten, wo er allen hohen Herrschaften ein völliges Vergnügen zu leisten sich schmeichlet, um je mehr da beyde zum größten Vergnügen des ganzen Hofes sich hören zu lassen die Gnade gehabt haben.

Der Anfang ist Abends um 5. Uhr.

Die nicht abbonirte Herren und Damen zahlen einen Gulden.

Die Billets sind auf ersagtem musikalischen Akademiesaal, auch bey Hrn. Claren auf der Bach im Mühlenstein zu haben.

Beethoven was eight years old, and not six, as the notice claims, when he gave a concert in Cologne, on 26th March 1778

quite a stir in those same Rhenish states in the years when Ludwig van Beethoven was growing up) and he kept a stern eye on the studies of his brow-beaten son.

The truth was that he, as Ludwig's teacher, was reluctant to acknowledge the boy's genuine gift. Nevertheless, in 1778 he presented his allegedly six-year-old 'little son' (Söhngen) at a public concert in Cologne (similarly we hear of a journey to Rotterdam).

The old court organist van den Eeden may already have played his part in the child's musical training. At that time a great change was being effected in the cultural life of the electoral capital: Maximilian Friedrich had modernised the theatre. In an effort to compete with Vienna and Mannheim, he inaugurated a national theatre, under the direction of the actor, Friedrich Wilhelm Grossmann. One of the members of Grossmann's company was the talented comedian Tobias Friedrich Pfeiffer, who found lodgings with the Beethovens. This strange fellow from Thuringia, whose greatest pleasure lay in making fun of



Cologne with its unfinished cathedral

his contemporaries, took a special interest in the nine-year-old boy. Pfeiffer played the piano, and would even consent to perform on the flute if begged to do so. What delightful hours they must have spent making music together, with Pfeiffer trilling away on his transverse flute and the young Beethoven adding his own bewitching variations on the piano. Small wonder that passers-by stopped to listen. Sometimes the two were joined by the court musician Franz Georg Rovantini, a fellow lodger and kinsman of the Beethovens, who was teaching Ludwig to play the violin and viola. If contemporary witnesses are reliable, however, the boy's musical yearnings found their true fulfilment not in those carefree sessions in his own home, but in the hours he spent at the organ with Brother Willibald, organist of the Franziscan monastery; and very soon we find him from time to time voluntarily undertaking the duties of organist at the Minorite church in Bonn.

Early Youth

The most decisive influence on the young Beethoven was in fact twofold: his

contact with his first real teacher, Christian Gottlob Nøefe, and the impact on him of the intellectual trends of the day, which, after the death of Maximilian Friedrich, found a worthy advocate in his successor, the Habsburg Maximilian Franz, a brother of the Emperor Joseph II.

Neeffe, whose name has gone down in musical history as a director of opera and teacher of singing, had come to Bonn to take charge of operatic productions at the recently established national theatre, and shortly after his arrival he was appointed court organist. A highly accomplished man (he was a poet as well as a musician), he had at one time studied jurisprudence at Leipzig, knew many contemporary writers, had personal recollections of both Gellert and Bach, was a friend of Hiller and an admirer of the great Klopstock. Neeffe was very much alive to the spiritual problems and artistic events of the times; and he could appreciate the significance of the Göttingen poets and the young Goethe's *Werther*.

It goes without saying, therefore, that such a man appeared as an angel in disguise to someone like the ten-year-old Beethoven, who strove passionately after both intellectual and artistic development. Not only did the teacher reveal to his avid pupil the lessons to be learned from the carefully-regulated art of Johann Sebastian Bach, or from the more modern music of his son Carl Philipp Emanuel: he taught him much more. Under his influence the eager child's eyes

Description of the youthful
Beethoven from the Court
Calendar

'Ludwig Beethoven, a son of the
Beethoven mentioned below . . .
Though he receives no salary, he
officiates at the organ in the
absence of Kapellmeister Luchesy.

He is a capable musician,
still young, quiet and well-behaved'

Ludwig Beethoven ein Sohn
des Beethoven des N. 8. ist
zuerst ein geistl. sehr aber
wegen der Abwesenheit des
Kapellmeisters Luchesy in
Orgel versehen; ist von gutem
Sinn, noch jung, von gutem
stillen Einfühlung, und dem.



Christian Gottlob Neefe,
Beethoven's teacher and adviser



Title-page of the first impression
of the *Kurfürsten-Sonatas* (1783)

were opened to those things which would most benefit his receptive, impressionable mind and spirit. When Beethoven was twelve years old, the older man drew him into his own sphere of work, entrusting him with some of the duties of court organist, so that Beethoven came to be regarded as Neefe's deputy. His many other activities included choir training, and playing the harpsichord and violin, which latter he studied at the school run by the orchestra's leader, Franz Ries.

To this period belong his first compositions, several of which, with Neefe's approval, were actually published. These include the *Dressler Variations*, three sonatas dedicated to the Prince Elector (in the preface to which the composer, doubtless encouraged by Neefe, tells us that he has been an active musician since the age of four), a fugue, a piano concerto, some songs, and the *Piano Quartets*, still extant in the fifteen-year-old boy's own script.

Beethoven's meeting with Neefe coincided with the succession of the new Elector, a change-over significant not only for the budding genius, but for the whole city and its cultural life. The popular and energetic new sovereign, who before his accession had been Grand Master of the Teutonic Order at Mergentheim, came to Bonn fully conscious of his princely responsibilities and deter-

mined to further the reforms of his predecessor. But in doing so he took a more active and generous interest in the social and cultural lives of his subjects. A musically-cultivated man, acquainted even with contemporary compositions (Mozart once toyed with the idea of accepting an electoral appointment), and well-versed in literature and philosophy, Maximilian Franz was convinced that the best way to deal with the new aims and ideals of the time was to adopt an attitude of well-informed toleration towards them. The theatre, music, literature and science — Max Franz raised the academy founded by his predecessor to the status of a university in 1786 — all found in him a benevolent patron, who earned the love of his subjects and the gratitude of those artists whose talents he fostered.

In this peaceful and prosperous atmosphere, so soon to be shattered by the intrusion of western politics, the well-being of the pleasure-loving burghers increased, as did the activities of those whose main interests lay in intellectual discussion. All this had a far-reaching effect on the young Beethoven. The universal desire to come to grips

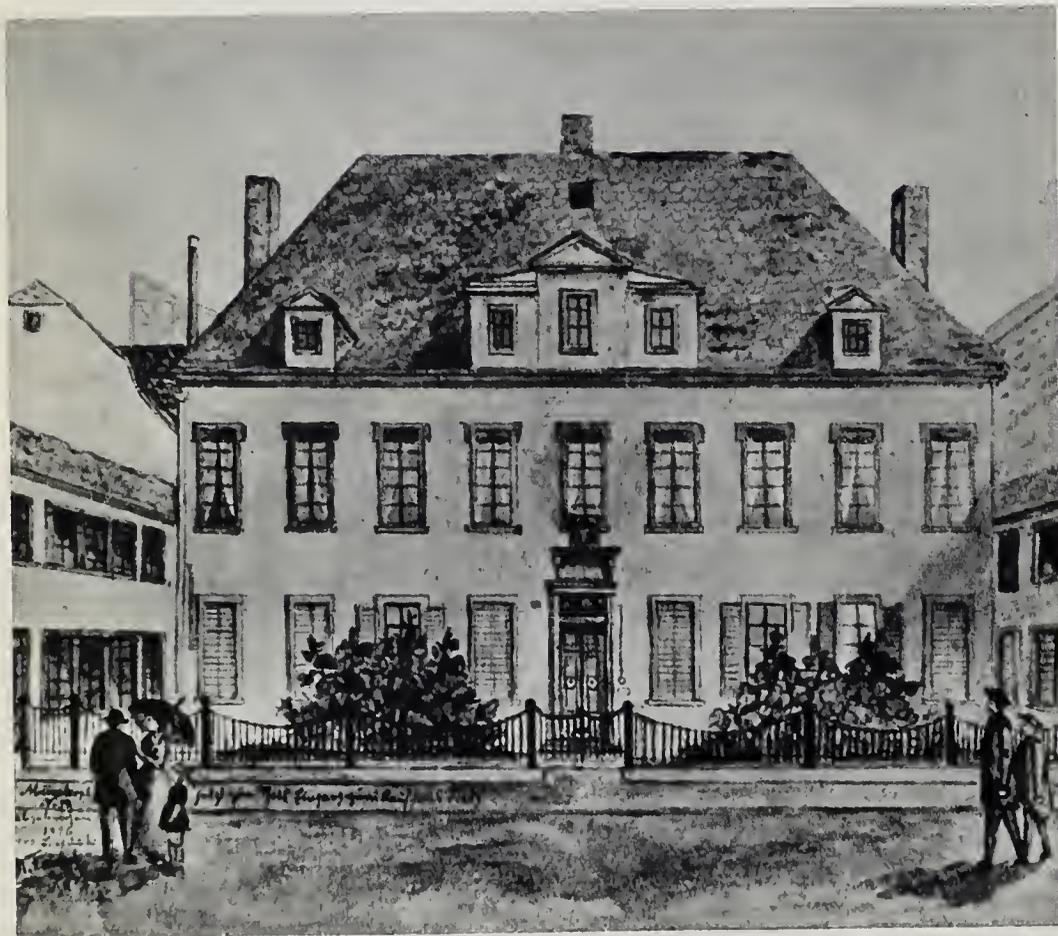


Maximilian Franz, Beethoven's sovereign prince, lover of the arts, and sometime patron of Mozart

From the earliest extant manuscript: this was the fifteen-year-old Beethoven's notation



The sixteen-year-old organist, with his jabot and queue



Beethoven's happiest childhood days were spent at the Breuning house on the Münsterplatz



Frau von Breuning
and 'Lorchen' taking tea

with current ideas led to the appearance — among both the townspeople and the nobility, as well as in other spheres of contemporary society — of debating clubs, musical and literary societies, newspapers and book-shops. Around the newly created university there gathered a group of men eager to discuss and pronounce upon the writings of Kant and Goethe. They welcomed the new tendencies in philosophy, just as the theatre addicts and music-lovers enthused about Gluck or Grétry, Shakespeare, Lessing, Voltaire or Schiller, Haydn, Boccherini and the 'modernists' from Mannheim.

Amidst this wealth of social intercourse and spiritual activity, which now characterised the electoral capital, Beethoven, the young court musician, kept his eyes and ears wide open to all that was going on. In his livery of green tail-coat and breeches, wig and sword, the appearance of the thick-set, broad-shouldered youth earned him the nick-name of 'the Spaniard'. One of the many rendezvous of intellectual society in the city was the home of the Breunings on the Münsterplatz. Beethoven, as the teacher and friend of the children of the late court councillor Emanuel Joseph von Breuning (who had lost his life in the palace fire) was an almost constant visitor at the home of Breuning's distinguished widow, where he made music, took part in discussions and even, occasionally, went into a 'raptus' which his noble-minded patroness treated with complete understanding. The young Breunings, Eleonore, of whom Beethoven was very fond, her brother Christoph, Stephan, who later lived near him in Vienna, and Lorenz, the youngest, were almost like sister and brothers to him, and he spent many happy days in their company, either at home or at 'Uncle Breuning's' in Kerpen. Together they made excursions to Godesberg or into the mountains, and often went walking to the Kreuzkapelle or to the Rhine. It was in this circle, at whose centre he already stood and where he felt so carefree, that the first foundations were laid for those friendships which Beethoven



Beethoven played the organ in the church at Marienforst near Godesberg

held so sacred all his life. Chief among them was his attachment for the medical student Franz Gerhard Wegeler, his senior by some five years. Wegeler, who was later to become Eleonore's husband and a professor at Bonn university, had facilitated Beethoven's entry into the Breuning milieu, where he first met those who soon became his constant companions; the brothers Gerhard and Karl von Kügelgen, both painters, and, shortly afterwards, Count Ferdinand von Waldstein.

His affection for the Breunings was life-long, and neither time nor distance ever changed it.

It was in keeping with Beethoven's rather special character that he remained absolutely loyal to those he loved, whether it was the Breunings, Wegeler, Romberg or, later, his Viennese friends. He suffered greatly if a friendship was threatened by his ill-humour, and was honest enough to make the first move towards a reconciliation, so highly did he value human relationships.

Later, in a letter to Eleonore von Breuning, he wrote: 'I remember my many

conversations with you and your dear family, but, alas, they were not always accompanied by the calm which I should have desired. I remember, too, how my quarrelsome nature would disrupt our discussions, and how ashamed I used to be of my abominable behaviour. But the damage was done, and I would give much to be able for ever to efface that disagreeable trait from my otherwise reasonable character. There were admittedly many circumstances which contrived to keep us apart, and I imagine that the main drawback to any mutual agreement was the whispered reports of what each had said against the other. We were both convinced that we meant what we said then: but really our anger was fanned by insinuation, and we were both deceived. I know, my dear, noble-



The 'Santa Scala'
in the chapel
of the Kreuzberg monastery



In Munich, Beethoven put up at the 'Schwarzer Adler', an inn which stood near the cathedral

mindful friend, that in your goodness you will long since have forgiven me. But it is said that the most genuine repentance is shown when one voluntarily admits one's failing, as I do now. Let us then draw a veil over the whole matter, and only remember the moral to be taken from the past, which is this: when friends quarrel, it is always better that they should turn directly to one another, rather than employ a third person as go-between.'

The memory of his former acquaintances in Bonn kept alive his recollections of Bonn itself, for the town, with its palace, its churches and chapels, and its surrounding countryside, was clearly associated in his mind with personal ties, and with discussions and experiences he had had there. In view of the people and events among which he grew up, it was increasingly necessary that he should leave Bonn to seek wider horizons, in order to add to what he had already learned, heard and seen by personal observation. In addition, the broadening of his outlook and the possibility of improving himself might eventually lead to

great things for him. Already his playing, as a thirteen-year-old, had given such promise of the pianist to come that Neefe was prompted to remark: 'This young genius deserves encouragement, so that he may travel. If he continues as he has begun, he will certainly become another Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.'

Now the time had at last come for him to set out. Vienna was the obvious choice of goal, for, in the Bonn of Maximilian Franz and the young Beethoven, Italy was no longer regarded as being artistically pre-eminent in Europe, having been superseded by Vienna. It was, therefore, not merely because of the political ties linking the courts of Bonn and Vienna, but (more important) because of magic names like Haydn and Mozart, that Beethoven was drawn to the Habsburg capital. He applied for leave of absence, and one March day in the year 1787, Ludwig van Beethoven, court musician to the Elector of Cologne, boarded the stage-coach for Vienna. We assume that his route lay along the highway down the Rhine to Frankfurt via Coblenz, across the Main south-eastwards towards Oettingen-Wallerstein, seat of the Imperial Prince Kraft Ernst, also a patron of the arts — his director of music was Antonio Rosetti. From there they crossed the Danube, which Beethoven now saw for the first time, and so came, first to Augsburg, and then to Munich, where Beethoven put up for the night near the cathedral, at the house of the artistically-minded inn-keeper Albert, where at various times before and after, Winckelmann, Goethe, Haydn and Mozart also stayed. Leaving Munich, the coach followed the same route taken by Mozart some years previously, through Linz and the fertile Wachau region, then along the banks of the Danube, where the vine-covered slopes must surely have reminded Beethoven of his native Rhineland.

*Journey to
Vienna*

On 7th April 1787 Beethoven had his first glimpse of Vienna, Mozart's native city







Mozart, as drawn by Doris Stock
two years before his death

On Easter Sunday, 7th April 1787, Beethoven entered the city which was to be his permanent home. This was Vienna, seat of emperors, capital city of Joseph II (brother of Beethoven's own sovereign prince), with its palaces, its tall, many-windowed houses where the nobles and the wealthy burghers held court, its wide squares and beautiful parks. This was the home of the new national theatre, at that time in the hands of Dittersdorf. Vienna — city of the ageing Gluck, and city of Mozart!

With what joy, and yet with what trepidation, the young man must have climbed the dark stairs of the house in the Schulerstrasse, and knocked at his hero's door. Mozart, fresh from the triumphal performance of his *Figaro* in Prague, was then working on his *Don Giovanni*, having completed his String Quintet. And Mozart — or so Beethoven hoped — was to be his teacher! Fate decided otherwise. From Bonn came bad news about the state of his beloved mother's health, causing him to leave Vienna barely two weeks after his arrival there, and travel post-haste back to Bonn. We may be sure that he looked at Munich and Augsburg with other eyes on his return journey.

On 17th July his 'best and most faithful friend' closed her eyes for ever.

The 'Figaro House', where flights of stone steps led to Mozart's rooms, lies not far from St. Stephen's church

Sehr geehrter Herr

ich habe die Ehre Ihnen zu schreiben,

daß ich mich sehr freuen würde, wenn ich Sie persönlich zu sehen hätte, und Sie zu hören, denn ich vermiss' Sie sehr, und ich will mich nicht auf's Geringste beschweren, daß ich die letzten Wochen nicht zu Ihnen gekommen bin, sondern daß ich mich sehr bemüht habe, Sie zu besuchen, und ich hoffe, Sie bald zu sehen zu bekommen. Ich bin sehr dankbar für die Güte, die Sie mir erwiesen haben, und ich hoffe, Sie bald zu sehen zu bekommen. Ich bin sehr dankbar für die Güte, die Sie mir erwiesen haben, und ich hoffe, Sie bald zu sehen zu bekommen.

Monsieur de Schaden
Conseiller d'Augsbourg
Augsbourg

In a letter to Councillor von Schaden in Augsburg, Beethoven wrote: 'On my arrival I found my mother still alive, but in a pitiful state of health. She was dying of consumption, and finally passed away some seven weeks ago ...'

Beethoven's carefully-composed letter to his Augsburg friend Schaden is a comment on his true state at the time, as is the letter Mozart wrote to the Abbé Bullinger after his mother's death. Beethoven, ill, depressed, and worried about paying back the money for his journey, saw his whole world disintegrate before his very eyes: 'She was a kind a loving mother to me, and my best friend. Oh, how happy I

was when I might still utter that sweet name of mother, and she was there to hear me. But who can hear me now? Only the dumb likeness of her conjured up by my imagination.'

He had suffered a heavy blow; but worse was to come. His youngest sister died, and his father, seeking oblivion, squandered all his earnings on drink. It was a troubled time for the Beethovens, and the burden of responsibility fell on the shoulders of the nineteen-year-old Ludwig. His highly developed sense of duty and that moral courage which was later to dissuade him from committing suicide in his despair, revealed themselves now in this bitter but inescapable situation. He took both home and family under his wing, and looked after his

brothers, of whom Kaspar Karl became a musician and Nikolaus Johann an apothecary. Despite the sacrifices he made for the home, he neglected neither his professional duties nor his intellectual demands. He found time to matriculate in the Faculty of Arts with Anton Reicha and Ferdinand Karl Kùgelgen, and in the company of his friends indulged in frequent conversation and discussion. From this time onward the Zehrgarten circle in particular, afforded Beethoven a kind of 'creative compensation'. At the centre of the group was Babette Koch, the stimulating, clever and hospitable daughter of the Widow Koch, childhood friend of Eleonore von Breuning, and later wife of Count Anton Belderbusch. The companionship of that sworn brotherhood of kindred spirits was very precious to Beethoven, for he felt truly at ease among the young people who met in the Marktplatz. The cream of the city's youth came together there — the Breunings, Wegeler, Bartholomäus Fischenich, a lawyer and follower of Kant (it was Fischenich who visited Schiller in Jena and tried to form a liaison between him and Beethoven), Johann Martin Degenhart, another lawyer, Peter Joseph Eilender, the Kùgelgens, Ferdinand Goebel, Anton Reicha,

*Return to
Bonn*

Part of the beautiful countryside surrounding Bonn





'He was dark, with black hair and very dark brown eyes. His narrow, intelligent face reminded one of Spain,' wrote Wilhelm von Kügelgen of his father Gerhard, who, with his brother Karl, was one of Beethoven's closest friends

An extract from the electoral Court Calendar of 1788

14

Kurfürstl. Kabinets, Kapellen-
und Hofmusik.

Intendant
Se. Excellenz Herr Obristhofmeister Graf von
Salm, f. p. 11.

Vokalmusik.

Kapellenmeister.
Herr Andreas Luchesi, kurfürstl. Titular Rath.
Sopranen.
Mad. Anna Maria Drewers, geb. Ries.
Mad. Susanna Neucinna.
Mad. M. Beckingam.
Contre Altisten
Mad. Maximiliana Valentina Delombre, geb.
Schwachhofer.
Mad. Gertrud Robson, geb. Frau.
Mad. Helena Abirdont.
Tenoristen.
Herren: Johann van Beethoven.
Ferdinand Heder.
Hubert Delombre.
Bassisten.
Lukas Karl Weissen.
Johann Paroquin.
Organisten.
Christian Reefe
Ludwig van Beethoven.

Instrumentalmusik.

Direktor.
Herr Joseph Reicha.
Violinisten.
Herren: Ferdinand Drewers.
Ernest Niedel.

Beethoven and his friends, as they appear in the matriculation register of the University of Bonn for the academic year 1788-89

Ludov. van Beethoven	Bonn	philos.	14. Maj. 89
Carol. Ferd. Kügelgen	"	"	14. Maj. 89
Anton Reicha	pragens.	philos.	14. Maj. 89

the two Rombergs, Karl August Malchus, and presumably also Count Waldstein and many others drawn together by a common admiration for Klopstock and Schiller, Kant, Herder and Goethe. Beethoven promptly fell in love with Babette Koch, and this 'penchant', like his feelings for Lorchen Breuning and his devotion to Jeanette d'Hontart from Cologne and to the Baroness Westerholt, illuminated his arid, loveless existence for brief moment.

Encouraged by his social and intellectual contacts, Beethoven threw himself wholeheartedly into his creative work. He wrote songs, preludes which owed much to Bach, chamber music, variations,



Beethoven first met Count Waldstein as a young man in Bonn. Later they renewed their friendship in Vienna



Babette Koch, 'a trusted friend of Eleonore von Breuning, a lady who, of all those of her sex whom I, in the course of a long and rather active life, have ever known, came nearest to being the epitome of femininity!' (Wegeler)



The Zehrgarten, haunt of Beethoven and his friends, stood on the right-hand side of the market place, close to the town hall

a symphonic sketch, fragments of a violin concerto, the music for a *Ritterballett*, and the two *Kaiser Cantatas*, one written on the death of Joseph and the other for the coronation of Leopold II. Nor were his practical-musical activities confined to playing in the orchestra or at the organ of the court chapel. Apart from his court duties, he loved to charm his intimate friends by his brilliant improvisations at the piano and at the organ. This gift became legendary, and we hear, for instance, how one summer day at Marienforst his wonderful performance on the organ cast a spell over his companions and over the workmen who were employed on the restoration of the little church.

