

WIELHORSKY

LOCATION: Moscow, CMMC (F. 155, No. 1)

PRESENT SIZE: 87 leaves

DATE: fall 1802 to May 1803

EDITION: Moscow (1962), ed. N. L. Fishman, 3 vols.: facsimile, transcription, and commentary

The WIELHORSKY sketchbook, which is today in the Central (Glinka) Museum for Music Culture in Moscow, owes its name to the man to whose library it belonged when it was first described in print by Wilhelm von Lenz (1860). This was Count Mikhail Yurevich Wielhorsky (1787–1856). How he had acquired the sketchbook is not known. He had met Beethoven when on a visit to Vienna in 1808, but it is unlikely that the sketchbook came into his possession before Beethoven's death. The Countess Calliste Rzewuska, one of whose aunts had married Count Ferdinand Waldstein, was probably an intermediate owner of the book (1832), and it probably did not come into Wielhorsky's hands till after 1852. For Lenz, who already knew Wielhorsky well in the 1830s and was allowed to work in his library at St. Petersburg, makes no mention of the sketchbook in his 1852 book (*Beethoven et ses trois styles*, St. Petersburg). According to N. L. Fishman (1962), the possibility cannot even be excluded that the family acquired the sketchbook in the period between Wielhorsky's death in 1856 and Lenz's 1860 account. In 1871, when Ludwig Nohl visited St. Petersburg and examined the book, it was in the possession of Wielhorsky's daughter, the wife of Senator Venevitinov; it subsequently passed to her son Mikhail Alekseevich Venevitinov. In 1900 the composer Sergey Ivanovich Taneev, with Venevitinov's approval, tried to persuade the publisher Belaieff to issue an edition of it; the attempt was unsuccessful. Venevitinov died in 1901. By 1927 the sketchbook was in one of the Moscow State Archives; in 1939 it was transferred to the Moscow Conservatory Library, and in 1943 to the State Central Museum for Music Culture, now known as the "Glinka" Museum. Its publication in 1962 in a three-volume edition consisting of facsimile, transcription, and commentary—from which much of the above information is derived—has resulted in its contents at last becoming well known.

Wilhelm von Lenz's short account of 1860 was soon superseded by the much fuller and more accurate survey of Ludwig Nohl, which appeared in 1872. (Nohl had traveled to St. Petersburg in 1871 in the hope of acquiring the sketchbook for a German library.) Thayer's brief remarks on the book, also published in 1872, were based on Lenz's statements, which he tried in places to correct. Nottebohm never saw the sketchbook and therefore published no account of it, although in 1876 he sought permission from the Wielhorsky family to have it sent to Berlin for three weeks; this request was not granted. Thus for our knowledge of the sketchbook's condition a hundred years ago we are largely dependent on Nohl.

Today the sketchbook has 174 pages (87 leaves)—the same number that Nohl recorded, though Lenz had given the number of pages as 172. It was Nohl who paginated the book (odd-numbered pages, or rectos, only); the sole defect that he observed *within* the book was the loss of the upper half of pages 19/20. (The top seven staves have in fact been removed.) Nohl also noted that the sketchbook had a light grey-blue wrapper at the beginning but not at the end, and that after the last leaf there was evidence that 5 leaves had been lost.

A recent examination of the sketchbook by Sieghard Brandenburg (to whom we are indebted for many details of the information presented here) not only confirms the accuracy of most of Nohl's account but shows WIELHORSKY to be a typical example of a professionally made book. The 87 leaves represent (with one leaf missing) 22 single-sheet gatherings, and we could expect it originally to have had 96 leaves in 24 gatherings. The stitches that secure each gathering are passed through six holes, separated by about 28, 35, 25, 62, and 30 mm (from top to bottom).¹ These holes lie directly along the folds or a little to the left of them. The sewing, which is obviously the original one, is brought together in five knots at the back, where glue has been added and the grey-blue wrapper described by Nohl has been attached. This wrapper, as Nohl noted, is missing at the end of the book, but at the front it carries a white ornamental label with the pencilled number "64" in a later hand, as well as the word "Carton"; Nohl explains this as a reference to its location in Count Wielhorsky's library. The number "64" is also written on the back page (page 174), an indication that the several missing leaves which followed must have been gone before Wielhorsky acquired the sketchbook.

Inspection of the make-up shows that the sequence of 22 gatherings is intact, with the exception of the twelfth gathering, where the first leaf has been removed, leaving a stub between pages 112 and 113. But after the last page (page 174) there are four stubs (not five, as Nohl indicated), glued to the spine and to the preceding gathering; the stubs are themselves gathered, and show that a twenty-third gathering has been lost at this point.

There are three paper-types in the book. The first (our type 4) is found only in the first gathering (pages 1–8). The second (type 9) forms gatherings II–VII (pages 9–56), and the third (type 10) forms gatherings VIII–XXII (pages 57–174). The last two types have similar watermarks and were presumably made by the same firm. All three types have the same rastrolgy (16 staves with a TS of 190 mm).

¹There is some variation in spacing within the book, and in the middle part the two inner holes are absent from some gatherings.

Eight leaves have been traced which were clearly once part of WIELHORSKY:

Bonn Mh 69 (SBH 635). Single leaf, paper-type 10, quadrant 1b.
Contents: Opus 85 Nos. 2, 3.

Bonn Mh 70 (SBH 636). Single leaf, paper-type 10, quadrant 1a.
Contents: Opus 85 Nos. 3, 4.