We can imagine what a momentous Christmas Beethoven had in 1790. He was then aged just twenty, and for the first time he met the ageing Joseph Haydn, who had broken his journey to London at Bonn. About this time a plan was conceived which was later, with the encouragement of Waldstein and Breuning, realised — a plan to send Beethoven on a second pilgrimage to Vienna.

But two years passed before his dream came true. He was detained in Bonn by his work as deputy court organist under Neefe and as violist in the theatre orchestra with the Romberg brothers. Those two years, however, were not wasted, for during that time he came to know many compositions by Grétry, Cimarosa, Dittersdorf, Paesiello and especially by Mozart.



In 1791 the court orchestra went from Bonn to Bad Mergentheim to play at the Congress of the Order of Teutonic Knights

A pleasant interlude came when his duties took him to Mergentheim, a sunny little town nestling among the woods and streams at the entrance to the Wambachtal. The Elector had ordered that part of his musical entourage should proceed to the Congress of the Order of Teutonic Knights, to perform for the members of the order within their own bailiwick. In September 1791 the party duly set off up the Rhine in fine fettle, making first of all for Aschaffenburg. A merry time was had by all on board ship. The comedian Lux, as 'King' of the company, appointed Bernhard Romberg and Beethoven kitchen scullions for the duration of the trip. On 3rd September the passengers disembarked at their destination, where, accompanied by Franz Ries, Nicolaus Simrock and the Rombergs, Beethoven went to pay his respects to the director of music Johannes Franz Xaver Sterkel, famous in his day as a composer and pianist. Beethoven listened eagerly while the great man played — the younger man was a stranger to Sterkel's new technique — and himself amazed his host by giving a brilliant performance of his *Righini Variations*. Beethoven's pianistic career may well date from this historic meeting.

On the completion of the festivities in Mergentheim, the musicians made their way back to Bonn at the end of October. A year still separated Beethoven from the fulfilment of his plans for a second journey south — plans supported



One of the members of the cheerful group of friends was the 'cellist Bernhard Romberg



The most venerable of the court musicians was Franz Ries, leader of the orchestra

by his friends and by the Elector himself. Beethoven was to complete his training as a musician under some really great teacher: but all this was as yet wishful thinking.

It was in October 1792 that a party was at last given at the Breunings' house to celebrate Beethoven's imminent departure. An autograph album containing poetical effusions and quotations shows in what affection the young man was held by his comrades. The Breunings, the Kochs, Eichhoff, Malchus, Eilender, Crevelt, Klemmer and Degenhart all contributed to this memento, from which only Babette Koch's name is missing. Waldstein wrote the encouraging words: 'Work without ceasing, so that you may receive Mozart's spirit from Haydn's hands'.

Departure from Bonn

No-one suspected that Beethoven was in fact leaving Bonn for ever. On the political horizon threatening clouds were gathering. From the west came rumours of the French Revolution. It was certain that war could not be far off, and a bleak uncertainty now filled the hearts of the once carefree citizens of Bonn. Two years later the Electorate of Cologne was no more, and the electoral army had been replaced by French troops. Beethoven, too, was faced with an uncertain future, for Mozart was dead, and Haydn, now an old man, was to be his teacher instead.

Lieber Beethoven!

Du wirst dich jetzt nach Wien zur Erfüllung deiner so lange
bestrittenen Wünsche. Mozart's Genius trauert noch
und beweinat den Tod seines Zöglings. Sag dem unan-
gesöglichen Haydn laud zu Zerstörung, aber deine Beseh-
tigung; Durch ihn wünschst du noch einmal mit jemandem
traulich zu werden. Durch ununterbrochenen Schlaf
ersaltn die: Mozart's Geist aus Haydn's Händen.

Samstag 29. Oct. 1792.

Ihr wahrer Freund
Waldstein

Waldstein's parting words to Beethoven

The coach was scheduled to leave at the beginning of November. Together with another passenger, whose identity remains unknown, he travelled via Remagen, Andernach, Coblenz and Montabaur to Limburg. We have his account book, in which every outlay is painstakingly recorded, even to a tip for the driver 'who drove like the very devil right through the Hessian army, at the grave risk of being beaten up if we were caught'. Having overrun the Palatinate and taken Mainz, General Cusine's troops were now swarming across the Rhine. The revolutionary war was at its height, and in its wake came a new era. Beethoven, so soon to become an apostle of this dawning age, symbolically first came in direct touch with it on this journey to Vienna. Between Limburg and Frankfurt, in Würges, the entries in his account book cease, and we may assume that from there the travellers followed the normal route via Nürnberg, Regensburg, Passau and Linz.

Beethoven arrived in Vienna tired, but filled with high hopes and expectations. He was yet unknown, a stranger in that great city — an international city like Paris or London, and the hub of a mighty empire. He planned to stay for two years; but Vienna took him to her heart and never let him go.

Vienna

Where to-day we have the imposing buildings of the Ring, in the eighteenth century the green countryside swept gently and gracefully into the city itself.

The town proper, vibrant with life despite its atmosphere of calm nobility and intimate security, was surrounded by clustering villages, suburbs, vineyards and cornfields, all of which have now disappeared, leaving in their stead a vast built-up area. The modern train and 'bus routes were in those days quiet country lanes, and these have been charmingly described for us by an anonymous writer of the day, who dwells long and lovingly upon them in an eight-volume Vademecum on *Highways and Byways in the Countryside around Vienna*. Inspired by a 'fellow-feeling with nature', he ranged far and near, through meadows and woods, past waving cornfields, over hills and mountains to Ebersdorf and Mödling, Heiligenstadt and Hütteldorf, Döbling, Nussdorf and the Kahlenberg. Many people made their way on foot, while others preferred to drive in a 'comfortable Döbling cart' from Nussdorf to Heiligenstadt, to escape from the turmoil of city life and to seek, beyond the confining walls of Vienna, the lusty pleasures or refreshing tranquillity of the country. Along the city walls stood the palaces of the nobility and the great rented houses; and broad sloping banks led into the interior of the town itself, whose centre, then as now, was marked by the 'Steffel'. In old Vienna there was the same intricate network of narrow streets opening on to wide, pleasant squares, which we still find in the modern town. Casual strollers mingled with the bustling throng of people making purchases in the many shops lining these squares.

An astonished traveller wrote: 'I am sure that nowhere else in the world can there be a plot of earth 1400 yards long by 1200 yards wide, where one could find more people, a greater concentration of political power and strength, a more general circulation of money, a richer abundance of public societies and trading companies, a more miscellaneous collection of foreigners or a greater conglomeration of the richest and most generous natives, come together from every province of a far-flung empire.' With admiring thoroughness he enumerates the various ranks in the social hierarchy, from the Imperial family down through the princes and nobles, ambassadors, merchants and householders. 'A wealthy and open-handed bourgeoisie exists amid this turbulence, and indeed adds to it — and finally an army of government officials, appointed by ten to fifteen court and public commissions, increases the general addiction to eating, drinking and merrymaking, while incidentally augmenting the mass of humanity, this augmentation being more especially apparent on the Kohlmarkt, the Stock-im-Eisen Platz, the Hoher Markt, the Hof and the Graben. The chaos is aggravated by the thousands of private and public vehicles.'

The carefree Viennese atmosphere, in which the arts flourished so readily, inevitably determined both the intellectual and communal way of life. The literary battles once waged by the disciples of Klopstock and Lessing had been successfully concluded. 'Staberl', that rollicking brother of Hanswurst and Ziani, though excluded from the realm of 'great' art, had found a new and



One of Vienna's main thoroughfares: the Graben

better home in the Viennese folk-theatre. Mozart raised him to classical status in his *Magic Flute*, thus preparing the way for future folkplays by people like Raimund and Nestroy. Schikaneder, a victim of much unwarranted abuse, used his ingenuity to cater for all tastes by putting on a very catholic selection of plays. The Viennese at their own cost, flocked to his play-house, both to revel in their own idiom and to come to grips with the classicism of Weimar as represented in the stage literature of the day.

The news scope offered by the theatre was the first sign of the impending general transformation in life and the arts. The bourgeoisie felt itself entitled to the lion's share of aristocratic patronage, under which Gluck had prospered and Haydn had sprung to fame. The task of mediating, which had hitherto fallen to Mozart, was now in some measure undertaken by Haydn, whose experiences in England were soon to bear fruit.

To-day, amid the tumult of the modern city, if one stands so to speak with closed eyes, either at the Belvedere, the Schwarzenberg Palace or on the steps of

ERKLÄRUNG DER ZEICHEN HERRWÜRDIGER GEBÄU UND KIRCHEN IN DER STADT WIEN.

- 1. Burg Bastog.
- 2. Loh Bastog.
- 3. Miltner Bastog.
- 4. Blond Bastog.
- 5. Neuen Bastog.
- 6. Gungl's Bastog.
- 7. Barber Bastog.
- 8. Hollenstaden Bastog.
- 9. Braun Bastog.
- 10. Weyersham Bastog.
- 11. Krenner Bastog.
- 12. Burg Thor.
- 13. Schotten Thor.
- 14. Neue Thor.
- 15. Fischer Thor.
- 16. Roth's Thor.
- 17. Thron's Thor.
- 18. Hausmann's Thor.
- 19. Stuben Thor.
- 20. Krenner Thor.
- 21. K.K. Burg.
- 22. Reich's Hof.
- 23. K.K. Bildhof.
- 24. K.K. Rathhaus.
- 25. Die alte Stallburg.
- 26. Göttern's Mauerwerk.
- 27. Wipf's Kirche.
- 28. K.K. Bullen.
- 29. Niederbühl's Anstalt.
- 30. N.O. Landhaus.
- 31. Die Herberg.
- 32. Die Lichtscheide Haus.
- 33. K. Ungarische Kirche.
- 34. N.O. Kapuziner u. App.
- 35. Die Freyung.
- 36. Sig's Pfarr u. Anst.
- 37. Die Hof.
- 38. Pöchl's Anstalt.
- 39. K.K. Hofburg.
- 40. Miltner Kirche u. Pfarr.
- 41. Baden Platz.
- 42. K. K. Maria Theresia.
- 43. Burg'sche Zeughaus.
- 44. G. Stadl's Anstalt.
- 45. Die Taubstumm.
- 46. Miltner's Kasse.
- 47. K.K. Universitat.
- 48. P.P. Capuziner.
- 49. K.K. Zeughaus.
- 50. Maria Theresia's Hof.
- 51. Anstalt.
- 52. S. Substantin Kirche.
- 53. S. Joseph's Anstalt.
- 54. K.K. Silesien.
- 55. S. Ruprecht.
- 56. S. Augustin's Anstalt.
- 57. S. Peter's Pfarr.
- 58. Die Graben.
- 59. S. Laurentius F.K.
- 60. K.K. Hofburg's Anstalt.
- 61. S. Barbara.
- 62. P.P. Dominikaner Pfarr.
- 63. Pflasterhaus.
- 64. Universitat.
- 65. Die Schulen.
- 66. K.K. Posthaus.
- 67. S. Ladislaus F.K.
- 68. P.P. Piaristen.
- 69. S. Stephan's Anstalt.
- 70. Die Chor u. S. Stephan.
- 71. Erdbeinhof Hof.
- 72. Das Trinitatis Pfarr.
- 73. S. Nicolaus F.K.
- 74. K.K. Pincis.
- 75. P.P. Franziskaner Pfarr.
- 76. Die Melk'sche.
- 77. Harmonien F.A.
- 78. Das Anstalt.
- 79. K.K. Zeughaus's Anstalt.
- 80. Maria Theresia.
- 81. Urauerkirche F.K.
- 82. S. Johann's Pfarr.
- 83. S. Normalhof.
- 84. S. Schupf's Pfarr.
- 85. S. Burgen's Pfarr.
- 86. S. Schwanenbergr.
- 87. P.P. Capuziner.
- 88. Roter Platz.
- 89. P.P. Augustiner Pfarr.
- 90. P.P. S. E. Mithras.
- 91. S. Dorothea.
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the Karlskirche, one can imagine Vienna as it once was, the home of Gluck and Mozart, the city which rose up before the wondering eyes of the young Ludwig van Beethoven on that November day in 1792, as the heavy post-chaise lumbered along the narrow streets.

In the steps of Mozart

His pockets stuffed with letters of recommendation, he set about finding his feet in his new and bewildering surroundings. He found board and lodging in the suburb of Alser, at the home of the printer Anton Strauss. This was the first of his many Viennese apartments. The man who was to prove one of his greatest and most influential patrons, the 'amiable and noble' Prince Karl Lichnowsky, a contemporary and pupil of Mozart, soon rescued him from the poverty of his dingy attic room.

One of Beethoven's most urgent tasks was doubtless to seek out Joseph Haydn, for had he not come to Vienna solely in order to study under that venerable musician? He did in fact become the old man's pupil, if their relationship justifies the use of that term, since the eager youth seems to have found no great satisfaction in their somewhat irregular working arrangements. In 1793 Haydn was in the process of negotiating a second visit to London. However, his influence must not be underrated, for through him Beethoven came in close contact with various aristocratic Viennese families whose friendship had important consequences

General plan of Vienna, at the time when Beethoven came to live in the Imperial city



The benefactress of both Mozart and Beethoven:
Countess Wilhelmine Thun-Hohenstein



for him in later life. When Haydn played in the Lobkowitz Palace, Beethoven, then almost unknown, was very probably among the listening guests. The house of the Bohemian prince — who with the still more appreciative Lichnowski and, shortly afterwards, the Russian Ambassador Count Rasumoffsky and his diplomatic secretary Klüpfeld, were Beethoven's influential benefactors — was one of the centres from which the young pianist's fame as an improviser quickly spread. Another great admirer and patroness was the culture-loving, though somewhat eccentric Countess Wilhelmine Thun, Lichnowski's mother-in-law and a former benefactress of Mozart. She bestowed her 'grandmotherly affection' on her new protégé.

Beethoven was received sympathetically and with kindness not only by the music-lovers among the Viennese nobility, but also by his fellow-musicians. His skill in improvisation won him the approbation of Johann Schenk, the Viennese opera director, who heard the youth play at the home of the Abbé Gelinek. Gelinek, at the outset kindly and friendly towards Beethoven, later became envious of his protégé's success. Schenk undertook to initiate Beethoven into the more subtle intricacies of counterpoint, behind Haydn's back. This profitable liaison ceased, however, when Beethoven accepted an invitation from Prince Esterhazy to go to Eisenstadt. It was also about this time that Beethoven's brother Karl came to take up a musical appointment in Vienna. Though Beethoven and Schenk no longer worked together, their friendship continued. After this, apparently acting on instructions from Haydn, then absent in London, Beethoven studied under the stern but

'The genial Prince Lichnowski was one of Beethoven's most fervent admirers' (Seyfried)



Beethoven's teacher Joseph Haydn

A V V I S O .

*Oggi Venerdì 8. del corrente Gen-
najo la Sigra. Maria Bolla, virtuosa
di Musica, darà una Accademia
nella piccola Sala del Ridotto. La
Musica sarà di nuova composizione
del Sigre. Haydn, il quale ne sarà
alla direzione.*

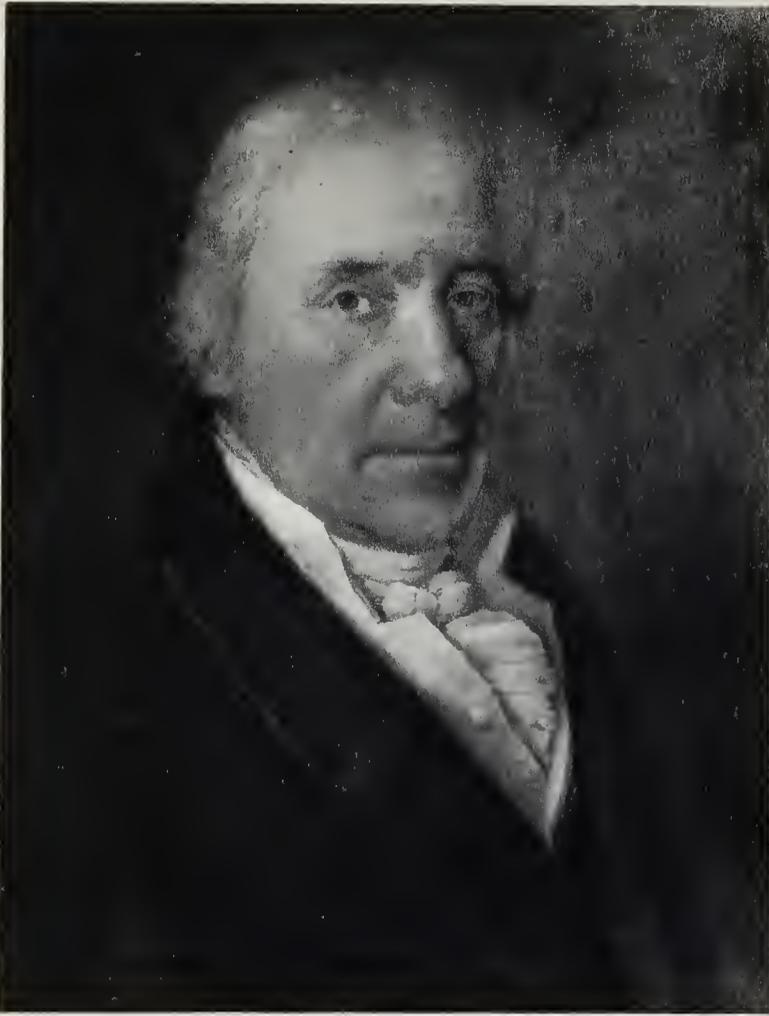
*Vi canteranno la Sigra. Bolla, la
Sigra. Tomeoni, e il Sigre. Mombelli.*

*Il Sigre. Bethofen suonerà un
Concerto sul Pianoforte.*

Together Haydn and Beethoven
gave a recital in the Redoutensaal



The Lobkowitz Palace was a favourite rendezvous
of Beethoven's friends



Unbeknown to Haydn, Beethoven studied counterpoint under Johann Schenk

capable eye of the ageing Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, with whom he came to be on the most amicable terms. Another of his teachers was the famous Antonio Salieri, the Italian opera composer who had played a somewhat shadowy rôle in Mozart's life, and who now undertook the instruction of the young enthusiast from Bonn.

The rapidity with which Beethoven settled down in his adopted town is surprising. He was accepted, even welcomed by everyone from the highest to the lowest. As if to compensate for their neglect of Mozart, the Viennese aristocracy treated him with discernment and kindness; and he discovered the true artistic soul of Vienna in the homes of the court librarian Gottfried van Swieten, where Bach was the favourite composer, and of the publisher Artaria, who offered to print Beethoven's first work. His close personal friends either visited him in his own home or met him in one of the popular coffee-houses. Several of these intimates were of long standing; some he had known even before he left home. There was the highly gifted, but tragically altered Count Waldstein, to whom he was bound by many memories of the old days in Bonn; the faithful Wegeler, who came to Vienna to study for two years; and Lenz von Breuning,



The Italian maestro
Antonio Salieri



A warm affection sprang up between Beethoven
and his teacher Johann Georg Albrechtsberger

who had not long to live. To these, new friends were added, among them Nikolaus von Zmeskall, a devoted admirer, old Dr. Hunczovsky and, later, Karl Amenda, a native of the Courland. Unfortunately, Beethoven's relationship with Salieri, who was a great lover of nature, never ripened into a real friendship, though with both Albrechtsberger and Emanuel Aloys Förster he was on intimate terms.

It seemed as though Vienna was still far removed from the events which had plunged the rest of Europe into cruel unrest. But underlying the apparent calm, vague murmurs of the approaching storm could be detected. The King of France and his luckless queen, the Habsburg Marie Antoinette, had been executed. The first Coalition War had proved unsuccessful for the allies. Francis II, the popular 'Kaiser Franz' had succeeded to the rather unstable throne of his father's empire. Then, from the west, came the news that the French Revolution had been steered into more orderly channels by the formation of the Directoire. New hope was kindled in men's hearts.

Meanwhile life in Vienna went on as before. Beethoven continued to compose, though now he lived in the Ogilvy's house in the Kreuzgasse. He was



The title-page
 of Opus 1

working on his first major works, the Piano Trios and the Piano Sonatas, which he dedicated to Haydn and played at the Lichnowski Palace in the old man's presence. For both Haydn and Beethoven 1795 was a memorable year. It was also a fateful year in European history, for during its course Napoleon made his first appearance on the stage of international politics. On 29th March Beethoven, whose pianistic skill was already a by-word among the connoisseurs, made his public début as a pianist and composer. At a concert given in the Burgtheater he played his First Piano Concerto (we know it as the Piano Concerto No. 2), and from that day the young musician from the Rhineland was accepted as a true citizen of Vienna. His performance and its impact ensured that he would never leave the sacred city of Gluck, Mozart and Haydn. On 18th December of the same year he appeared with Haydn in a recital held in the tiny Redoutensaal. The response of the public was so great, and Beethoven himself soon held in such esteem, that the subscription list for his Piano Trios included the names of everyone of rank and importance in Viennese society.

*A year
 of decision*

It is significant to remember that Beethoven made his entry into the musical life of Vienna first and foremost as a pianist. Society, which had shut its doors



Heute Sonntag den 29. März 1795.
 wird
 die hiesige **Konkünstlergesellschaft**
 im **K. K. National-Hof-Theater**
 zum Vortheil ihrer Wittwen und Waisen
Eine große musikalische Akademie
 in zwey Abtheilungen zu geben, die Ehre haben

Erste Abtheilung.

1) Eine große neue Sompsonie vom Hrn. Kapellmeister Cardellieri.
 2) Ein neues Quartett auf dem Piano-Forte, angepielt von dem Meister Herrn Ludwig von Beethoven, und von seiner Erfindung.

Zweyte Abtheilung.

Der erste Theil des in rälischer Sprache abgefassten Oratoriums
 betitelt:

GIOAS, KÖNIG IN JUDEN,
 von der Erfindung des obenannten Hrn. Cardellieri.

Dabei werden die Hauptstimmen abgesetzt:

Gioas, Hr. Viganoni.	O	Giojada, Hr. Saal.
Sebia, Mlle. Sessi.	O	Matan, Hr. Vogel.
Atalia, Dlle. Marescalchi.	O	Ismael, Hr. Spangler.

NB. Da die Recitative zu lange sind, so traf man in einigen Stellen eine Abänderung.

Diese Akademie, mit Instrumenten und Singstimmen gerechnet, wird von mehr denn 150 Personen aufgeführt.

Die Eintrittspreise sind wie gewöhnlich im Nationaltheater.

Diensten, welche sonst einen geringeren Eintrittspreis zahlen, erhalten das Billet für 30 kr.

Jene von der hohen Noblesse, welche ihre bey den sonst gewöhnlichen Schauspielen abonnierten Logen nicht brockhalten wollen, werden gesteuert ersucht, es der Kassa beyzeiten melden zu lassen.

Die Billet von dem Oratorium sind ebenfalls bey der Kasse für 7 fr. zu haben.

Der Anfang ist um 7 Uhr.

This was the programme of the grand charity concert on 29th March 1795, at which Beethoven made his public debut as an pianist

to Mozart during the last years of his life, now hastened to acclaim the newcomer who had 'received Mozart's spirit from Haydn's hands'. The grand charity concert of 1795 was an event of international import. Beethoven, the pianist whose Opus 1 was being published by Cappi, proved to the world at large his capabilities as a composer in his own right.

The appearance of his Opus 1, at a time when European statesmen were faced with grave political decisions, coincided with the publication of certain other intellectual works. Goethe's *Roman Elegies* and Schiller's essay *On the aesthetic*

The criticism of the concert as it appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung*

Am 29. und 30. März wurde in dem K. K. Hoftheater nächst der Burg in dem gewöhnlichen großen Konzerte der hiesigen Konkünstler-Gesellschaft für Wittwen und Waisen ein Oratorium von Erfindung des Herrn Kapellmeisters Cardellieri; betitelt: **Joas König in Juda**, aufgeführt, wobei die Denkwürdige Sessi, Herr Viganoni, Mad. Marescalchi, Herr Saal, Herr Vogel, und Herr Spangler die Hauptstimmen unentgeltlich absetzten. Zum Zwischenspiel hat am ersten Abend der berühmte Herr Ludwig von Beethoven, mit einem von ihm selbst verfassten ganz neuen Konzerte auf dem Piano Forte den ungetheilten Beifall des Publikums geerntet, und am zweyten Abende Herr Matuschzek, Kammer-Konkünstler in wirklichen Diensten Sr. kurfürstl. Durchleucht zu Mainz, mit einem auf dem Fagotte gespielten ganz neuen Konzerte, von der Erfindung des Herrn Cardellieri, nicht weniger die vollkommenste Zufriedenheit erworben. Die Gesellschaft, durchdrungen von dem wärmsten Dankgefühl, hält es für ihre Pflicht, gegen alle oben angeführte Künstler für die ihr mit so liebevoller Bereitwilligkeit erwiesene Freundschaft überhaupt, insbesondere aber gegen den Herrn Vice-Direktor der K. K. Hoftheater, Fropberrn v. Braunt, für die so thätige Unterstützung mit allen Erfordernissen, ihre innigsten Empfindungen des Dankes hiermit laut werden zu lassen.



Prague, the 'golden city', as it was in Beethoven's days

education of mankind were published simultaneously with Jean Paul's *Hesperus*, and it was in 1795 that the brothers Schlegel came to the fore as the leaders of the new Romantic movement in literature.

But this was not all. In the same year Beethoven's other brother Johann came in his turn to Vienna, so that from this point (their father having died in 1792) all the blood ties with their native soil were symbolically severed, though the Beethovens still corresponded with their many friends in Bonn. The presence of both his brothers in Vienna — Karl worked hard to make his way in the civil service, while Johann went ten years later as apothecary to Linz — enriched Beethoven's life there, though it added to his responsibilities and was later a source of much grief and sadness.

Political occurrences followed their disastrous course. French troops invaded Styria, and soon even the citizens of Vienna would hear the call to arms. Meanwhile, Beethoven was off on his travels again, supposedly to Pressburg and Pest. We know for certain that his visits to Prague, Dresden and Berlin during this period lasted several months. Prague, that glorious city where Mozart had

known such happiness, brought for Beethoven, too, tremendous success and material gain. It was not to be his last visit to Moldavia. 'I shall remain here a few weeks more', he wrote to his brother Johann, 'and then go on to Dresden, Leipzig and finally to Berlin. It should probably be about six weeks before I am back in Vienna.' Following in the steps of Mozart, who had once taken the same route with Lichnowski, he came to Dresden, where he held the whole court spellbound with his improvisations. Indeed, reports of his triumph even filtered back to Bonn. We may imagine that in Leipzig he went to pay homage to the memory of Johann Sebastian Bach in St. Thomas's, that he introduced himself to August Eberhard Müller, the organist and disciple of Mozart, and that he contacted Immanuel Breitkopf, friend of the young Goethe, or his son Christoph Gottlieb the publisher.

We know of Mozart's encounter with Bach's immediate surroundings and we know, too, how deeply moved he was by that experience. Beethoven in his turn must surely have shared Mozart's feelings, for, since he first came in contact with Bach's works under Neefe, the name had been for him almost a sacred symbol.

Strangely enough, it was about this time that the first wave of 'Bach appreciation' made itself felt. Forkel, the Göttingen music historian, Naegeli, the Swiss composer, publisher and pedagogue, and Zelter in Berlin all vigorously took up the cause. For Beethoven, great as was his admiration and kindred feeling for Handel, it was Bach who remained to the end one of his greatest spiritual and creative influences. During his stay in Leipzig his friend Hoffmeister, who was both composer and publisher, announced his plans for an edition of the works of Bach. Beethoven wrote to him at once: 'The magnificent works of Johann Sebastian Bach, the god of harmony, are so dear to me that your project gladdens my heart, which beats only for his great art. I trust that you will soon be able to embark on their publication, and I hope, too, that when peace is restored I may contribute much to this noble enterprise, as soon as your subscription list is opened.'

Shortly afterwards he wrote again: 'Place my name, and that of Prince Lichnowski, on the subscription list for your edition of the works of Johann Sebastian Bach.'

In yet another letter, this time to Breitkopf and Haertel, he deplored the world's ingratitude towards Bach. '... As I was visiting a very good friend of mine recently, he showed me the sum which had been collected for the daughter of the immortal father of harmony. I was amazed that Germany, and moreover *your* Germany, should offer such a miserable amount to the daughter of such a father, for I hold her in the highest regard. And then I had an idea. How would it be if I were to publish something (with a subscription list) for the benefit of this estimable person, and make public the sum collected, together with the return from my work, in order to safeguard the money. You could be of the

greatest help in this matter. Write quickly and let me know how best to set about it, so that something may be done before this Bach dies, before this stream* dries up and we may no longer replenish it . . .'

We do not know for sure, however, whether Beethoven, on this visit to Leipzig, saw, heard or played upon Bach's own organ in St. Thomas's.

On the other hand, there is no uncertainty about the success of his stay in Berlin. Not only did he have several audiences with King Frederick William II, himself an enthusiastic 'cellist'; he also gave a number of concerts in the king's presence, at one of which he played the 'Cello Sonatas' with a famous cellist of the time, Jean Pierre Duport. He won the approval both of the king and of the music-loving Prince Louis Ferdinand, whose own performance at the piano Beethoven pronounced 'good' but by no means 'princely'. His fellow professionals also received him with respect and delight. He was invited to inspect Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch's newly-opened singing-academy, and in the great hall of the Academy of Arts he took part in two singing competitions. On both

occasions he improvised brilliantly on the piano. 'Herr van Beethoven, the pianist from Vienna, was gracious enough to let us hear one of his improvisations' noted Fasch on the programme. His audience thanked him with tears in their eyes, a fact later commented on by Beethoven. He struck up a friendship with Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, director of the court orchestra, and they afterwards continued to correspond, though on one occasion they quarrelled violently in a coffee-house on the Unter den Linden, after the amiable musician from Treuenbrietzen sat down and improvised in Beethoven's presence, thus provoking the latter's outspoken displeasure by his 'polished' performance.

It was in Berlin that Beethoven met Goethe's friend Karl Friedrich Zelter. At the outset, Zelter approached Beethoven's music with some diffidence. There, too, Beethoven came to know Johann Friedrich Reichardt, at one time Goethe's musical adviser, and an outlaw by royal decree. Reichardt subsequently visited Beethoven in Vienna.

At length, crowned with success, Beethoven took

* *Bach* is the German word for a stream (trans.)



Frederick William II of Prussia, the 'cellist'



Beethoven's triumphal stay in Berlin took place just seven years after Mozart had visited the city

leave of the Prussian capital. He had, however, left his mark on the city, and not long afterwards Reichardt and E. T. A. Hoffmann, Goethe's friends, were with Amalie Sebald his strongest supporters there.

For interest's sake we may note here the ridiculous tale later concocted and disseminated throughout Germany, France and England, that Beethoven was in reality an illegitimate son of either Frederick the Great or of his nephew Frederick William. Beethoven himself contemptuously disregarded this 'filth', as he called it.

The origins of the fable are shrouded in mystery, as are the composer's whereabouts after he left Berlin. We can only guess at the probable itinerary of our joyful traveller. He may have visited Nürnberg, Regensburg and Linz, and thereafter completed his journey down the Danube with Stephan von Breuning.

It has long been fashionable to regard Beethoven as a lonely renegade, a heart-broken 'Titan', defying fate with threateningly clenched fists and an angry face. To-day we know what painful circumstances compelled him gradually to



renounce the society of his fellows. He suffered agonies as his deafness increased, and he was obliged to maintain a melancholy pose which contradicted his own temperament, for the real Beethoven was a lively, sociable and kindly man with a sparkling personality. Unbeknown to his friends, the first symptoms appeared as early as 1798. Beethoven was by then deliberately abandoning his career as a virtuoso pianist, to make way for the other Beethoven, the creative artist; and now his problems as a composer were further complicated by his efforts to restrain his own natural impulses. All his life Beethoven possessed the gift of attracting to him men of all kinds and from every social class. This arose not only from the intellectual force of his personality, but from his magnanimous attitude to his surroundings and to life in general. His youthful delight in fashionable clothes, his love of good company and good humour, and the fact that he was by no means insensitive to feminine beauty; his healthy self-conceit, which he concealed neither from kings nor patrons: all these things testify to a joyful and uninhibited acceptance of life.

We must never lose sight of the real foundation of his character, nor of his stubborn, inexorable love of truth and his belief in the moral law. He clashed many times during his lifetime with men and theories, and each time justification may be found in these very attributes, and in them alone. His fundamental opposition to his age and his surroundings becomes comprehensible if we remember that Beethoven was consciously experiencing the birth of a new and different philosophy of life. He belonged to the generation which had produced such men as Jean Paul and Kleist, Novalis and Hölderlin, Hegel and Châteaubriand — not a mention Napoleon — and he saw more clearly than many of his contemporaries what lay in store for him, long before the rest of the world fully realised what was happening. It is for this reason that we must regard his unshakable faith in man's humanity and in the existence of a divinity which shaped the destinies of the world as proof positive of his own zest for living. Not the man himself, but circumstances — the human disappointments life held for him and his forced withdrawal from society through illness — have conspired to create the false impression that by the end of his earthly life Beethoven had become a lonely and embittered recluse.

Something he once said to Karl Amenda shows clearly that his self-imposed exile was not easy to bear: 'Oh, how happy I should be if only my hearing were unimpaired. Then I should make all haste to be with you. As it is, I am forced to abandon everything. The best years of my life slip away, and I shall not have fulfilled the promise of my talent and my energy! But I must find comfort in melancholy submission to my fate, for I have quite made up my mind to treat everything with complete indifference. How am I to maintain this harsh attitude? I am afraid, Amenda, that if in six months my affliction should prove incurable, then I shall presume upon our friendship and ask you to leave all and

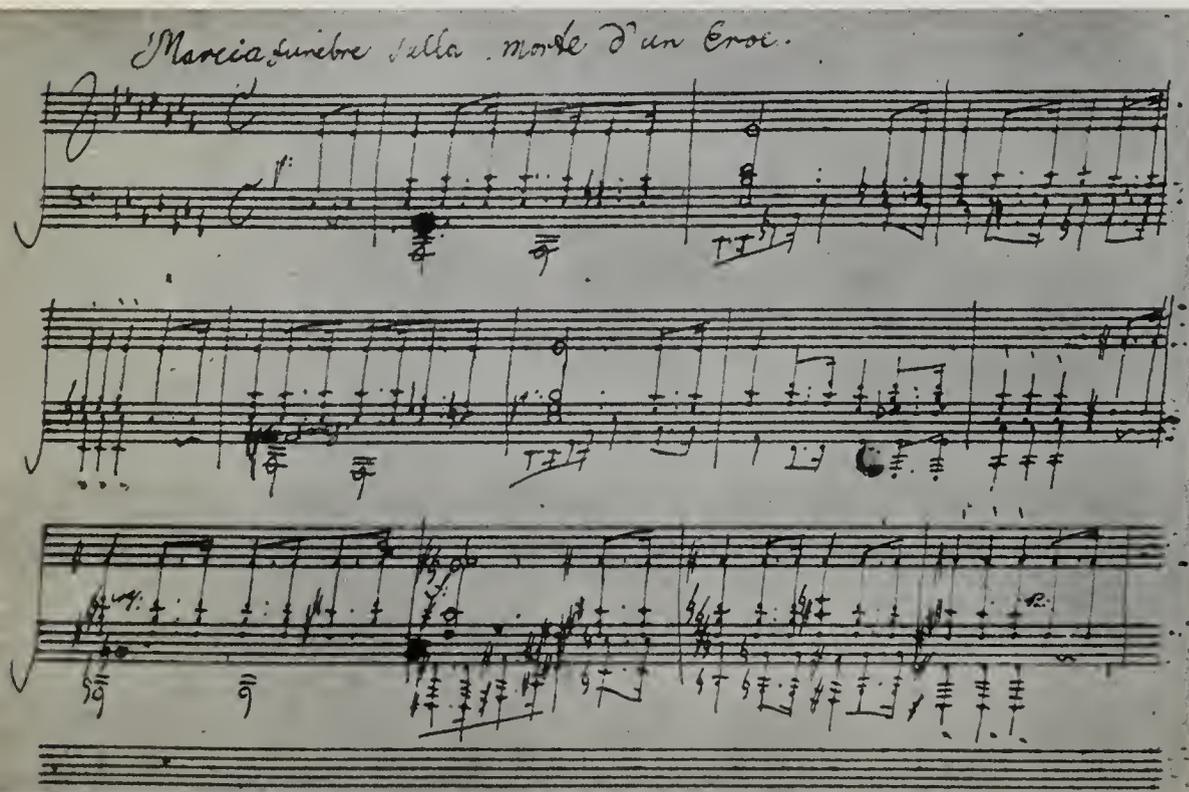
*The man and
his times*



Title-page of the full score of the Symphony No. 1

come to me, for I must be off again on my travels (my playing and composing are least affected by my deafness, whereas it greatly hampers my personal relationships) and you must be my companion. I am convinced that my luck will hold.' While Beethoven was gradually realising the horrifying implications of his calamitous illness, he nevertheless continued to pour forth a stream of new compositions, including chamber music and sonatas — among the latter being the two he dedicated to Lichnowski, the *Pathétique* and the sonata with the funeral march. On 2nd April he personally conducted the first performance of his Symphony No. 1 at a concert in the Hoftheater, near the Imperial Palace. He was then living at No. 241 in the Tiefer Graben, and on this occasion the house also served as booking-office for the concert. This cheerful work gives no hint of his mental anguish, though the same could not be said of the famous sonata, also composed at this time, which was later to be known by the ridiculous title of the *Moonlight Sonata*.

Basically, Viennese life was still serene and delightful, though the war-clouds hung menacingly over the outside world. Stephan



The funeral march from the Sonata in A flat major, written in Beethoven's own script

*Comfort
in solitude*

From this time we find increasingly that he rented two, or even three homes simultaneously. One of these was always outside the city, either in Döbling (he first took a house there in 1800), in Heiligenstadt, Baden, Penzing, Mödling or Hetzendorf, where he sought refuge in the peace of his beloved woods and meadows. Posterity has readily seized on the apparent contradiction, the strange, incomprehensible 'miracle', the 'heroic lie', inherent in the fact that Beethoven's works, even in his darkest hours, never ceased to radiate joy and cheerful composure. But is it not symbolic that the desire to set Schiller's *Ode to Joy* to music was constantly with him from his early days in Bonn until his life's end? As he struggled with his bitter thoughts, he found comfort on which he centred his whole existence. We know, too, that the warm breath of love soothed his lonely heart, bringing him faith and a measure of happiness, for he himself wrote: '... I have shunned my fellows and forced myself to appear as a hater of mankind, though I am not that. This change has been wrought by a dear, enchanting girl, who loves me and whom I love in return ... I feel that my youth has only begun from this moment. Was I not ever thus? ... You must see me as happy as it is possible to be on this earth, not unhappy. No, I cannot bear to be unhappy — I shall take fate by the throat, for I refuse to let myself be crushed by her. Oh, how beautiful it is to live — to live a thousand times!'

It is all too easy to read a stoic heroism into these words. Have we not here the real man? Do we not feel in our hearts that his true nature is revealing itself here, in his passionate longing for happiness, his desire to enjoy all the beauty and graciousness that life has to offer, and to resist misfortune with all his strength?

This part of his life, when the urge for self-assertion was making itself felt for the first time, was marked by a spate of creative activity, and at this point a decisive artistic change was effected. The *Pastoral Sonata* (we owe the title to a subsequent publisher of Beethoven's works) stands at this crossroads. 'I find little satisfaction in any of my works to date. From to-day I shall set out in a new direction.' Beethoven was fully conscious of



Franz Gerhard Wegeler,
one of Beethoven's oldest friends

his mission in life, and he undertook it earnestly and diligently. He knew the way he must take. Later, a few years before his death, he noted: 'In those days I did not know how to compose. But now, I think, I *do* know.' His moment of decision as a creative artist coincided with a grave personal crisis.

It was early October in the year 1802, and the trees in Heiligenstadt were gay with their autumn colours. There Beethoven, moody and depressed, fought the despairing battle of one who sees the inevitable looming over him like some dark shadow. What he had previously kept hidden from his friends — only Wegeler, his trusted medical adviser, and Breuning shared the secret — is revealed by him in the *Heiligenstadt Testament* as an explanation of his behaviour. Ferdinand Ries, Beethoven's youthful companion on his wanderings, tells how on one occasion Beethoven was unable to hear a shepherd who was playing his pipe in the woods, and that he was unusually silent and morose at the time. Incidents such as this led the humiliated musician to shun his former comrades, much as he longed for their presence. He would have welcomed death — indeed, only his faith in his art and in the moral law held him back from suicide — but he was nevertheless resolutely prepared to live his life to its bitter end. In this spirit he made his will, thanking his friends, leaving his earthly and spiritual possessions in good hands, and forgiving his brothers the wrongs they had done him in the past.

'I know that from now on patience must be my guiding star, and I shall follow it . . . I live in the hope that . . . I will have the endurance to go on until the inexorable fates are pleased to cut the thread. Perhaps things will improve, perhaps not. At all events I am prepared. That I should be forced to turn philosopher in my twenty-eighth year! It is not easy, and for an



Beethoven's loyal friend Stephan von Breuning



Ferdinand Ries, Beethoven's pupil



The house where Beethoven wrote the Heiligenstadt Testament

*The
Heiligenstadt
Testament*

artist less easy than for anyone else. Divine One, who seest into the depths of my soul, thou knowest that it is filled with love for my fellow-men. And you, my friends if ever you should read this, consider how you have misjudged me, and let him who is unhappy comfort himself that he has found in me a kindred soul. For despite all nature's obstacles, I shall have done everything in my power to become a worthwhile artist and an honourable man . . .'

Four days later, on 10th October, the issue was decided. His despair had given way to resignation. In the post-script to the Testament he bade farewell to Heiligenstadt, where he had hopefully come in search of a cure in the peaceful solace of nature and the healing waters of the spa. He wrote: 'Even that courage which so often filled my heart during the long, glorious summer days, has now

fied. Oh Providence, grant me but one day of unclouded happiness, for true happiness has long since ceased to echo in my heart. Oh when, when, Divine One, am I to feel it again in the temple of nature and of men? Never? No, it cannot be! Oh, that would be too cruel!

And yet, amid all this, he wrote the Symphony No. 2, a masterpiece of cheerful serenity and idyllic grace. It is as though his regained composure of mind reflected the bright countryside which lay before him. A contemporary writer describes it thus: 'The vastness of the imperial city, with its towers and gables, stretches before our eyes. In the distance the shimmering, sparkling waters of the Danube flow through the plains towards the ridge of mountains which marks the Hungarian frontier. To the south and west the horizon is bounded by thick forests and vineyards, their darkness relieved here and there by gaily-painted hunting-lodges.'

It was this lovely panorama which aroused the spirit of forgiveness in Beethoven.

On 5th April, 1803, Ignaz von Seyfried gave this Heiligenstadt symphony its first performance in the Theater an der Wien. Meanwhile Beethoven had taken up residence, as a guest of Emanuel Schikaneder, in the 'grace and favour' apartments in the theatre, where he planned to write an opera commissioned by the *Magic Flute* librettist. After an attempt to work on a text by Schikaneder,

Beethoven occupied an apartment in the Theater an der Wien





Beethoven at the age of thirty-four

Beethoven produced his *Fidelio*. A fellow-lodger under the same roof at that time was the all-powerful Abbé Vogler, a famous, much-travelled man whom Beethoven encountered often in society. At musical gatherings held at the home of Josef von Sonnleithner they would vie with each other in amicable rivalry at the keyboard. Seyfried describes how Beethoven lived: 'In his house a truly admirable disorder prevailed . . . Books and music were scattered everywhere — in one corner you would find the remains of a cold snack — in another, solitary or half-empty bottles — on the standing desk would be the brief outline of a new quartet — elsewhere the remnants of a mid-day meal — on the piano, scribbled sheets of manuscript, perhaps the material for a splendid symphony still in embryo — on the floor, the proofs of some recent work awaited attention, mixed up with a heap of personal and business letters — between the windows, an honest Strachino cheese, and *ad latus* the substantial ruins of a real Veronese salami . . .' It is strange to compare this chaos with the punctilious care Beethoven lavished on his moral, mental and spiritual purity, and with his personal fastidiousness both then and later; for he was something of a dandy, and always went stylishly dressed, with his hair cut in the latest fashion! The artist Willi-



A close friend:
Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried



Beethoven immortalised the name
of the violinist Rodolphe Kreutzer

brod Mähler, a great lover of the arts, who held an official post in Vienna and who, like Beethoven's mother, hailed from Ehrenbreitstein, was introduced into the composer's circle by Breuning. He has left us a portrait of Beethoven as he was in those years when he was beset by the cruelties of fate.

Posterity has always been eager to see him as 'Beethoven the Hero', 'Beethoven the Titan', or 'Beethoven the Giant'. In reality this 'greatness' was something far better — the serene conquest of self which Novalis (Beethoven's almost exact contemporary) called 'the way within'. At the nadir of his existence Beethoven successfully came to grips with himself.

We cannot disregard the fact that, with all his troubles, he was still able to write some of his greatest compositions, among them the sonata dedicated to Waldstein, the *Appassionata*, inspired by a visit to Döbling, the Piano Concerto No. 3, and the *Kreutzer Sonata*, designed for the violinist Rodolphe Kreutzer, though he probably never performed it.

Another of the works produced during these years was a symphony. There can be no doubt that all his pent-up restlessness and stormy thoughts were translated into the music of his new masterpiece — the *Eroica*. Among the vineyards of Oberdöbling, 'whence one wanders down the mountain towards Heiligenstadt' this great work was born. Years before, he had made notes and sketches for it: but the thoughts now raging in his mind were not thoughts of his



The 'awakening of joyful feelings on arriving in the country', with which the *Pastoral Symphony* begins, recalls Heiligenstadt

own grief, or of revolt against his affliction. They transcended his private anguish and the cruelty of fate. The Beethoven who read Plutarch and studied Homer and Kant; the 'republican' who was the self-assured friend of princes and was fired with enthusiasm for classical greatness in the arts and in spiritual matters — this man fully understood the era in which he lived. The judicious Goethe, a master of self-control, said of Beethoven admiringly: 'It would be wanton even for those more intelligent than I to attempt to advise him, for his genius carries a torch before him, and often affords him lightning flashes of intuition, whilst we others sit in the dark and can hardly guess on which side the new day will dawn.' Beethoven believed that this new dawn was to be found in the birth of man's personality, in 'the great man', symbolised for him by Bonaparte the Consul. He saw Bonaparte as the man who had quelled the Revolution, as the resuscitation of the spirit of the ancient world. The idea of the Corsican as a true representative of the times filled his mind as he wrote his own name and that of the French Consul — nothing more — on the first page of the



In place of the dedication to Bonaparte which Beethoven destroyed on the original copy, the composer substituted the words 'Composta per festeggiare il Souvenire d'un grand Uomo'

full score of his new symphony. When the news was brought to him in May 1804 that Bonaparte had proclaimed himself Emperor of France, Beethoven's anger and disappointment were such that he destroyed the page bearing the names, and freed the work from the shackles of time, naming it simply *Sinfonia Eroica*.

The symphony was given two private performances, one at the Lobkowitz Palace, when Prince Louis Ferdinand, who was among those present, displayed a marked appreciation of the music. It was first publicly performed in Vienna on 7th April 1805, with Beethoven himself conducting. Public opinion was divided, as was also perhaps public interest, for political events were becoming more and more disquieting. By November of that year the Emperor Napoleon, once admired by all Europe, had taken up residence in Schönbrunn. A few weeks later, the little Corsican led his armies to glorious victory at Austerlitz, and the



For several years Beethoven lived in the Pasqualati house on the Mülkerbastei



The Pasqualati crest still adorns the entrance to the house

When the Emperor of France led his armies into Vienna, Beethoven who, as usual, had changed his address several times — he had rooms in the Alser suburb, in Baden, in the Pasqualati house, in the Theater an der Wien, and in his summer retreat at Hetzendorf — was living in the Mülkerbastei, at the home of his music-loving friends the Pasqualati family. Nowadays visitors to the fourth-floor apartments of the tall, many-chimneyed house, where the worn stone steps of a spiral staircase lead to Beethoven's accommodation, look down on the bustling traffic of the Ring and the handsome buildings and dwelling-houses of present-day Vienna. Only the view over the Wienerwald and the furnishings of



'I greatly admire your works . . .'
wrote Beethoven to Luigi Cherubini



The incident involving the famous Abbé Vogler
took place at the house of Sonnleithner

the comfortable rooms recall the years when Beethoven — with some interruptions, such as his visits to Bohemia and Hungary — lived and worked within these walls.

It was about this time that Grillparzer, still a child, had his first sight of the strange man with whom he was later to have so much contact both in discussion and in planning an opera. They met at the house of Grillparzer's uncle Sonnleithner. 'In addition to Beethoven, the company included Cherubini and the Abbé Vogler. At that time Beethoven was still very thin and dark and, contrary to his later practice, most elegantly turned out. He also wore spectacles, a point of which I took special note, since he later dispensed with this aid to short sight. I no longer remember whether he himself, or Cherubini, played at this musical gathering; I only recall that, just as the footman announced supper, the Abbé Vogler sat down again at the piano and began to play endless variations . . . on an African theme.' Grillparzer goes on to relate how Beethoven and Cherubini withdrew to the dining-room, leaving the Abbé Vogler, intoxicated with his own music, playing to the empty air. We hear — also from Grillparzer — of summer days in 1808, when Beethoven and the Grillparzer family spent their



Among contemporary pianists Muzio Clementi aroused Beethoven's greatest admiration



Carl Czerny,
Beethoven's pupil and Liszt's teacher



Ferdinand Count Palffy
could scarcely be called Beethoven's greatest friend

holidays at a house in the Grinzinger Straße in Heiligenstadt, and of how the 'eccentric man — he had in the meantime put on weight and his clothes were slovenly, even dirty —' rushed past them humming. He never laid a finger on the piano after he discovered that Mother Grillparzer had been listening at the door.

Beethoven's peculiarities did not, however, antagonize either his princely patrons or his multitude of friends, old and new, who treated him with affectionate consideration and understanding. The Archduke Rudolph, his pupil, the Erdödys — who had been his fervent admirers ever since the concert in the Augarten, when Beethoven played with the English violinist Bridgetower, and who offered him lodgings in their home over the Schottentor in 1808 — Franz, Count Brunsvik, to whom Beethoven dedicated the *Appassionata*, Dietrichstein of whom he was so fond — all were friendly, even devoted to him, as were the Lichnowskis,



The author of *Coriolan*,
Heinrich Joseph von Collin



Ignaz Schuppanzigh, Beethoven's 'little Falstaff'

the Kinskys, Lobkowitz, Rasumoffsky and Brown (the latter gave him a riding-horse). New names were added to the already wide circle, such as Franz Oliva, an admirer well-versed in literature, whose visit to Goethe is described by Boisseré. Everywhere Beethoven went he was surrounded by sympathetic companions, willing to serve him by thought, word and deed, always ready with offers of help to ease his path through life. His fellow musicians, casting aside all thoughts of professional jealousy, were among his most loyal supporters — men like Seyfried and Mayseder, or the corpulent Ignaz Schuppanzigh, Beethoven's 'little Falstaff', who played first violin in a string quartet. His pupils included Dorothea Ertmann and little Czerny. Muzio Clementi paid him homage, as did Reichardt, who heard him play: Collin, Vienna's classical poet and the author of *Coriolan*, sought him out, and the young Theodor Körner came to call. He was excluded only from the court itself. The way to the Emperor was barred by a bodyguard of artistic mediocrities, such as Anton Tayber, Josef Eybler and Adalbert Gyrowetz, and further by the machinations of Ferdinand Count Palffy, who had at first admired Beethoven and later became his antagonist — so much so that he earned a rebuke from the Imperial Lord High Steward. The story goes that it was Palffy who provoked the composer's wrathful outburst 'I will not play before such swine' by indulging in loud conversation while Beethoven was performing. It seems strange that the

New Friends



'Fitzliputzli',
Beethoven's enthusiastic disciple Lobkowitz



Beethoven's generous patron,
the Archduke Rudolph



Another princely admirer: Rasumoffsky

Beethoven was a frequent visitor
at the Kinsky Palace ▶



court continued to shun him, although he won the hearty good will of two Emperesses, the youthful Maria Theresa, wife of Francis I, to whom he had dedicated his Septet, and Maria Ludovica, celebrated by Goethe. '... only think', he wrote in 1803 to his friend the publisher Hoffmeister in Leipzig, 'everyone around me has his fixed employment and knows exactly how he is to support himself. But, Good Lord, where could one employ such a parvum talentum cum ego at the Imperial Court?'

Another and greater destiny lay ahead for that same 'wretched talent'. When in the autumn of 1808 Napoleon's brother Jerome invited Beethoven to go to Cassel as director of music at the Royal Westphalian Court Theatre, the composer was in the happy position of being able to write a letter declining the appointment, which he generously relinquished in favour of Reichardt. The Archduke Rudolph, Lobkowitz and Kinsky had settled an income on him for life, and the contract covering his new duties was formally presented to him on 26th February 1809. Beethoven was henceforth enabled to devote himself unhindered to his creative work. They could hardly have foreseen that the approaching war would lead to economic inflation.

The honour bestowed on him by Jerome Bonaparte, and the still greater honour inherent in the action of his Viennese friends — an action which symbolically emphasizes that Beethoven's historic rôle in life was that of an independent creative artist in the modern sense — are proof of the esteem and renown he had already won at this stage in his life and work. He had reached the point where each new composition caused a stir among both the experts and the members of the wider musical public, where it might meet with appreciation or coldness, admiration or horror.

Fidelio

Amid all the artistic events, the frequent Beethoven premières and new publications, only the advent of *Fidelio* passed unnoticed. Originally envisaged as *Leonore*, Beethoven's only opera, with libretto by Sonnleithner, was given its first performance at the Theater an der Wien. Many difficulties had to be overcome before it could be presented, and its entry into the world was overshadowed by the brooding storm-clouds gathering over Europe. The theatre was empty, for the Viennese had more to occupy their minds than music and the stage. A real-life political drama was unfolding before their very eyes. The court had fled: and Napoleon's troops patrolled the streets. The performance itself was dull and meaningless. Even the impact of the singer Anna Milder, Beethoven's 'esteemed, unique Milder' was deadened, though she was later to take Berlin by storm in the self-same rôle of Leonore. Ill-luck dogged the opera until 1809, when with the text revised by Breuning and some alterations to the score, it was given its second première on 29th March. The times were too troubled and bewildering.

The war was approaching a crisis. The years between the first and second

'Sound pours from this woman's throat in a stream as thick as a man's arm,' said Zelter of Anna Milder-Hauptmann, who sang the rôle of Leonore



premières of *Fidelio* saw the bringing about of those decisive political changes with which we associate names like Stein and Metternich. Side by side with this change came the gradual metamorphosis in the intellectual field. The first part of Goethe's *Faust*, together with Kleist's *Penthesilea*, symbolised two separate worlds, one of which was personified by Humboldt, Fichte and Hegel. The age of idealism had reached its turning-point, at about the same time when technical science and discoveries in the new sphere of mathematical thought looked forward to a future dominated by natural science.

The overlapping of these developments explains the apparently meaningless juxtaposition of names and events which would at first seem to have no obvious connection. This is simply a reflection of the changes taking place at the time. Schiller died in 1805, and Haydn outlived him by only four years. Beethoven's own musical contemporaries — Méhul and Spontini, the champion of Grand Opera, Weigl, the opera composer, and E. T. A. Hoffmann (at that point conducting in Bamberg, but later appointed a councillor of the court of appeal), and younger composers like Carl Maria von Weber — were all representative of the age. It was to this age that Beethoven made his first plea, inherent in his



Reichardt tells us much about Beethoven in his 'Confidential Letters'



Antonie Adamberger took the rôle of Clärchen in Goethe's *Egmont*

Leonore (for so *Fidelio* was still named); a plea for humanity. This is all the more surprising, since the material — of French origin — was drawn from the grim reality of the chaotic era in which he lived.

Despite his failure, a further crop of new compositions contrived to attract attention. The Violin Concerto, dedicated to his friend Breuning, was first performed by Franz Clement on 23rd December 1806, to be followed early in the new year by the Symphony No. 4. The culmination of his creative work during these years was the momentous concert given at the Theater an der Wien on 22nd December 1808, when Beethoven presented no fewer than four new and powerful compositions. Reichardt was in the audience, which sat through a four-hour programme 'in bitter cold' and was certainly unaware that this was a historic event. The concert had been arranged in the face of unspeakable difficulties. The four works performed — listed as eight items on the programme — were the much misunderstood and misinterpreted Symphony No. 5, of which we can find traces long before 1805; the *Pastoral Symphony*, into which Beethoven infused his great love of nature and his memories of country life; the lyrical Piano Concerto No. 4, so full of subtle grace — Beethoven's performance of this work quite overwhelmed Reichardt, the 'observant traveller'; and lastly the Choral Fantasia, in which Beethoven made his final appearance as a virtuoso pianist. It was about this time that he received the summons to Cassel. But, thanks to the generosity of his patrons, this presumably farewell concert merely marked the end of a pianistic career crowned with success. The Piano Concerto No. 5, begun in 1808 and performed four years later, was interpreted, not by Beethoven, but by his pupil Czerny.

Those were momentous days not only for Beethoven and for Vienna, but for the musical and intellectual development inspired by the new century, and they saw the growth and fulfilment of many artistic aims. Another of the composer's successes was his music for Goethe's *Egmont*, which was first heard in

Handwritten musical score for the opening of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5. The score is written on multiple staves, with the following instruments labeled on the left:

- Vcllo (Violin)
- Vcllo (Violin)
- Clarin. in C (Clarinet in C)
- Clarin. in Bb (Clarinet in Bb)
- Violoncelli (Violoncello)
- Bassi (Bass)

The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. At the bottom of the page, there is a handwritten instruction: *Conc. all. + cresc. forte obbligati*.

The opening phrases of the Symphony No. 5, which have become a 'household word'

the Hoftheater on 15th June, with Toni Adamberger in the rôle of Clärchen. The *Rasumoffsky Quartets* were followed by the romantic chamber work usually known as the *Harp Quartet*. An authentic covering note to one of the quartets dedicated to the Russian ambassador speaks of the starry heavens and the music of the spheres. The work is haunted by a gentle, pious longing for the security of nature, and the friendly, soothing music confirms that, with Beethoven as with many others, the grimness of reality does not provide the only key to his works, despite the commonly held view to the contrary.

Beethoven's often misconstrued comment to Bettina von Arnim, that 'music should set man's soul on fire', belongs to this period. The meaning of his further

cryptic remark that 'music is a greater revelation than all wisdom and philosophy' becomes clear when he goes on: 'For my music to become intelligible to someone, he must rise above all the misery which drags down his fellow-men.'

The passage of time, and events, had brought further changes in Beethoven's existence. War now entered his life. As the enemy guns pounded the besieged city of Vienna, Beethoven spent many anxious hours in the cellar of his brother Karl's house in the Rauhensteingasse. The madness of man's urge to destroy may well have affected him as deeply as had the palace fire in Bonn when he was still a child. Barely three weeks later the aged Haydn died. Only a year before, all Vienna had honoured him at a performance of his *Creation*.

The Brothers

More significant even than these disasters, however, were the events which affected Beethoven more personally. His brother Karl had married in 1806, and his wife, Beethoven's sister-in-law Johanna, was the object of the composer's intense dislike, hypersensitive as he was to every form of dishonesty. Their mutual feelings led to disagreements and quarrels and, especially after Karl's untimely death, to scandals and legal actions which poisoned Beethoven's life. But however much he detested Karl's wife, his love for his brother remained unshaken. This love was transformed into a feeling of fatherly responsibility

Siege and bombardment of Vienna in the year 1809





Beethoven is among those depicted congratulating Haydn when Vienna honoured him at a performance of his *Creation* in the University

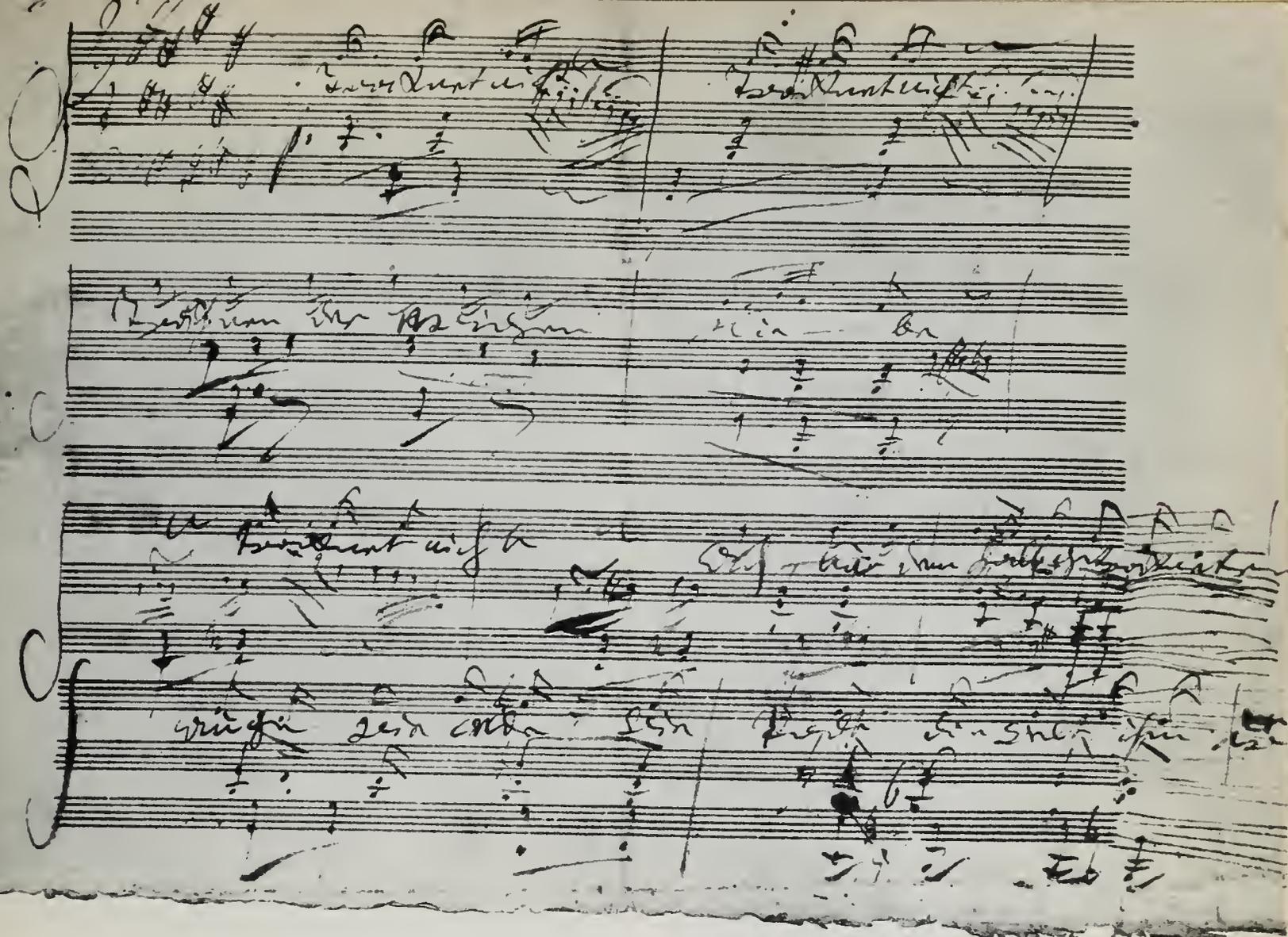


Haydn's house in Vienna



Beethoven's high and mighty brother Johann

Johann's apothecary's shop stood on the Hauptplatz in Linz



An example of Beethoven's own script (in Goethe's possession)

for his brother's son, born in 1806, the 'nephew Karl' whose name has so undeservedly passed into history. This child later caused his uncle much grief and pain through his reckless behaviour. Beethoven's other brother Johann also occasioned him considerable distress. Johann had moved to Linz, where, by playing his cards skilfully, he had made a fortune out of the war and acquired an apothecary's business in the Vielguth house on the main square. When in 1812 he announced his intention of marrying his mistress Therese, Beethoven travelled post-haste to Linz to reason with his brother and to try at all costs to prevent the match. He was previously condemned out of hand Johann's liaison with this Viennese who was so lavish with her favours.

Lack of love was his great tragedy, greater even than his incurable deafness, which grew daily worse, and greater than the renunciations which this affliction inevitably imposed. He yearned for the cheerful companionship of his fellow-men, and was denied it by the exigences of illness. But more than that, he was fated never to know the joys of wifely love, the theme of *Fidelio*, — he who

*The Immortal
Beloved*



Therese von Brunsvik



Amalie Sebald, a native of Berlin



Beethoven seriously considered marriage with
Therese Malfatti

gave his heart so readily and longed to be loved in return. It is quite enchanting to make a study of Beethoven's attitude to the opposite sex, and to describe it. Books in plenty have been written on this very subject. There can be no doubt that all his life Beethoven was 'in love', and even seriously considered matrimony many times. His confident approach to life confirms the fact that he had an eye for a pretty face, even if it only belonged to the beautiful, frivolous farmer's daughter in Döbling, whom he never tired of watching. Grillparzer describes how Beethoven 'came up the Hirschgasse, his white kerchief, held in his right hand, trailing on the ground behind him', his eyes fixed on the girl. Another time it might be the unknown beauty with whom Ries surprised him. But all this is neither here nor there. His inner need for love, sharpened by the threat of



The lovely Giulietta Guicciardi

haben - mein
beliebte - die
wird - die
wird fort - das
wird und die
wird die
wird die

Wieder
Wieder
Wieder
Wieder

The identity of the 'Immortal Beloved'
is shrouded in mystery

loneliness, made him flirtatious, and he lost his heart time and again. The dedications of his works were inspired by the admiration he felt for those who attracted him. But his real goal was conjugal love, and this was to escape him for ever. We shall never know the names of the chosen few, nor the reasons for the failure of his matrimonial plans. Another unsolved mystery, despite many interpretations, opinions and theories, is the identity of the 'Immortal Beloved' to whom the famous letter was addressed. The mystery is deepened by the fact that the letter was found, undated, among Beethoven's papers after his death. As regards its probable date, opinions again vary, some suggesting 1800 and others 1812. The question of the beloved's identity has aroused considerable speculation. Was she Giulietta Guicciardi, Therese von Brunsvik, Amalie Sebald, Therese Malfatti or Josephine Deym? The name is of little importance.



Beethoven spent the summer of 1811 in Teplitz

‘Oh, wherever I am, you are always with me, and I shall do everything in my power so that I may spend my life with you — what a life that would be!!! so!!! Without you — I am everywhere pursued by the kindness of my fellow-men, which I feel — I deserve even less than I deserve you — The humility of man towards man — pains me — and when I consider myself in the context of the universe, when I consider what I am and what He is — whom men call the Almighty — and yet — there is in me something of the divine nature of man —.’

Amalie Sebald has been mentioned. A native of Berlin, she first met Beethoven in Teplitz in 1811. He had gone to spend the summer at the Bohemian spa, preceded by his friend Oliva. He took lodgings at the ‘Harp’, an inn where Paganini’s pupil Polledro also had rooms. Quite suddenly Beethoven, who usually lived a hermit’s life, found himself once again moving in high society. Joseph Pasqualati was there, together with the Princess Lobkowitz, the Esterhazys and a Dr. Kanka, an advocate from Prague whom Beethoven had already met, and who proved most helpful to the composer over the ‘revaluation’ of the yearly sum settled on him by his patrons. More significant, however, was the presence of the leaders of the new literary school. August Tiedge, Clemens Brentano, Rahel Levin, Elisa von der Recke and Varnhagen von Ense were all at Teplitz, with many other distinguished visitors. The greatest of them all, Goethe, was in Karlsbad, so that Beethoven did not meet him.

Even in the early days in Bonn, Goethe’s works had come to have a special



The gifted
Rahel Levin



Varnhagen von Ense was a member of Beethoven's circle
of acquaintances in Teplitz

meaning for Beethoven, who made their acquaintance through Neefe and the Zehrgarten group. From then on, and from the time of his first setting of a Goethe poem, the figure of the poet and philosopher haunted him throughout his life. It is unjust to blame Goethe for failing to follow sympathetically the thought processes of the musician thirty years his junior. He admired Beethoven, and it was only when he was an old man that he eventually realised (through the young prodigy Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy) that this Beethoven, whom he regarded as untamed, really embodied a whole new world which must necessarily always remain foreign to Goethe's own. The poetess Bettina von Arnim, a fervent admirer of Goethe, had already told him about Beethoven.

'Do you think he would understand me?' he asked Bettina.

Some months later Goethe and Beethoven came face to face for the first time. The encounter took place in Teplitz, on 19th July 1812 — a red-letter day for Beethoven. It was one of the great moments in his life, and a propitious time in the world's history. The impression Beethoven made on Goethe must in that first moment have been a strong one, for in a letter to Christiane written the same day, Goethe said that he had never before found an artist 'more intense, more dynamic or more sincere', whom he could understand. In the autumn of that year he told Zelter: 'I made Beethoven's acquaintance in Teplitz. I was astounded by his talent: however, he is unfortunately one of those untamed persons, who are admittedly justified in finding the world detestable, but who quite honestly do nothing towards making it a more pleasant place, for themselves

Goethe

Vu Beethoven ^{him} am 12ten
Sept 1811

Herrn Goethe!

Hier ist ein wenig von dem was ich
den Siegenen geschrieben habe, in dem ich
dennoch noch wie ein besessener Mensch
den Namen (zu dem ich schon so oft
auf dem Wege zu dem Herrn Goethe
den Namen (den Namen) mit meinem
Namen (den Namen) zu denken - und ich
dennoch noch so sehr - Bekannte Bekannte
sich mir so sehr, ich bin mit Ihnen
so sehr verbunden, daß ich mich
nicht vorstellen kann, daß ich mich

Beethoven's desire to meet Goethe was fulfilled a year after he wrote this letter, which found its

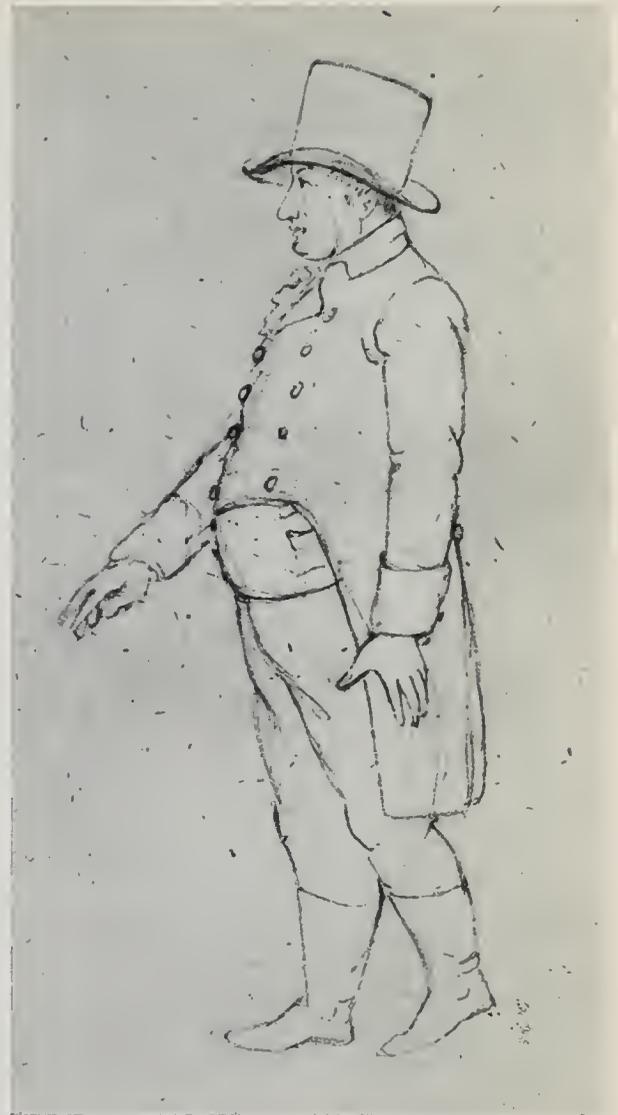


Beethoven aged forty-five

or for other people'. As for Beethoven, the memory of that day and of his meeting with Goethe remained with him until his death. Even in 1822, when Rochlitz went to call on him, he could still remember all the details, and stressed how considerate Goethe had been regarding his deafness. Beethoven played; Goethe listened. Together they took a walk along the Biliner Strasse, and went about arm in arm during the four days they spent in each other's company. The often-described incident involving the Royal Court is supposed to have taken place during one of their excursions. Goethe stood aside, bowing deeply as the Royal party came towards them, while Beethoven, with an imperceptible tug at his hat, went on his way unperturbed. 'Goethe is too fond of the atmosphere of the courts,' he wrote scathingly in a letter to Breitkopf in September, 'more than is seemly in a poet.' Many inferences have been drawn from this incident, save that which ascribes Beethoven's attitude to the consciousness of his own nobility as a creative artist — just as Mozart before him had firmly believed

that a man's true worth depended on the nobility of his heart. Various comments in his letters reveal that such thoughts were in fact occupying his mind while he was in Teplitz. They are significant of the new era. When, on the advice of Dr. Staudenheim, Beethoven abandoned the cure at Teplitz after a few short weeks and went instead to take the waters at Karlsbad and Franzensbrunn, he renewed his acquaintance with Goethe. They met again in Karlsbad on 8th September, when they sat together at mid-day and, in the evening, walked along the Prager Strasse. Afterwards Beethoven returned to Teplitz, while Goethe set out for Jena en route for Weimar.

Even the wretched circumstances of Beethoven's visit to Linz, which necessitated his interrupting his homeward journey to Vienna and making all speed to be with his brother, could not detract from the glory of these days with Goethe; and the Symphony No. 8, begun in Teplitz and completed in Linz, is suffused with sunny warmth and serene happiness, just as the Symphony No. 7, completed early in 1812, had reflected Beethoven's joyful frame of mind.



Goethe as he was about the time
when he first met Beethoven



The Eger Tor
in Karlsbad,
as sketched
by Goethe

*Der Glorreiche
Augenblick*

When Beethoven at length returned to the peaceful atmosphere of the M \ddot{u} lkerbastei, the outside world was still in ferment. Napoleon's armies were in full retreat after the burning of Moscow, and the nations eagerly took up arms again. Amid the blissful, intoxicating excitement resulting from their escape from tyranny, hope sprang up in men's hearts that a new order might be established governing international relations. But the wars were not yet over. Beethoven, who in 1813 and again in 1814 spent his summer vacation in Baden, and in town continued to live on the M \ddot{u} lkerbastei, made his own special contribution to the general atmosphere of high spirits and triumphant joy. He wrote what was at the time his most popular work — though it was viewed with mixed feelings by those among the connoisseurs who were the best judges of his music. This was the gigantic Symphony which, under the title *Wellington's Victory at the Battle of Vittorio*, is said to have been composed at the instigation of M \ddot{a} lzel, inventor of the clockwork metronome and of the Panharmonicon, a mechanical orchestra. The work caused a sensation, and not only in Vienna, where it could still be heard in December 1814, together with Beethoven's Cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick*. Conducted by Carl Maria von Weber, the symphony was given in Prague twice in 1816, and took the city by storm; and years later, its performance under Richard Wagner captivated the citizens of Magdeburg. Beethoven replied angrily to the adverse criticism occasioned by its appearance.

Princess Lubomirska, whose palace stood on the M \ddot{u} lkerbastei near Beethoven's lodgings, was one of the many attractive women who graced the Congress of Vienna



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Der Name des genialen Herrn van Beethoven bürgt gewissermassen schon für den hohen Werth der hier angekündigten zwey neuen grossen Symphonien desselben. Aber auch ohne Vorsetzung seines Namens würde jeder im Gebiete der Tonkunst Eingeweihte, den Schöpfer dieser Meisterwerke nicht verkennen. Denn so wie Herr van Beethoven anerkannt der grösste Compositeur unsrer Zeit ist, eben so gehören auch diese Symphonien — welche hier in Wien bey den zum Besten wohlthätiger Zwecke veranstalteten Concerten unter eigener Leitung dieses berühmten Componisten mit ausserordentlichem Beyfall ausgeführt

An extract from the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in Leipzig

This symphony received its première at a benefit concert on 8th December 1813, with Beethoven conducting. Antonio Salieri was among those responsible for the artillery. Johann Nepomuk Hummel, once a pupil of Mozart, whom Beethoven had known for years, officiated at the snare-drum, while Giacomo Meyerbeer, then a young man, worked the thunder-machine, probably assisted by Ignaz Moscheles. In the same concert, the most successful Beethoven ever gave, the Symphony No. 7 was also presented for the first time. A witness



Treitschke, an experienced man of the theatre,
to whom we owe the final version of the text of *Fidelio*

of the proceedings was Louis Spohr, who had frequently called on Beethoven during his sojourn in Vienna and been kindly received by him (as was the Swiss composer Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee when he visited the great man in 1811). Spohr noted that 'Beethoven's new compositions scored a tremendous success, especially the Symphony in A major (Symphony No. 7); the magnificent second movement was demanded da capo; I too was deeply and lastingly impressed by it. It was a truly masterly performance, in spite of Beethoven's unsteady and therefore often ridiculous conducting. It was quite apparent that the poor deaf musician could no longer hear the quiet passages in his music.'

The year 1814 was full of hope and good fortune for Beethoven. On 27th February the Symphony No. 8 was performed, and on 23rd May the third première of *Fidelio* at last took place in the Kärntnertor Theatre, the final version of the text being the work of Georg Friedrich Treitschke. The production of the opera was by no means straightforward. Beethoven had not started to write out the overture until the very night before the performance, and he failed to bring the full score, on which the ink was still wet, to the scheduled rehearsal, having fallen asleep over his work. He was still fast asleep when Treitschke found him. Near him stood a glass filled with wine and pieces of biscuit. His light had burned itself out, showing that he had worked far into the night. As a result the overture *Prometheus* was substituted at the actual performance. 'The opera was excellently rehearsed,' further reported Treitschke. 'Beethoven, who was conducting, often lost the beat in his ardour; but Kapellmeister Umlauf, behind Beethoven's back, kept everyone right with meaning looks and hand movements. The applause was considerable, and increased at

every performance.' Beethoven's name was on every tongue. It was indeed his 'glorious hour'. Amid the splendour of the festivities and celebrations, attended by half Europe, Beethoven, too, found a place in the sun. Though the Emperor still held aloof — even then, at the dawning of the age of Metternich, personal reports were made by a secret police force — the Archduke Rudolph, always well-disposed towards his teacher, arranged an audience with the Tsarina Alexiwna in the Hofburg. Still visitors came and went. Wenzel Tomaschek from Prague came to talk to him; the English pianist Charles Neate, to whom Beethoven confided the probable cause of his deafness, called on him; and a certain Anton Schindler, who later became Beethoven's accomodating famulus, delivered a note from Schuppanzigh. Finally, he was made an honorary citizen of Vienna.

The theatre bill advertising the third première of *Fidelio*



Heute Montag den 23. May 1814, wird in beyden k. k. Hoftheatern aufgeführt werden:

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Die Freyplätze sind heute ungetheilt.

Der Anfang ist um 7 Uhr.

This honour was bestowed on him in 1815. The day before the ceremony, on 15th November, his brother Karl died, and Beethoven's tragedy began. In accordance with the terms of his brother's will, Beethoven was entrusted with the guardianship of his nephew Karl. By means of a codicil, his sister-in-law Johanna, whom Beethoven regarded with frank aversion, had surreptitiously succeeded in having herself named as co-guardian. It was thus made very difficult for Beethoven to fulfil his brother's dying request, and to stifle his sudden rage, the 'raptus' which Frau Breuning had long ago had to soothe in Bonn. In addition, Johanna made no attempt to carry out Karl's plea that she should use forbearance. How Beethoven must have suffered during these years! As well as being almost totally deaf — conversations with his visitors were now conducted exclusively in writing, either in his conversation book or on a slate — he was ill, and the foundations of his conception of life had received a crushing blow. The formal application which he handed over to the magistrate in 1820 was more than a mere statement of fact.

He never ceased to lavish his affection on the nephew who, having grown up in neglect, had fallen a prey to laziness and moral instability. Again and again he tried, for the boy's sake, to tear himself away from his music, and sacrificed precious time making petitions, exploring official channels and conferring with trusted friends. (Among those whose advice he sought were the anxious Fanny Streicher, the lawyer Dr. Bach, the poet Josef Karl Bernhard, and Antonio Brentano. In later years he turned again to his good old friend Breuning). We shall make no mention here of his financial burden. But nothing — neither his admission to the private school run by Giannatasio del Rio, nor his instruction at the hands of Kudlich or Blöchinger — could save Karl van Beethoven from his inevitable downfall. Beethoven had great plans for the boy. Josef Stark and Carl Czerny gave him piano lessons, and Beethoven deluded himself into thinking that he could entrust the child to the care of the pedagogue and moral philosopher Johann Michael Sailer in Landshut. His efforts were wasted. Karl escaped from his uncle's ascendancy, morally by his disobedience and physically by running away, and abandoned himself to the more congenial influence of bad company, or the no less harmful 'protection' of his mother. Beethoven, always ready to forgive him, invariably welcomed him back after these escapades, and made fresh attempts to help the child, surrounding him with love and fatherly kindness.

Eventually, in the summer of 1826, came the bitter exchanges, for which we only have Karl's word. Beethoven had forbidden his nephew, who was then living with him, to leave the house, fearful no doubt lest he should not return. In retaliation Karl threatened 'desperate measures'. This proved no idle threat, for, just outside Baden, he held a pistol to his head and attempted to kill himself.

The bottom fell out of Beethoven's world.



As early as 1817 St. Florian,
from his niche in the house wall,
looked down on the Pfarrplatz
in Heiligenstadt

The previous ten years, during which he had let his spiritual strength ebb away, had also undermined his health. Incurably deaf since 1822, he became increasingly monosyllabic, withdrawn and slovenly in his dress. Through all his sufferings he stood alone, though to all outward appearances his life went on as before. Time and again he changed his address, and he continued to spend his summers outside the city, at Weikersdorf, at Heiligenstadt (either at the house on the Pfarrplatz or in the Kahlenbergerstrasse), and at the potter's house in Mödling, where he wrote the *Mödling Dances* for the musicians at the 'Zwei Raben' (The Two Ravens) and tried to forget his troubles among the woods on



In 1818/1819 Beethoven spent the summer at the home of the potter Duschek in Mödling

the Mödling marshes. As always, he had a constant stream of visitors. In 1816 Peter Joseph Simrock, son of Beethoven's former colleague, brought greetings from Bonn. The aged Karl Friedrich Zelter tried to find him. They encountered each other on the highway between Mödling and Vienna, embraced warmly and fixed a rendez-vous at Steiner's music shop. Zelter overslept and missed the appointment, and Beethoven, too, was prevented from keeping it. An amicable exchange of letters cleared up the amusing misunderstanding. '... (I) shall never cease to love and admire you,' wrote Goethe's friend. Another time the poet Joseph Schreyvogel came to pay his respects; Ferdinand Schimon engineered an opportunity to paint Beethoven; and Grillparzer came, on the heels of the invitation he had extended to the composer to discuss plans for an opera. He was accompanied by Schindler. '... we went immediately to call upon Beethoven, who was then living in the Landstrasse suburb. I found

him dressed in dirty night attire and lying on a ruffled bed, holding a book in his hand. By the bedhead there was a little door which I later discovered led to the dining-room, and over which Beethoven to some extent stood guard. For when later a maid emerged carrying butter and eggs, he could not refrain, even while engaged in animated discussion, from looking to see what quantities were being taken out. It gave a sad picture of the disorder of his domestic life.' Further meetings with Beethoven added to Grillparzer's knowledge, and he noted that the composer still had his booming laugh and his somewhat coarse sense of humour, which latter he often indulged at the expense of the good-natured Schindler. In Mödling, Moritz Adolf Schlesinger won Beethoven's heart. (The publisher from Berlin brought out among other things the Piano Sonata op. 110, simultaneously with the Viennese Steiner). The Darmstadt musician Louis Schlösser was horrified when he saw Beethoven's house and its surroundings in the Kothgasse, where the composer was living in 1822. Schlösser's only recollection of their frankly pleasant conversation in that impoverished dwelling was of the portrait in oils of Beethoven's grandfather which hung there. Previously he had had a moving experience at the performance of *Fidelio*, which he had attended in the company of Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient. 'In



Grillparzer visited Beethoven in order to discuss plans for an opera



Sigmund Anton Steiner played the rôle of Lieutenant-General to Beethoven's Generalissimo



Beethoven and Zelter met on the highway
between Mödling and Vienna



Schreyvogel, secretary of the Hoftheater,
wrote poetry under the name of West

my feverish excitement over the marvellous final hymn, the apotheosis of true wifely love, I hardly noticed that the theatre was gradually emptying. At last my dear friend Franz Schubert grasped me by the arm to lead me to the exit. We left at the same time as three gentlemen who had emerged from the inner lobbies, whereupon Schubert tugged at me gently, pointing as he did so to the middle one of the three. At that very moment this gentleman turned his head, so that his face was illuminated by the bright lamp-light, and I caught sight of those features I knew so well from engravings and portraits — the features of the creator of the opera I had just seen. It was Beethoven himself! In that moment my heart beat too loudly in my breast, and I do not recall whether I spoke to Schubert, or, if I did, what I said. But I well remember how I followed my idol and his companions (Schindler and Breuning, as I later discovered) like a shadow, through tortuous streets and past high-gabled houses, until at last I lost sight of them in the darkness.'

The dress rehearsal of this performance of *Fidelio* was the scene of a tragic incident described by Schindler. Beethoven had insisted on conducting the rehearsal himself; but his deafness had disastrous consequences: 'Beethoven had demanded to be allowed to conduct the dress rehearsal . . . But even in the first duet it became obvious that he heard nothing of what the singers were doing. The orchestra followed his beat, the singers increased the tempo, and at the point where there is a hammering at the gate, confusion reigned. Umlauf stopped the rehearsal, without giving Beethoven his reason for doing so. After



The modest Franz Schubert was full of admiration for his great contemporary



Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, whom both Beethoven and Wagner admired

some exchanges with the singers up on the stage, work was resumed da capo. But disunity prevailed from the very beginning, so that when the knocking came there was the same chaos as before. There was a second interruption. It was clearly impossible to continue under the composer's direction. But how, in what way could he be made to realise this? No-one was willing to utter the depressing words: 'This cannot go on; take yourself off, unhappy man!' Beethoven, who by this time was growing restless in his chair, kept turning to left and right, scrutinising the faces of those around him to see what was holding things up. A gloomy silence reigned. He called to me. I went up to the orchestra and stood beside him, whereupon he handed me his little pocket-book, indicating that I should write down what was wrong. Hastily I wrote something like 'I beg you not to continue. I shall explain further at home'. In a trice he vaulted over into the pit, and said simply: 'Outside, quickly.' He ran straight home, to the Pfarrgasse in the Laimgrube suburb. On his arrival he threw himself down on the sofa, covered his face with both hands and remained in this attitude until we sat down at table. But throughout the meal he uttered no sound, and his whole figure was the picture of the most profound melancholy.

Friedrich Rochlitz came from Leipzig to Vienna, and he and Beethoven

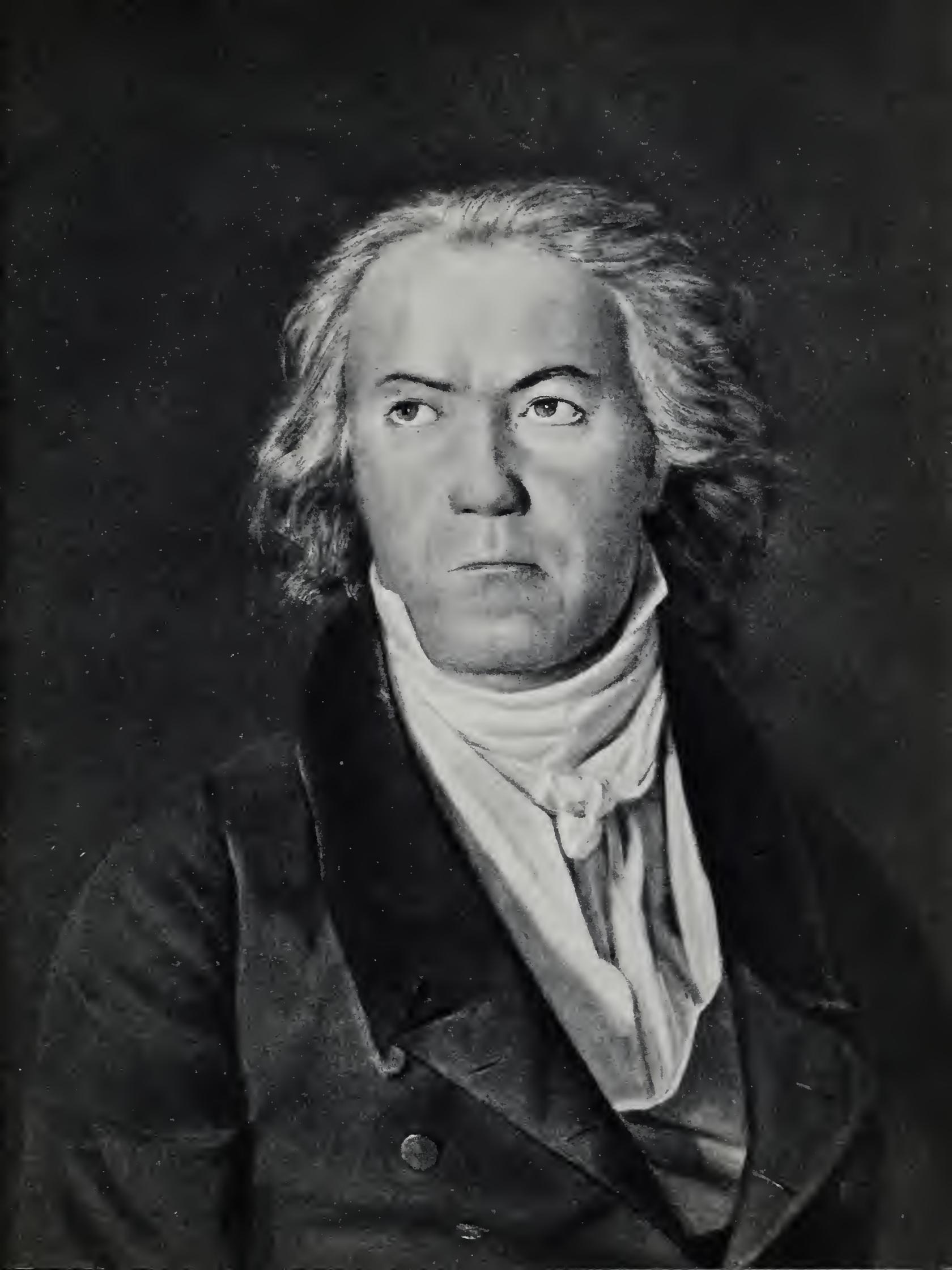


Only a 'fox-hole' – this was the music shop in the Paternostergässchen



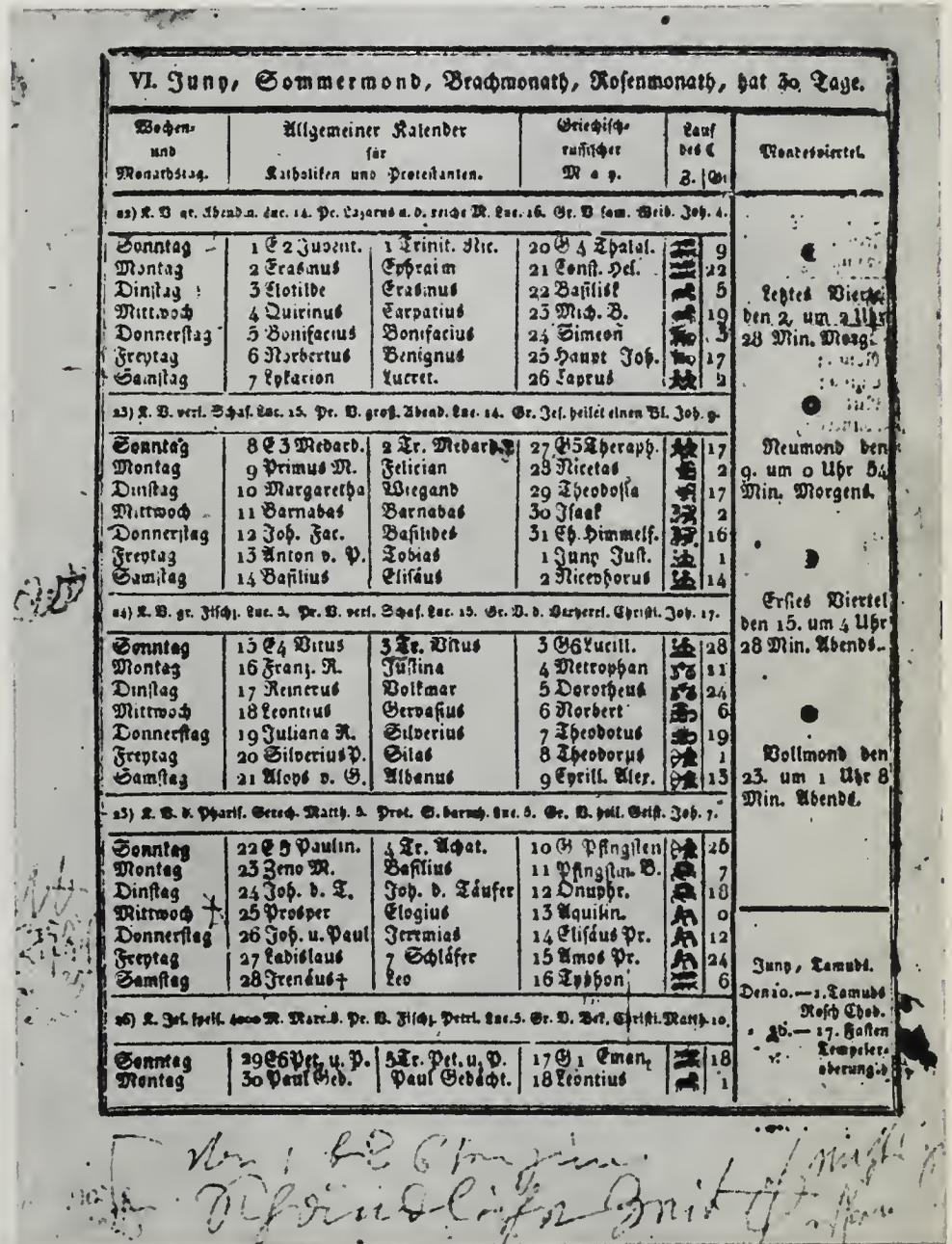
The publisher Tobias Haslinger,
Beethoven's 'little adjutant'

chatted together about Goethe. Carl Maria von Weber saw the great man in Haslinger's music shop in the Paternostergasse, and, with Haslinger, paid him a formal visit at the house in the Rathausgasse in Baden. '... I was as deeply moved, as though King Lear or one of the old Gaelic bards stood before me.' Carl Czerny introduced his twelve-year-old pupil, Franz Liszt. Two years later the poet Friedrich Rellstab brought Beethoven greetings from Zelter, and the young Viennese painter Ferdinand Waldmüller succeeded in making him sit by the window, much against his will, and remain still for a time (then the composer grew agitated, and rushed out – because the macaroni was boiling dry). He was always surrounded by friends, and by his old friends in particular. Waldstein alone was missing, for he had long since become estranged from Beethoven, and died in penury in 1823. Beethoven and Breuning, however, were completely reconciled, and the lonely man adored his friend's son Gerhard (his 'Ariel'), just as years before he had also adored 'Maxe', the little daughter of his friend Franz Brentano.



Surrounded by friends and affection, and overwhelmed with honours, Beethoven nevertheless grew fundamentally more and more isolated. The address of thanks delivered to him in 1824 by his many Viennese admirers, at the recommendation of Moritz Lichnowski, filled him with great joy; and the episode served to raise his morale and strengthen his consciousness of his own worth. As early as 1813 he had complained, in a letter to Zmeskall, that both he and his writing were constantly misinterpreted. In the years that followed this must surely have become increasingly true! The outside world showered him with honours: he was named a corresponding member of the Amsterdam Institute for Literature and Fine Art (1809), and granted honorary membership of the

*Friendship
and Honours*



A leaf from Beethoven's calendar tells of his distress: 'nothing to eat'



Johann Andreas Streicher, a friend of the young Schiller and one of Beethoven's most fervent admirers in Vienna

Philharmonic Society in Laibach, of the Viennese Merchant's Society (1819), of the Graz Music Club (1822), of the Swedish Academy in Stockholm (1823) and of the Vienna Music lovers' Society (1806), which latter distinction his friend Streicher had taken great pains to obtain for him, together with the freedom of the city. Each mark of appreciation acted on him like a stimulant, and brightened the existence overshadowed by illness, disappointment and deafness.

A change had nonetheless taken place, and even the readily-indulged restlessness, which had for years driven him from one set of lodgings to another, gradually abated. The list of his various homes in Vienna, which fills a whole catalogue, is relatively short during the last years of his life. His wanderings were over. In 1823 he was living at the inn 'Zur schönen Sklavin' (The Beautiful Slave). There he received his friends' address of appreciation, and there, too, he was visited by the singers Henriette Sontag and Karoline Unger: 'I can still see that simple room overlooking the highway. The bell-pull was a piece of string, and in the middle of the floor stood a large table, on which some excellent roast-beef was served, with a capital sweet wine. I recall the other room next-door, packed to the ceiling with orchestral parts. In the middle of this

second room stood the grand piano which, unless I am mistaken, Fiehl had sent to Beethoven from London.' (Karoline Unger probably had in mind the grand piano sent by Broadwood, and later owned by Liszt. Also a gift was the grand piano from Erard in Paris, while Konrad Graf lent him a third instrument. After 1818 the English piano habitually accompanied Beethoven whenever he changed his lodging). 'Jette Sontag and I,' continues the report, 'entered the room as if entering a church, and we tried, unfortunately without success, to sing for the beloved master.' In this house he completed his *Ninth Symphony*. The summer of 1824 was, as usual, spent in the country, this time in the Hadikschlössl in Penzing, and later in Hitzing and Baden. In the autumn of 1824 he moved to his final set of rooms, in the Schwarzspanierhaus on the Alserstadt Glacis.

The stages in Beethoven's life whose outward manifestations are shown in the portraits by Josef Stieler and Ferdinand Waldmüller, cover that period of his creativeness when his music became more and more abstract and transcendental. The works he produced during these years are usually grouped together under the heading of 'late Beethoven', and they are landmarks in intellectual progress and in musical history. This new development had been apparent in the Piano Sonatas since 1815, and was carried through to its logical conclusion in the famous sonatas for Dorothea Ertman and Maximilane Brentano, in the two great sonatas for the Archduke Rudolph (to whom the last, written in 1822, was in particular dedicated), and in the undedicated op. 110. 1823 saw the publication of the *Variations on a Waltz by Diabelli* — Beethoven's 'diabolus'

*The late
Beethoven*



The 'lovely enchantress', Henriette Sontag



The other 'lovely enchantress', Karoline Unger



The Schwarzspanierhaus, Beethoven's last residence

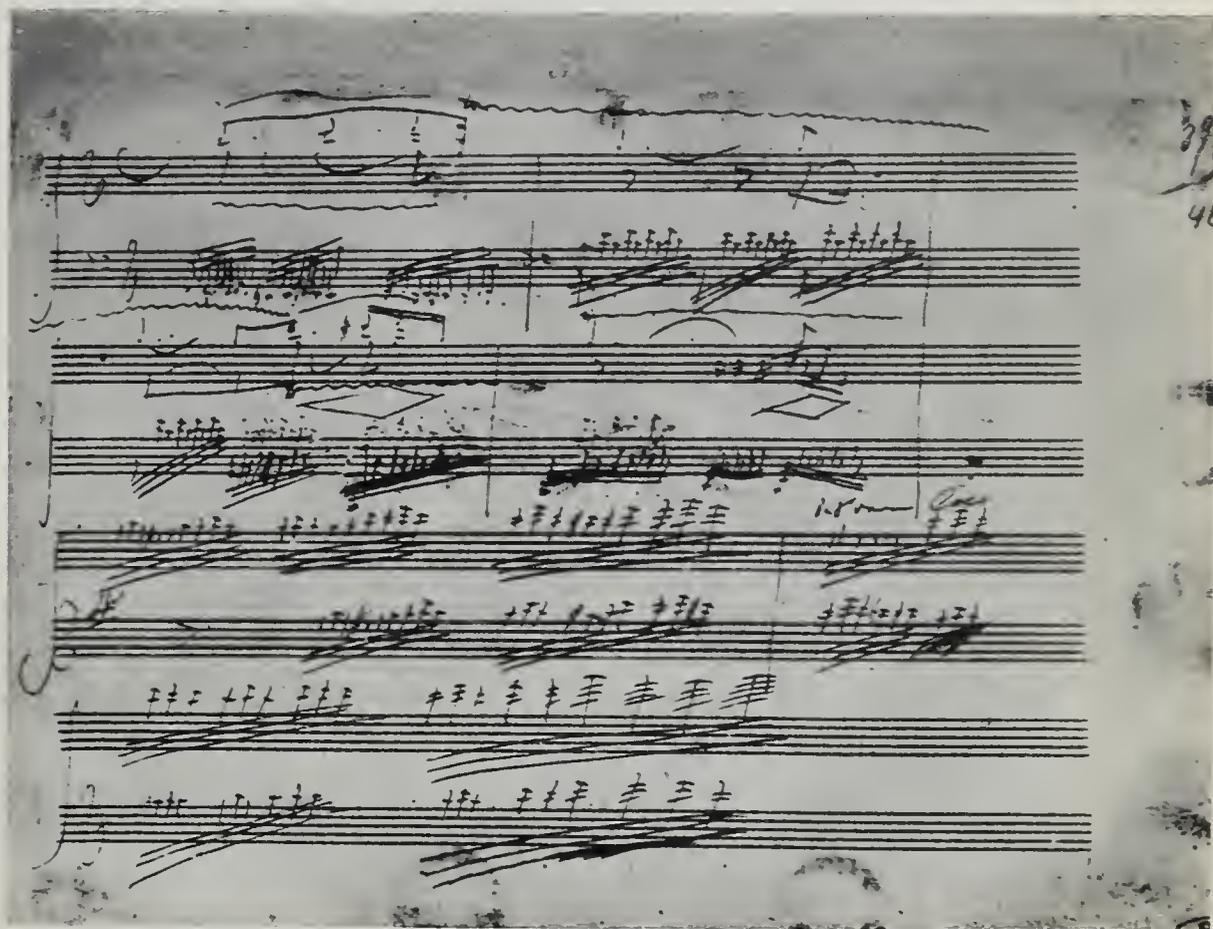
Antonio Diabelli, with whom he was on excellent terms. In the collection which included these Variations, Franz Schubert was also represented. The shy young schoolmaster's son had in 1822 presented his Variations, *Le bon chevalier*, to Beethoven, to whom they were dedicated.

By the time Beethoven had moved into his last Viennese lodgings in the Schwarzspanierhaus, the world around him — which from this point gradually ceased to understand the bold new spirit inherent in his music — had undergone a complete transformation. The anguish of his solitude was only made bearable by his awareness that he and Breuning lived under the same roof, and by his knowledge that Breuning, the far-off Wegeler and Goethe still represented the faithful old world which had meant so much to him. It was a time when new names were coming to the fore in music — names such as Schubert and Loewe, Rossini and Liszt. The latter, as a child prodigy, captivated the world, as did Mendelssohn, in whom the Romantic era had its beginnings. 1824, the very year in which Anton Bruckner was born, saw Chopin at the outset of his studies, while Robert Schumann, Verdi and Wagner were still schoolboys. Byron died; Grabbe wrote his *Don Juan and Faust*; and Heine's first poems, the novels of

Stendhal and Manzoni's dramas were making their mark in literature. Ingres was then painting in Rome.

Alone with Beethoven, who was nearer to his younger contemporaries than one might think, stood Goethe, an old man in a changing world. The youthful Mendelssohn had visited him in 1821 and played to him many times. It was he who succeeded in winning over the Weimar Privy Councillor to Beethoven's music. It is in itself a curious phenomenon, that the aged Goethe was so thoroughly initiated into Beethoven's world by a representative of the younger generation, a Romantic, that his whole conception on faith underwent a change. Ten years before, when he and Beethoven had come face to face, he had only vaguely understood what now appeared crystal-clear to him. It is true that the works he came to know were not the works of Beethoven's later years.

The fact remains that this 'late' Beethoven, who now expressed himself in the abstract realms of the intellect — like the Bach of *The Art of Fugue* or the Goethe of *Faust II* — was in every way the same Beethoven as before. A composition like the last Piano Sonata, written the same year as Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, in no way contradicts his delightful remarks in letters to his brother Johann, to his publishers (these are particularly readable



An extract from
Beethoven's last
Piano Sonata,
completed 'on
13th January
1822'

and to Schindler, or his coarse fault-finding with copyists. How vividly one is reminded of earlier comments when he writes to Naegeli in 1824. '... I am free from all petty vanity; only music, the divine art, possesses the impetus which gives me the strength to sacrifice the best years of my life to the heavenly muses. From my earliest years it has always been my greatest happiness and pleasure to help others. You can imagine, therefore, how delighted I am to be of some help to you and to show you how I value your services. I embrace you as one of Apollo's wise men, and remain ever your Beethoven.'

These same years also witnessed the appearance of those two commentaries on the new era with which Beethoven took a decisive step forward: the *Ninth Symphony* and the *Missa Solemnis*. The personal anxiety from which these two works originate was transformed into the expression of a universally valid

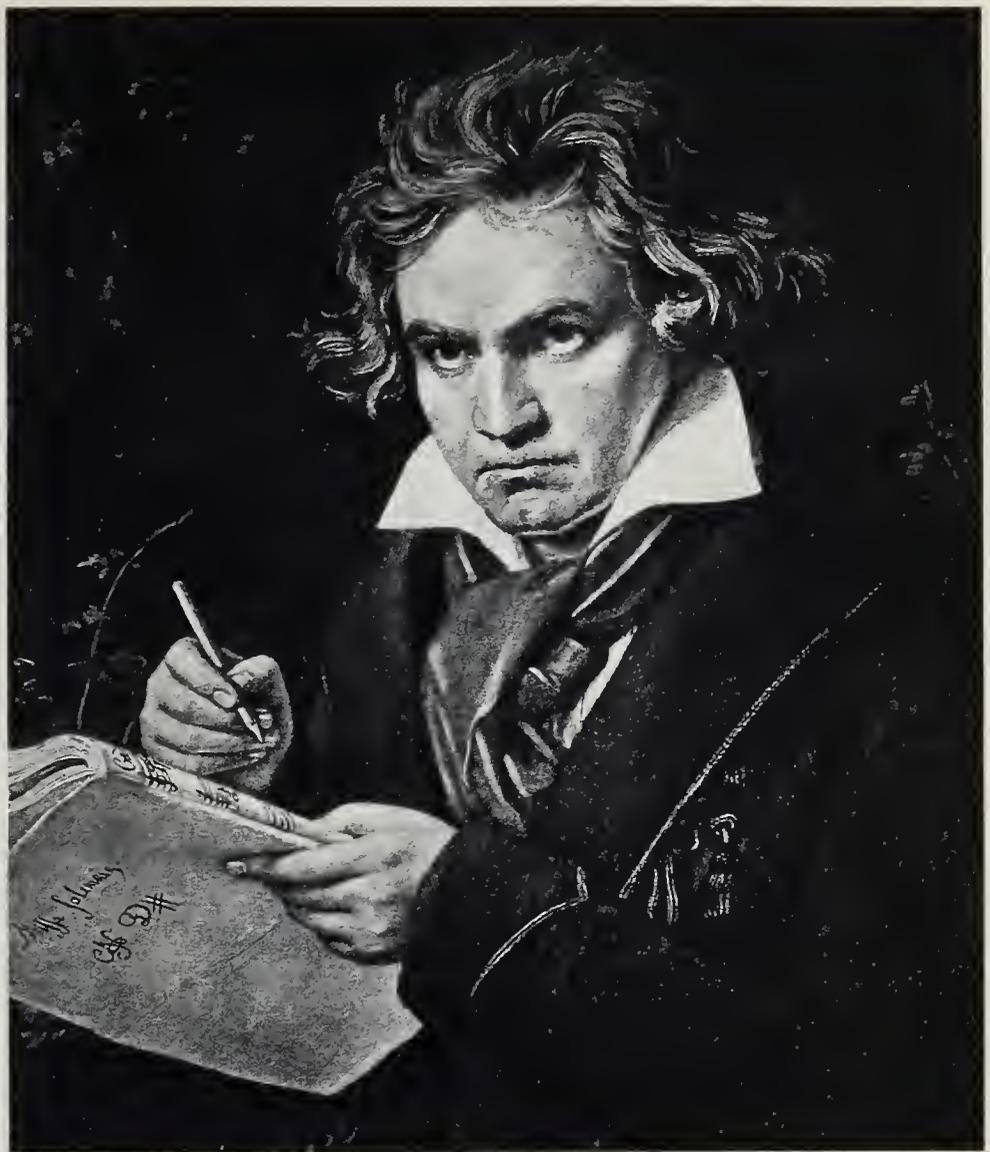
Beethoven's letter to Goethe
1823

58

Herrn Goethe

Mein Herr
 Ich habe die Ehre Ihnen zu schreiben
 und zu hoffen, dass Sie mir
 die Ehre machen werden, mich
 zu empfangen, wenn ich
 nach Weimar kommen werde.
 Ich habe die Ehre Ihnen zu schreiben
 und zu hoffen, dass Sie mir
 die Ehre machen werden, mich
 zu empfangen, wenn ich
 nach Weimar kommen werde.

Beethoven's letter to
 Goethe in the year
 1823



Beethoven holding his
Missa Solemnis

declaration, an appeal to his fellow-men – and not only to those of his own times – which was to become the proclamation of a new moral and therefore of a new social order, born of the spirit of humanity. Schiller's *Ode to Joy*, which had already impressed Beethoven as a young man in Bonn, and the inscription 'It comes from the heart – may it go to the heart' which, contrary to all historic precedent, stands at the head of the *Missa Solemnis*, are key thoughts, and raise the conception underlying both these works far above mere musical formalism. It was not only that the works marked a new page in musical history. More important and more decisive was the spiritual point of departure, for Beethoven's soul was fired with the realisation that the new age, having shattered the existing order in the name of freedom and the rights of man, was itself in need of a moral code. The world stood on the threshold of an epoch, and men were confronted with new and unfamiliar tasks. Barely ten years after Beethoven had sounded these piercing fanfares, the first locomotive whistle

Sinfonie
 als Aufschluß über Schillers Ode an die Freude,
 für Sopran, Bass, 4 Solo und 4 Chor-Stimmen,
 komponirt und
 dirigirt von dem Königl. Hofkapellmeister
 Friedrich Wilhelm III
 in seiner Hofkapell zu Bonn
 Ludwig van Beethoven
 125tes Werk

Title-page of the *Ninth Symphony* in Beethoven's handwriting

The *Ninth Symphony* appeared in print in 1826

Sinfonie
 mit Schluss-Chor über Schillers Ode „An die Freude“
 für großes Orchester, 1 Solo- und 4 Chor-Stimmen
 komponirt und
 dirigirt von
 SEINER MAJESTÄT dem KÖNIG von PREUSSEN
 FRIEDRICH WILHELM III.
 in seiner Hofkapell zu Bonn
 Ludwig van Beethoven
 125tes Werk
 Leipzig (und Paris)
 bey B. Schott's Söhnen Buchverlegern, bey A. Schott's

shrilled across the quiet world, giving the signal for revolution, thrusting men forward into the adventure of civilisation. Mankind must be saved! Art, which moved in opposition to the times, had now, with these very works by Beethoven, fulfilled the task prophesied for her by Goethe fifty years before. About the time when Beethoven, in the prime of life, was following his chosen path, Goethe, an old man now, resumed work on the second part of his *Faust*. Beethoven's sketches for his *Ninth Symphony* date as far back as 1809. From the first seeds there grew up, over a period of eight years, the outlines of the great work. In the summer months at Hetzendorf and in his Baden retreat he worked out the details, and the composition was eventually completed in Vienna. Beethoven was in high spirits as he received the two 'lovely enchantresses', Henrietta Sonntag and Karoline Unger, who sang in the

Große musikalische Akademie

des Herrn

Ludwig van Beethoven

den 7. May im k. k. Hoftheater nächst dem Kärntnerthore
zu seinem Vortheile.

Die dabei vorkommenden Musikstücke sind die neuesten Werke des
Herrn van Beethoven.

- 1) Große Ouvertüre.
- 2) Drei große Hymnen, mit Solo- und Chorstimmen.
- 3) Große Symphonie mit im Finale eintretenden Solo- und
Chorstimmen.

Die Duet Sontag und Unger und die Herren Haizinger und
Preißinger werden die Soloparten vortragen. Herr van Beetho-
ven selbst wird mit den Herren Umlauf und Schupanzigh das
Ganze leiten.

Programme for the first
performance of the
Ninth Symphony

first performance of the work. On 7th May 1824 there took place in the Kärntner-
tor Theatre a 'grand musical concert', with the symphony as the third item
on the programme. 'Herr Schupanzigh has undertaken to conduct the orches-
tra, the complete ensemble is to be directed by Herr Umlauf, and the Music
Club has graciously offered to reinforce the chorus and orchestra. Herr Ludwig
van Beethoven himself will share in the conducting of the whole performance.'
So ran the announcement of the concert. Beethoven's share consisted in stand-
ing beside Umlauf and watching the full score, so that he might at least see the
entries of the voices even he could not hear them. Tumultuous applause surged
about the great man; but he took no notice, for he stood facing his musical associ-
ates and neither his eyes nor his ears told him of the gestures, movements and
shouts of the cheering audience. Karoline Unger, who, with Jettchen Sontag,
was one of the four soloists in the work, turned Beethoven round towards the
public, so that he might gauge from the waving hats and handkerchiefs the ex-
tent of their excitement and appreciation as they applauded him. It was his
public farewell; but it was a glorious farewell, 'a festive evening for the num-
erous friends of the great celebrity', as one newspaper described it. The art-
icle goes on: 'Whenever one contemplated his head, grown white in the course
of his deep probing of the secrets of art . . . and whenever one stood amazed
before the richness of his composition, the youthful power, the immortal fire of
his creations — then one involuntarily conjured up the image of a Vulcan, his
head crowned with snow while his inmost being seems to create itself anew in
inexhaustible activity.' The Symphony, first published two years later by

Schott in Mainz, and dedicated by Beethoven to Frederick William III of Prussia (though he probably intended it for the Philharmonic Society in London), put the good-will and devotion of his admirers outside Vienna to a severe test. Many, indeed, withdrew their allegiance at this point, being unable to follow him along this new path. Many, many years were to pass before the work won its true place in the world. Poets seized on it, seeking to interpret it and read thoughts into it which sometimes seem to us bordering on exaggeration. The German, English and French 'Beethovenists', as Robert Griepenkerl and Robert Schumann dubbed them, were the first to draw closer to this controversial symphony, to be followed in turn by enthusiasts in Russia, Switzerland, America, Hungary, Denmark, Italy and Spain. All this, however, only happened after Beethoven's death. His earlier symphonies had long been popular, at least in England, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Denmark and France, though they, too, had here and there been subjected to adverse comment and even ridicule.

*Missa Solemnis
and the Ninth
Symphony*

Also on the programme of the concert at which the *Ninth Symphony* was first heard were *Three Great Hymns* with solo voices and chorus. They formed part of the *Missa Solemnis* which, at the instigation of Prince Galitzin, had been given its première in toto the previous April in Petersburg. Six years later it was again performed, this time in the little town of Warnsdorf in Northern Bohemia, and five years after that it was given in Pressburg. Fifteen years elapsed before Vienna heard this great work. The external events attendant on the composition and history of the Mass are symbolic. In them, and in the fate of the *Ninth Symphony*, we can trace the future problems of the new age, of which Beethoven, more especially in his last years, was an apostle and forerunner. His Mass was not commissioned, nor was it a 'duty composition', as was the case with Haydn and also with Mozart while the latter was still in Salzburg. Any 'commission and duty' arose out of Beethoven's own urge to compose. His Mass was ostensibly written for the enthronement of the Archduke Rudolph, now elected a Cardinal of the church, as Archbishop of Olmütz.

The appointment was made in 1819, and the installation was scheduled to take place early in 1820. Beethoven set himself the task of composing the Mass out of a desire to honour his noble patron, but also to indulge his own religious yearnings, to which he had long planned to give form in an Oratorio or a Requiem. This 'special work', designed for a religious purpose, transcending every constraint of creed, became the affirmation of a profession of religious faith and of faith in humanity. The years passed, and the archbishop in whose honour it had been composed had long since been ceremonially enthroned, when at last, on 19th March 1823, Beethoven handed over the manuscript score of the Mass. The delay may have been due to many factors, including the

W. A. Mozart

Stim. furchen - Mien d. ... 3. in furchen ...

40 (I.) Kyrie.

(1.)

L.H. 176

The image shows a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is written in dark ink on aged paper. There are several annotations and corrections throughout the piece, including a large 'f' marking and some scribbled-out sections. The overall style is that of a working draft or a composer's sketch.

Cono

una soli

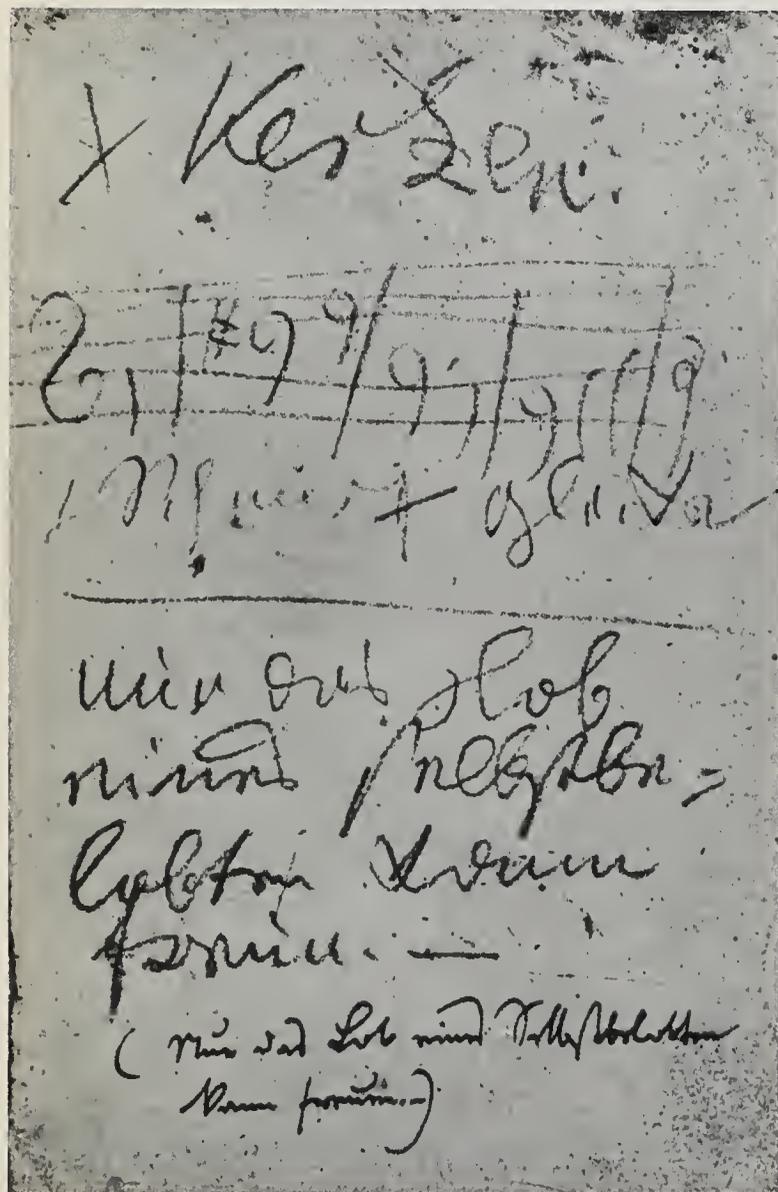
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restraint imposed upon him by his grief and anger over his nephew's behaviour. But the real problem, the problem which time and again postponed the completion of the work, was his research into and absorption with the actual words of the Mass, words hallowed by centuries of liturgical use. For Beethoven each of these words, with which he had become intimately acquainted while composing the Mass he wrote for Prince Esterhazy in 1807, represented a new revelation, a solemn and and impressive explanation which he sought to express by approaching the true meaning of the Latin words through their German equivalents, and by delving deeply into the religious and musical sources of the form. From his heart, overflowing with ardour, there streamed forth the all-embracing longing to confess everything in a personal colloquy with God, a task which Beethoven the individual, who felt himself to be the spokesman

for contemporary humanity, was delegated to fulfil. The Mass is the epic of the exaltation and the isolation of man, who from now on stands alone, face to face with God, the cosmos and the world, as he is represented in the paintings of Beethoven's contemporary, Caspar David Friedrich.

Beethoven was deeply concerned about the circulation of the work. He had transcripts made, and these were offered for sale to different courts, to members of the nobility, and to the St. Cecilia Society in Frankfurt. He counted on Goethe's support for the Mass in Weimar – but Goethe made no sign – and looked for help from the Archduke in Vienna and from Zelter in Berlin. Its eventual publication by Schott came too late for Beethoven; only the announcement of its imminent dispatch reached him on his deathbed.

The last peak of his artistic and intellectual achievement, in which Beethoven,



Artistic ideas and commonplace trivialities mingle in the conversation notebooks



Beethoven's last portrait, by Stefan Decker

like a prophet, anticipated musical progress by a whole century, was reached in the 'last' quartets, of which three, written in 1824 and 1825, were composed for Prince Nikolaus Galitzin. Schuppanzigh and his companions performed the first of them, op. 127, in March 1825, with indifferent success. It was given a different reception, however, when Rode's pupil Josef Böhm, Beethoven's 'honest fiddler', repeated the performance immediately afterwards. Beethoven was not present, preferring to await reports of the event in a nearby hostelry. The work was also published. The second of the quartets, op. 132, is, as the annotations suggest, bound up with his illness and recovery in the summer of 1825, when he again went to Baden. It was first played through in the autumn of the same year, at 'The Wilde Man', an inn where, according to Marie Eskeles, Beethoven again practised his old art of extemporizing. Moritz Schlesinger at once undertook to publish the quartet, though Beethoven never lived to see this happen. The last of these Galitzin Quartets, bearing the opus number 130, was performed in its original form in March 1826. 'In its original form' signifies that the fugue we now know separately as op. 133 still took the place of the last movement of the work as it stands to-day.

The last two quartets Beethoven ever wrote, op. 131 and op. 135, are tragically linked up with his nephew Karl.



Der schwer gefaßte Entschluß: Beethoven's last String Quartet

After Karl's attempted suicide, Beethoven, broken in body and spirit, had given his consent to the boy's becoming a soldier. He was posted to Baron Stutterheim's regiment in Iglau, and for this reason Beethoven dedicated his op. 131 to the Baron.

*Must it be? —
It must be*

The man for whom it had originally been intended, the merchant Johann Wolfmayer, who, in addition to being an affectionate admirer of Beethoven, had often helped the composer, now received in its stead the dedication of op. 135. The title of the work, *Der schwer gefaßte Entschluß* (the difficult decision) and its 'Must it be? It must be!' give some indication of the torment suffered by Beethoven as he wrote it. The last quartet was completed on 30th October 1826, not in Vienna, but on the estate of Gneixendorf, which for seven years had been the property of the composer's affluent brother Johann.

On the advice of his friends, and urged on by Johann, then living in Vienna, Beethoven allowed himself to be persuaded to try to regain his health and to seek oblivion after the painful experience with Karl, at Johann's castle-like country seat in the Danube hills near Krems. For years after the Linz affair, Beethoven had refused to enter his brother's house, because of Johann's wife Therese and his step-daughter. He made his way there now, ill, but buoyed up with the hope of receiving brotherly love. At the end of September 1826 the brothers, together with young Karl, set out on their journey to Stockerau via Korneuburg, where they spent the night.

The unhappy man needed much coaxing before he would consent to move from Vienna. We read in his conversation notebook how his brother Johann pressed him to go: 'The air up there will also be good for you, for it is quite different from the air here. We must be off the day after tomorrow at five in the morning, or my business will certainly fail . . . Where I live you can easily go out walking, for in ten paces you are among the fields and in the most beautiful countryside . . .'

Vienna as seen from the Leopoldstadt suburb





On his last journey, Beethoven spent the night at Stockerau in Lower Austria



Kirchberg on the Wagram



Krems, the last halt before Gneixendorf

The coach rolled on, through Kirchberg on the Wagram and through Krems, finally coming to a halt in the courtyard of the old manor-house. At the outset everything apparently went smoothly; but gradually friction arose.

Beethoven can hardly have felt at ease in the chilly, loveless atmosphere. He worked, made sketches, and went for long walks across the fields, the 'crabbed musician' who doubtless caused much head-shaking among the uninformed, and whom the doctor's wife in Lengendorf is reported to have mistaken for one of Herr Apothecary van Beethoven's servants.

In Gneixendorf, where he had hoped for so much from his brother's love, he remained alone, thrown back on himself and his inner thoughts. These thoughts took him into the past, to his youthful days in Bonn, on which he looked back increasingly during his last years. A letter to Wegeler, where he speaks of his own creative work at the time, and tells Wegeler of the honour bestowed on him by the King of France, Louis XVIII, is filled with the bitter-sweet memories of friendship and youth: 'I remember all the love which you invariably showed towards me, how for example you had my room whitewashed and surprised me so pleasantly. It was the same with the Breuning family. That we parted was in the nature of things; every man must follow the purpose of his destiny and strive to reach his goal; nevertheless the eternal and indestructible principles of goodness always held us closely bound together . . .'



The tower entrance to the castle at Gneixendorf,
brother Johann's estate

'Unfortunately I am to-day unable to write as much as I should wish, being confined to bed, and I shall limit myself to answering several points in your letter . . .

'I still have your Lorchen's silhouette, from which you will see how much I continue to value all the love and kindness shown me in my youth . . .

'My life is still governed by the precept 'nulla die sine linea', and if I let the muse sleep, it is only that she may be the stronger on reawakening. It is my hope yet to bring several great works into the world, and then, like an aged child, to end my earthly days somewhere among kindly companions . . .

' . . . My beloved friend! Be content with this to-day. Besides, memories of the past crowd around me, and you will receive this letter at the cost of many tears. I have now made a beginning, and you will soon receive another letter. The oftener you write to me, the more joy you will give me. Our friendship eliminates the need for questions on either side, and so farewell. I beg you, give your dear Lorchen and the children a hug and a kiss from me, and think of me at the same time.'

For the first time in his life, the lonely Beethoven was in the grip of anguished despair, which makes it all the more understandable that he was anxious to return to Vienna at once.

Mein Onkel Ludwig.

Die Reise nach Prag ist mir sehr angenehm und ich habe mich sehr wohl dabei befunden. Die Reise nach Prag ist mir sehr angenehm und ich habe mich sehr wohl dabei befunden.

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Dein Onkel Ludwig

P.S.

Ich habe mich sehr wohl dabei befunden. Die Reise nach Prag ist mir sehr angenehm und ich habe mich sehr wohl dabei befunden.

The nephew writes to his uncle



Karl van Beethoven, the composer's 'nephew Karl', as an cadet at Iglau

The lord and lady of the manor, however, were not disposed to set out for the city in their light carriage; but they conceded that Beethoven should start off on the last day of November in a milk-waggon. This arrangement must have broken down in a village somewhere on the way, and Beethoven, feverish and ill, was obliged to complete his journey on a rackwaggon. Thus he entered Vienna, not as a hero in a triumphal car, but a miserable, broken wretch under the shadow of death.

He reached the Schwarzschanerhaus on 2nd December.

His pneumonia — Gerhard von Breuning thought it was peritonitis — was successfully cured. But the liver disease, which had attacked the composer before he left Vienna (from his earliest days Beethoven had in addition been prone to bowel disorders) continued its course. Within eight weeks, Beethoven, who was suffering from dropsy, underwent four puncturing operations to draw off some of the water. The last operation took place on 27th February 1827.

His spirit, which had survived unbroken the years of illness and pain in creative vitality, remained alert and serene. On this sickbed that was to prove his deathbed, Beethoven's thoughts went to Goethe, and he enquired of his friends as to the health of the old man in Weimar. As recently as 1823 he had written happily to Goethe, recalling their meeting in Teplitz. He loved to leaf through the edition of the complete works of Handel which had been sent to him from London. No longer surrounded by joyful acclamation — and he would in any case have

been unable to hear it — he lay lapped instead in quiet affection, which his living spirit gratefully accepted.

His brain still teemed with plans for new works; a symphony, a BACH overture and a Faust opera. (His last completed composition was a humorous little Canon, *Da ist das Werk*, for Karl Holz.)

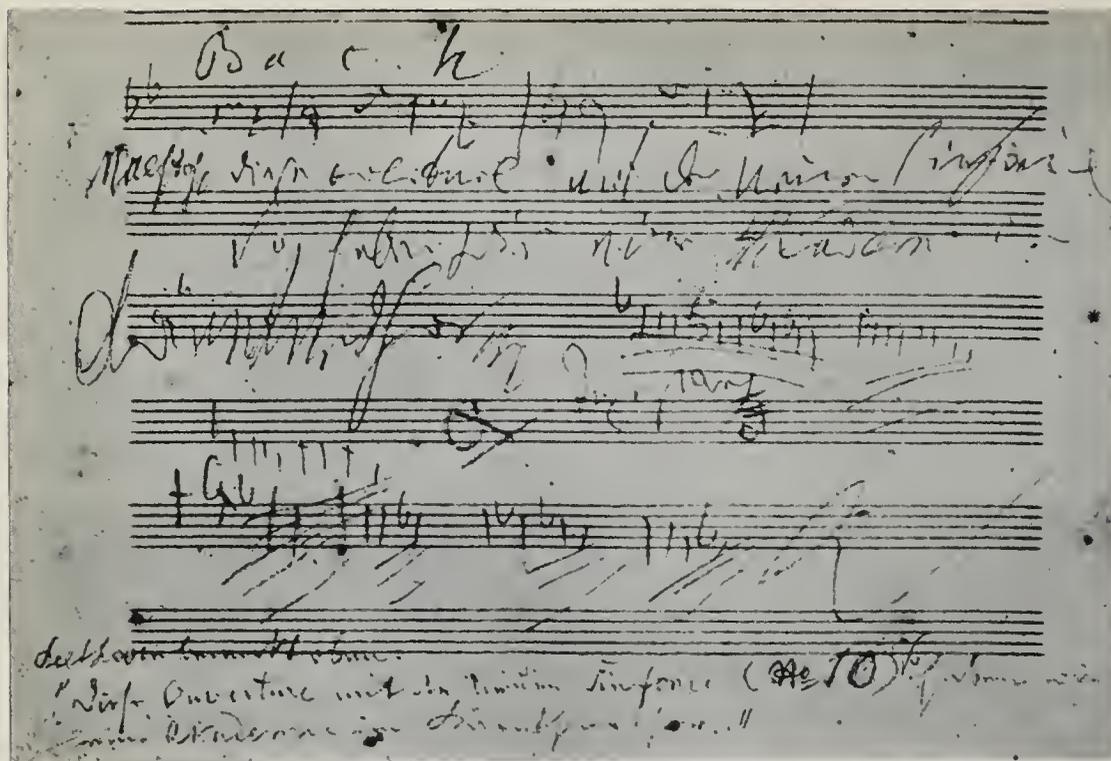
Besides Schindler and Breuning, the devoted friend of his youth, Beethoven was tended in these last weeks and days by Sali and by Anselm Hüttenbrenner. His brother Johann arrived, and Karl Holz, Haslinger, Diabelli, Baron Eskeles, Johann Nepomuk Hummel and the young Ferdinand Hiller made pilgrimages to his sickbed. One of his last visitors was Franz Schubert. On 23rd March Beethoven, having made his will in a letter to Dr. Bach, added a codicil stipulating that, while his nephew was his sole heir, the capital of his estate should pass to Karl's children. The medical skill of Dr. Wawruch and Dr. Röhrig could do no more, and on 24th March the death agony began. For hours the friends waited for his release. Schindler took the precaution of seeking out Grillparzer, to ask him to write the funeral oration. On the afternoon of 26th March 1827, while Schindler and Breuning were in the Währing cemetery looking for a burial site, death approached Beethoven's sick-bed. In the late afternoon, to the accompaniment of snow and hail storms, thunder and lightning, he bade farewell to the world in his room at the Schwarzspanierhaus. At the moment of death, only Hüttenbrenner, unless his memory deceives him, was keeping watch by the bed: 'Not a breath, not a heart-beat more! The genius of the great musician fled from this wicked world into the realm of truth! — After he had fallen asleep I closed his half-open eyes, and kissed those same eyes, then his brow. mouth and



The 'diabolus' Diabelli



Mozart's pupil Johann Nepomuk Hummel



Artistic plans:
sketches for a tenth
symphony and an
overture on the motif
of Bach's name

hands.' Schindler hurried to Grillparzer, who retained a vivid impression of this moment. 'It was as if something had fallen heavily inside me; the tears sprang to my eyes and — as always happened when I was engaged in other work and was overcome by real emotion — I was unable to impart the same significance to the end of the oration as I had to its opening.'

Finale

Completed works and works in embryo — among them the outlines of the BACH overture — filled the room where Beethoven's body lay in state. Those dumb, faithful friends, his books, among them works by Thomas á Kempis, Kant and Seume, stood on the bookshelves, forlorn and abandoned like the room itself, whose comfortless silence is so well conveyed by the drawing.

Beethoven was dead. The regretful 'What a pity — too late!' with which the dying giant had gratefully acknowledged greetings and gifts from near and far, was final and irrevocable. An event had taken place whose significance and import, both at the time and later, was only appreciated by those who had really been closest to him, above all by the faithful Breuning, the only one uninfluenced by hopes of a bequest or by ambition. The tragi-comedy which was to accompany the disposal of Beethoven's property so disgusted and pained Breuning that he lost all desire to live.

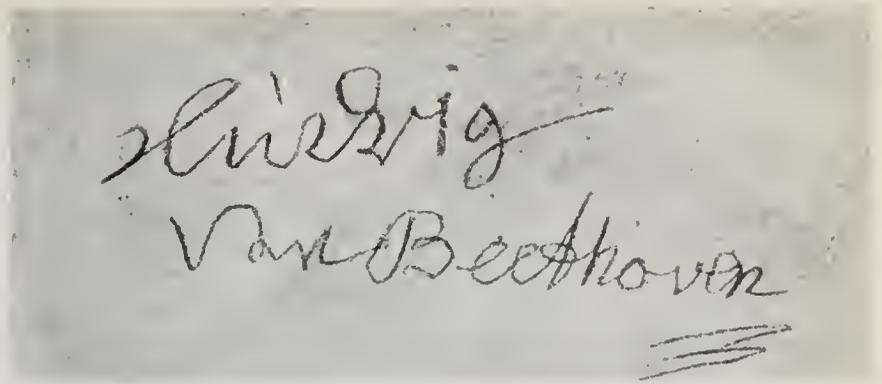
Beethoven was dead. Very gradually the world of learning recovered from the numbing blow it had received. Even Nature, whom Beethoven had loved for her 'elemental' greatness, seemed stunned by the senselessness of what had happened.



In this room Beethoven died



Beethoven on his deathbed



The last signature

On 27th March 1827 Danhauser made the death-mask. On the same day the corpse was opened. Breuning, Schindler, Holz and the suspicious brother went about putting the dead man's affairs in order. A day later Danhauser made a drawing of Beethoven's head. On 29th March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the funeral procession set off from Schwarzspanierhaus, watched by thousands of Viennese, who surged around the dead lion as he took his last journey. After the consecration of the corpse by priests of the Scottish foundation, the coffin was taken up, to the strains of Bernhard Anselm Weber's chorale. The coffin itself was borne by singers, and, to the side, each holding a coffin-cord, walked Joseph Eybler, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Konradin Kreutzer, Ignaz von Seyfried, Johann Baptist Gänsbacher, Adalbert Gyrowetz, Joseph



On 29th March 1827 the funeral procession went from the Schwarzspanierhaus to the Church of the Trinity

Weigl and Wilhelm Würfel. Among the torch-bearers following the bier were Castelli, Grillparzer, Schubert, Czerny, Schuppanzigh, Haslinger, Steiner, Wolfmayer and Holz. To the sound of the funeral music from the Lichnowski Sonata, the coffin was carried into the Church of the Trinity in the Alserstrasse to receive the final blessing. A dense crowd, necessitating the calling out of the militia, filled the church and the street outside, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Beethoven's closest friends and relations — brother Johann at least is named with certainty — were able to find seats. Thereafter a 'state carriage' bore the dead man out to the Währing church. At the gate of the cemetery the actor Anschütz read Grillparzer's funeral oration.

'He was an artist; but he was also a man, and a man in the fullest sense of the word,' ran the poet's salute to the dead. 'Because he shut himself off from the world, he was called hostile, and because he avoided sensation, unfeeling. But oh! he who knows himself to be hard does not seek to run away! — If he shunned the world, it was because in the depths of his loving nature he found no weapon with which to oppose her. If he avoided his fellow-men, he did so after he had given them his all and had received nothing from them in return. He remained alone, for he could not find another like himself. But to his dying day he preserved a loving heart towards all mankind, a fatherly affection for his own kin, and kindness for the whole world. — Thus he lived and died, and thus he will remain for all time.'

The clods of earth fell with a dull sound on the coffin, wherein reposed all that remained of one who had loved life and had suffered for it.

Beethoven was dead. A Requiem Mass was sung for him in the Church of the Augustins on 3rd April, and memorial services were held in Vienna and throughout the world. In the autumn of that year a stone was unveiled at his grave. Again Grillparzer wrote the words recalling the dead man, this time more solemn words than had been read at the funeral itself, passionate words, calling on the 'spiritually barren age' to come and purify itself at the grave of one who was 'inspired'. 'If we are still able to think of completeness in this disrupted age, let us come together round his grave. From time immemorial poets and heroes, singers and holy men have existed so that wretched and confused humans may raise themselves up by their example, and call to mind their origins and their goal.'

On 4th June 1827 Beethoven's old friend Breuning also died. Brother Johann, who basked in the reflected glory of the famous name, lived on until 12th January 1848. The 'nephew Karl', after a respectable and orderly life, died in Vienna on 13th April 1858. Karl's wife Caroline, whom he had married in 1832, survived him by more than thirty years. History records that of their children all but one turned out well. This boy, however, who happened to be his great-uncle's namesake, once more brought to mind the trouble Beethoven



Beethoven's body received its last blessing in the Church of the Holy Trinity



had had with his nephew. An out and out swindler, who, by playing on his name, wormed his way into the good graces of King Ludwig II of Bavaria through Richard Wagner, he was no stranger to the courts and prisons of Munich.

It seemed as though the pain, the disappointment and the vexation which conspired to overcome Beethoven's heart and the resistance of his body, sought to renew the struggle, when the composer's earthly remains were transferred to a hero's grave in the Zentralfriedhof in Vienna.

The spirit in him was stronger than all those things which imbued the life he loved with so much bitterness. The man in him was ennobled by the greatness of his strength, which led him very near to the Divine Being. We honour Beethoven's memory, not in that we separate him from his earthly life, but in that we regard his works as the spiritual exaltation of that life's reality, through which he passed unscathed. When Grillparzer was setting down his recollections of Beethoven — it was in 1844 — he thought of a poem which he had just composed:

*There steps a man with sturdy stride —
His shadow moving by his side —,
He goes through meadows, groves and fields,
Strives ever onwards, never yields.
A river bars his progress brave,
He plunges in and parts the wave;
And, reaching safe the other shore,
Moves on, undaunted as before.
He faces now a chasm sheer,
Steps back a pace — the watchers fear —
Then leaps! Unscathed in limb and mind,
He leaves the yawning gap behind,
Makes light of what companions dread,
Triumphant, sees his goal ahead.
Alas! he blazed no trail to see.
Beethoven is that man for me!*

Not Beethoven the 'hero', but Beethoven the man is celebrated here — the man who, as Hofmannsthal says, entered into the paradise of Haydn and Mozart, the first man to press on, with swift, sure steps, through groves, over chasms and rivers, and then at last to reach his goal by an uncharted route — a wanderer between two ages.

POSTSCRIPT

This book is conceived neither as a learned iconography nor as a piece of academic erudition or research, for which reasons it makes in its material no claim to completeness. If, however, it has conjured up a new view of Beethoven, it has succeeded in its purpose. This purpose consists in giving an outline of the composer's physical and spiritual characteristics, through the combined medium of words and pictures; and I should like to express my deepest gratitude to all those who helped in procuring the pictorial material, as well as to those others who offered friendly suggestions. My thanks are due to all the institutes and persons named in the list of illustrations, notably the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Councillor Hans Pauer), the Archives and the Institute for Classical German Literature in Weimar (Dr. Femmel and Dr. Hahn), the City Archives in Bonn (Dr. Ennen), the Former State Museums in Berlin, the Sváz Československych Skladatelů in Prague (Dr. Pavel Eckstein), Mr. G. von Baranyai (Munich) and Professor Alfred Orel (Vienna). I am not least indebted to my wife.

E. V.

- 1770 16th or 17th December: Ludwig van Beethoven born in the garden wing of the house at No. 386 Bonngasse (to-day No. 20) in Bonn. Baptised on 17th December in the Church of St. Remigius · Mozart's Italian journey · Goethe in Strassburg.
- 1771 Babette Koch born.
- 1772 Gerhard and Karl von Kügelgen born.
- 1773 Death of Beethoven's grandfather on 24th December.
- 1774 8th April: birth of Beethoven's brother Anton Kaspar Karl (in Bonn) · First signs of an interest in music, and first music lessons with his father Johann van Beethoven. Stephan von Breuning born.
- 1775 Therese von Brunsvik born.
- 1776 2nd October: Beethoven's second brother, Nicolaus Johann, baptised in Bonn · Family moves to the Dreieckplatz and the Rheingasse. Birth of E. T. A. Hoffmann.
- 1778 26th March: Beethoven's musical debut in Cologne · Now given tuition by Gilles van den Eeden. Birth of J. N. Hummel.
- 1779 23rd February: baptism of Beethoven's sister Anna Maria Franziska (died 27th February) · October: appointment of Christian Gottlob Neefe to the Electoral Court · Advent of Tobias Friedrich Pfeiffer · Pfeiffer and Franz Georg Rovantini become Beethoven's musical instructors.
- 1780 Studies under Neefe. Plays on the cathedral organ (pupil of Zensen and P. Willibald Koch).
- 1781 17th January: baptism of Beethoven's brother Franz Georg · Beethoven accompanies Frau van Beethoven to Amsterdam, where he gives concerts. Death of Rovantini.
- 1782 Beethoven's first published work (*Dressler Variations*). Deputizes for Neefe as court organist. Death of his teacher van den Eeden.
- 1783 16th August: death of his youngest brother. Deputizes for Neefe as harpsichordist in the court orchestra. Starts violin lessons with Franz Ries. Appearance of the *Kurfürst Sonatas* and two pieces in Bossler's *Anthology*. Composes a Fugue in D major and a Rondo in C major.
- 1784 Appointed assistant court organist. Composes a Rondo in A major and a Piano Concerto in E flat major. Death of the Elector Maximilian Friedrich. Election of the Coadjutor Maximilian Franz as his successor.
- 1785 Composes three Piano Quartets.

- Calendar* 1786 5th May: Baptism of Beethoven's sister Maria Margarete Josefa · Composes the song *Wenn jemand eine Reise tut*. Neesen cuts Beethoven's silhouette. Beginning of his friendship with the Breunings. Birth of Carl Maria von Weber.
- 1787 March: departure from Bonn · Arrives in Munich on 1st April · Reaches Vienna on 7th April. Meeting with Mozart about 20th April. Return journey to Bonn via Augsburg (Councillor von Schaden) · 17th July: death of Beethoven's mother · 26th November: death of his youngest sister · Family moves to the Wenzelgasse. Amalie Sebald born.
- 1788 Mozart's last symphonies.
- 1789 14th May: Beethoven matriculates at Bonn University · 20th November: Johann van Beethoven relieved of his court duties · Beethoven plays viola in the court orchestra.
- 1790 Composes the *Emperor Cantatas*, and music for a *Ritterballett* · 25th December: Joseph Haydn visits Bonn.
- 1791 September/October: Journey to Aschaffenburg (Sterkel) and Bad Mergentheim (Romberg, Ries, Simrock). Fragment of a Violin Concerto. Death of Mozart (5th December). Birth of Grillparzer.
- 1792 Preoccupation with Schiller's *Ode to Joy*. String Trios (op. 3). 2/3 November: sets out again for Vienna. Autograph album compiled by his Zehrgarten friends · 10th November: arrival in Vienna. Finds lodgings at No. 45 Alsergasse · First meeting with Lichnowski. Death of Beethoven's father (18th December).
- 1793 Haydn's pupil. Early in August begins lessons with Schenk · Journey to Eisenstadt. Friends gather round him in Vienna: Wegeler (until 1795), Zmeskall and Amenda.
- 1794 January: Haydn's departure for England · From May: Beethoven studies with Albrechtsberger and Salieri · Karl van Beethoven moves to Vienna. First signs of deafness. Completion of the Piano Trios (op. 1).
- 1795 16th March: announcement of the Piano Trios (op. 1) · 29th March: first concert in the Burgtheater · Première of Piano Concerto No. 2 · 31st March: participates in a benefit concert for Mozart's widow · 18th December: recital with Joseph Haydn in the Redoutensaal · Première of Piano Concerto No. 1 · played by Haydn? Moves to the Ogilvy house · Brother Johann comes to Vienna. Schindler born.
- 1796 February–June: visits Nürnberg, Prague, Dresden and Berlin (meets Fasch, Zelter, Himmel, Frederick William II and Prince Louis Ferdinand). Writes the 'Cello Sonatas' (op. 5) for Duport in Berlin · Haydn collaborates in a concert given in Vienna by the singer Maria Bolla. Piano Sonatas (op. 2) dedicated to Haydn. Composes the song *Adeläide*.
- 1797 Piano Sonata (op. 7) · 14th April: *Kriegslied der Österreicher* (Battle Song of Austria) · Schubert born.
- 1798 Meeting with Josef Wölfl. Visits Prague. Composes Piano Sonatas (op. 10) and Violin Sonatas (op. 12). Death of Neefe.
- 1799 Composes Symphony No. 1 in C major, Piano Sonatas (op. 13, the *Pathétique*, op. 14 and op. 49I). Meeting with J. B. Cramer. Moves to No. 650 St. Petersplatz.

- 1800 String Quartet (op. 18), Septet (op. 20), Piano Concerto No. 3 (op. 37), the ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (op. 43) · 2nd April: première of the Symphony No. 1 in the Hoftheater · Visits Budapest in May, and spends the summer months in Unterdöbling. Acquires new accommodation in the Greiner house and the Tiefer Graben, No. 241. First encounter with the Brunsvik family.
- 1801 Onset of deafness. Beethoven confides in Amenda and Wegeler · *Spring Cantata* (op. 24), Piano Sonata (op. 28). Stephan von Breuning, Anton Reicha and Ferdinand Ries in Vienna. Beethoven moves to the Hamberger house, and spends the summer in Hetzendorf. Death of Maximilian Franz, Elector of Cologne. Giulietta Guicciardi becomes Beethoven's pupil.
- 1802 Journeys to Pistyan, then to Heiligenstadt for the summer and autumn · 6th and 10th October: the *Heiligenstadt Testament* · Composes the *Eroica Variations*, the Sonata in A flat major (op. 26), the Fantasy-Sonata (op. 27) (the so-called *Moonlight Sonata*), the Symphony No. 2 in D major (op. 36). Has rooms in the St. Petersplatz and in the Red House.
- 1803 Working on the *Eroica* (originally entitled *Bonaparte*). Beginning of his relationships with the Archduke Rudolph, Willibrord Mähler and the Abbé Vogler. Opera contract with Schikaneder. Completion and first performance of Piano Concerto No. 3 in C minor (op. 37) on 5th April. Composes the *Kreutzer Sonata*, the Oratorio *Christus am Ölberg* (Christ on the Mount of Olives) and some settings of poems by Gellert. Occupies an apartment in the Theater an der Wien. Spends some time at Baden and Oberdöbling (*Eroica House*).
- 1804 19th May: Napoleon crowned Emperor of France · Completion and first performance of the *Eroica* (in the Lobkowitz Palace). Composes the *Waldstein Sonata* (op. 53) the *Appassionata* (op. 57) and the *Andante favori*. Portrait painted by Mähler. In this year Beethoven occupies rooms at the Theater an der Wien, the Red House, in Hetzendorf, Baden and Döbling, and in the Pasqualati house.
- 1805 7th April: first public performance of the *Eroica* · Composition of the Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major (op. 58) · First performance of *Fidelio* in its original form, 20th November · Two overtures, *Leonore* No. 1 and No. 2. Lives variously at the Theater an der Wien, in Hetzendorf and at the Pasqualati house (until 1808). Napoleon at Schönbrunn Palace (November).
- 1806 19th March: first performance of the revised version of *Fidelio* · Composes *Leonore* No. 3, the Symphony No. 4 in B flat major (op. 60), the Violin Concerto (op. 61) · first performed on 23rd December · and the *Rasumoffsky Quartets* (op. 59). Joins Lichnowski in Grätz and visits the Brunsvik family in Hungary. Marriage of Karl van Beethoven and birth of his son Karl.
- 1807 March: first performance of the Symphony No. 4 and the Piano Concerto No. 4 at the Lobkowitz Palace · Completion of the Symphony No. 5 in C minor (op. 67), the Overture *Coriolan*, and the Mass in C (op. 86), first performed on 13th September in Eisenstadt. Beethoven spends the summer in Baden and Heiligenstadt, then moves to Eisenstadt in autumn. Death of Babette Koch.
- 1808 17th March: homage to Haydn · 8th June: contract with Breitkopf and Härtel · October: summons to Cassel ·

Calendar

- 22nd December: first performance of the Symphony No. 5 and the *Pastoral Symphony* · Public performance of the Piano Concerto No 4. Beethoven's final appearance as a concert pianist. Composes the *Choral Fantasia* (op. 80). Summer in Heiligenstadt (in the Grinzingerstraße, where he shares a house with the Grillparzer family). Takes rooms in Vienna 'above the Schottentor'. Brother Johann settles in Linz.
- 1809 January: Beethoven guaranteed an annual income in Vienna · 11th May: bombardment of the city · Beethoven at brother Karl's House, No. 987 Rauhenteingasse. Completion of the Piano Concerto No. 5 in E flat major (op. 73), the String Quartet in E flat major (op. 74), some Piano Sonatas (op. 78, op. 79, op. 81A) and *Mignon's Song*. Corresponding member of the Institute for Literature and Fine Art in Amsterdam. Haydn and Albrechtsberger die. Occupies apartments in the Walfischgasse, in Baden, "the Nag's Stable" (Klepperstall). Birth of Mendelssohn.
- 1810 May: meeting with Bettina Brentano. Writes music for Goethe's *Egmont* (op. 84) · first performed 15th June. Settings of three Goethe poems. Writes the String Quartet in F minor (op. 95). First performance of the Piano Concerto op. 73 in Leipzig. Contemplates matrimony. Lives in the Pasqualati house (until 1813). Spends the summer months in Baden. Schumann and Chopin born.
- 1811 2nd April: letter to Goethe. Summer visit to Teplitz. Meets Rahel Levin, Varnhagen von Ense, August Tiedge and Amalie Sebald. Starts work on the Symphony No. 7 (op. 92). Death of Collin. Birth of Liszt.
- 1812 12th February: Czerny gives the first performance of the Piano Concerto No. 5 in Vienna · Summer visits to Baden, Teplitz, Karlsbad and Franzensbrunn. Meeting with Goethe. Letter to the 'Immortal Beloved'? Visits brother Johann in Linz in September · Completion of the Symphonies Nos. 7 and 8. Life-mask and bust by Klein. Marriage of Johann van Beethoven.
- 1813 Composes the Cantata *Der Glorreiche Augenblick* · 8th December: première of Symphony No. 7 and *Wellington's Victory* at the University in Vienna · Summer in Baden. Death of Theodor Körner. Wagner, Verdi and Hebbel born.
- 1814 27th February: first performance of the Symphony No. 8 in Vienna · 23rd May, first performance of the third version of *Fidelio* (at the Kärntnertor Theatre) · 26th May: performance augmented by the overture · 29th November: concert in the Redoutensaal on the occasion of the Congress of Vienna · Triple Concerto (op. 56) and a Piano Sonata (op. 90) completed. Summer in Baden. Moves in Autumn to the Bartenstein house. Abbé Vogler, Reichardt and Lichnowski die.
- 1815 25th January: concert in Vienna for the Tsarina's birthday · *Schottische Lieder* (op. 108), and setting of Goethe's *Meeresstille und Glückliche Fahrt*. Second portrait by Mähler. Quarrel with Mälzel. Death of brother Karl. Beethoven lives in the Lambert house. Summer in Baden, then to Döbling in autumn.
- 1816 Completion of Piano Sonata (op. 101) and the song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*. Death of Prince Lobkowitz. Rents rooms at the 'Römischer Kaiser' (the 'Roman Emperor'). Spends the summer in Baden and Weikersdorf.
- 1817 Preparatory sketches for the *Ninth*

- Symphony*. Death of Kins. Occupies rooms at the 'Goldene Birne' (the 'Golden Pear') and at No. 268 Landstrasse. Moves to Heiligenstadt (to the house on the Pfarrplatz) and Nussdorf for the summer.
- 1818 Composes the *Hammerklavier Sonata*. Beginning of his conversation notebooks. Rents rooms at the 'Grüner Baum' (the 'Green Tree'). Summer in Mödling (at the house of a potter).
- 1819 Beethoven made an honorary member of the Philharmonic Society of Laibach and the Merchants' Society of Vienna. Schindler attaches himself to Beethoven. Visits from Zelter, Grillparzer and Schimon. Rents rooms in the 'Grüner Baum' and in the Great House of the Augustins. Summer in Mödling, followed by another move in autumn to the Fingerlin building.
- 1820 Composes Piano Sonata (op. 109). Stieler's portrait · 7th January: lawsuit against Karl's widow decided in Beethoven's favour · 18th February: Beethoven's formal application (nephew Karl) · Summer in Mödling, and autumn in Alt-Lerchenfeld.
- 1821 First signs of liver disease. Spends early part of the year in Unterdöbling. Summer in Baden (Rathausgasse), winter at No. 244 Landstrasse in Vienna.
- 1822 Piano Sonatas (op. 110 and op. 111). Completion of the *Missa Solemnis* and the Overture *The Consecration of the House*, (op. 124), first performed on 3rd October. Honorary member of the Graz Music Club. Visited by Schubert, Schlösser, Rochlitz and Rellstab. Rossini in Vienna. Summer in Oberdöbling and Baden, autumn and winter in the Laimgrube suburb. Death of E. T. A. Hoffmann (Beethoven's letter, 1820).
- 1823 Completion of the *Ninth Symphony* and Variations for Piano (the *Diabelli Variations*, op. 120). 8th February: letter to Goethe · 19th March: *Missa Solemnis* delivered to the Archduke Rudolph. Address of thanks by his friends. Negotiations with Grillparzer over *Melusine*. Waldmüller's portrait. Honorary member of the Swedish Academy in Stockholm. Visited by Henriette Sontag and Karoline Unger. Czerny presents the twelve-year-old Liszt to Beethoven. Carl Maria von Weber calls on him in Baden. Summer in Hetzendorf and Baden. Autumn and winter at the inn 'Zur Schönen Sklavin' ('The Beautiful Slave').
- 1824 20th February: presentation of the Louis XVIII memorial medal · 6th April: first performance of the *Missa Solemnis* in Petersburg · 7th May: first performance of the *Ninth Symphony* and parts of the *Missa Solemnis* in Vienna · Decker's portrait. Summer in Penzing and Baden, autumn at No. 969 Johannesgasse, and winter at No. 1009 Krugerstrasse. Birth of Bruckner.
- 1825 String Quartet (op. 127) completed and first performed in March by Schuppanzigh, then repeated by Böhm. String Quartets (op. 130 and op. 132), and the *Grosse Fuge* (op. 133) completed. Karl Holz attaches himself to Beethoven. Summer in Baden. In autumn Beethoven takes up residence in the Schwarzschanerhaus, next door to Breuning. Death of Salieri.
- 1826 String Quartets (op. 131 and op. 135) · 30th October: in Gneixendorf. March: first performance of op. 130 · 30th July: attempted suicide of Beethoven's nephew · 29th September: visit to Gneixendorf · Returns to Vienna in December. Suffers from pneumonia.

Calendar

Honorary membership of the Vienna Musiclovers' Society, and made a freeman of the city.

1827 Writes the Canon *Da ist das Werk*, his last completed work. Visited on his deathbed by Hummel, Schubert, Kreutzer, Diabelli, Hiller and others · 3rd January: makes his will · 23rd March:

adds a codicil · 24th March: last sacrament administered · 26th March: death of Beethoven at 5.45 p. m. · 27th March: Danhauser's death-mask · 28th March: Danhauser's sketch · 29th March: Beethoven interred in the Währing cemetery · 3rd April: Requiem Mass sung in the Church of the Augustins · 4th June: death of Breuning.

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