Modena, Biblioteca Estense. Two leaves, paper-type 10, quadrants 3a, 2a.
Contents: Opus 85 Nos. 3, 5, 6.

Bonn Mh 71 (SBH 637). Four leaves (gathered sheet), paper-type 9, quadrants 4a, 3a, 2a, 1a.

Contents: Opus 85 Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6; piano pieces; "Der Wachtelschlag," WoO 129 (three notes only); cadenza for Opus 37 I.

Bonn Mh 70 is inscribed "Beethovens Original Manuscript [sic] schenkt mir Caliste Rzewuska am 29 februar 1832," and a similar (but undated) inscription on Mh 69 indicates that she was a countess.

It will be seen that all these leaves have sketches for Opus 85, and all are on one of the two main paper-types found in the book. Furthermore, the exact positions that four of them once occupied in the book can be determined by matching the leaves with the stubs that remain; the results are confirmed by ink-blots and the sequence of watermark quadrants:

- (a) The leaf missing between pages 112 and 113 is Bonn Mh 69.
- (b) The stub directly following the last page of the book, page 174, cannot at present be matched.
- (c) But the pair of stubs immediately after this belong to the 2 leaves (originally a bifolium) in Modena.
- (d) And the final stub is that of Bonn Mh 70.

The 4 leaves of Mh 71 present at first sight more of a problem. That they were once part of WIELHORSKY cannot be doubted; the pattern of stitch-holes along the central folds is identical with that of the book. The puzzle is to discover where they came from. For there are no further stubs at the end of the book after those already discussed and allocated, and although the sketch-contents of this gathered sheet correspond to those of WIELHORSKY's final pages, its paper-type is that of the early part of the book (pages 9–56).

The only possible place for the leaves, it becomes clear, is at the end of the book, after the reconstructed gathering XXIII; the earlier gatherings remain firmly in place, and are in most cases linked to their neighbors by ink-blots or continuity of contents. These 4 leaves are unlikely to have left stubs behind; instead, they seem to have been extracted by cutting the stitching. Since no corresponding sewing threads remain in the book at that place, those must also have been removed.

The seemingly anomalous paper-type is also less problematical if we recall that the paper-type of the first gathering in WIELHORSKY is also "anomalous." It may be that those gatherings were added by the binder only after the other gatherings had been sewn; in the sketchbook immediately preceding WIELHORSKY, the KESSLER sketchbook, the first and last gatherings are even of a different size from all the others.

It follows, then, that of the 9 leaves needed for a complete reconstruction of WIELHORSKY, 8 have been found. The only leaf still untraced is the one that immediately followed page 174, the last page of the book in its present state.

DATE OF THE SKETCHBOOK

The earliest sketches in WIELHORSKY cannot be dated with precision, but must belong to the second half of 1802. Two works begun at the end of KESSLER, the Variations for piano Opus 34 and Opus 35, are sketched further at the beginning of WIELHORSKY. But it is likely that an interval of time separates the end of one sketchbook from the beginning of the other. There are almost no sketches in KESSLER for the finale of the Piano Sonata Opus 31 No. 1, and only a few for the Sonata Opus 31 No. 2. Since WIELHORSKY begins with sketches for Opus 31 No. 3, it must be assumed that the first two sonatas were completed in another place. For the date of the last sketches in KESSLER—possibly as early as June or as late as about August 1802—see pp. 126 and 128.

The start of WIELHORSKY must accordingly have been a month or two later than that. Beethoven offered the two sets of piano variations to Breitkopf & Härtel for the first time on 18 October 1802. Since they are described in his letter as consisting of eight and of thirty variations (instead of six and of fifteen variations with a fugue), neither set had reached its final form by that date. But the autographs of both sets are dated "1802." And the autograph of the Opus 33 bagatelles (Opus 33 No. 1 is sketched on page 44 of WIELHORSKY) is dated "1782"—almost certainly a miswriting by Beethoven for the year "1802."² Thus it looks as if WIELHORSKY was begun in the fall of 1802—whether the late or early fall is less clear. It is a pity that no clue is apparently afforded by the cadenza on page 15.³

The last sketches in the book are fixed more precisely by the date of two concerts. On 5 April 1803, Beethoven gave an *Akademie* at the Theater-an-der-Wien at which the oratorio *Christus am Oelberge*, Opus 85, and the Third Piano Concerto, Opus 37, were performed for the first time. Sketches for the oratorio fill the second half of the book, and a sketch for a cadenza to the concerto's first movement is found on one of the loose leaves now in Bonn (Mh 71). The "Kreutzer" Sonata, Opus 47, was first performed on 24 May 1803; sketches for its first two movements (the finale had been

²Several other instances of Beethoven miswriting a number or date are cited in BS I, p. 15, footnote 13.

³The cadenza may have been written for a pupil such as Ries (there are some simple études on this page, too)—perhaps for Mozart's A-major Concerto, K. 414 I. These entries suggest that Beethoven was already back in Vienna.

written earlier) are found at the end of WIELHORSKY. Since both the oratorio and the sonata are known to have been composed very rapidly, and only a short time before they were performed, it is likely that the second half of the sketchbook was used in the early months of 1803 and that the latest entries date from May 1803.

The chief contents of WIELHORSKY are as follows:

Piano Sonata in E $\flat$ major, Opus 31 No. 3	pp. 1-11
Variations for piano in E $\flat$ major, Opus 35	pp. 12-14, 22-43
Cadenza (for a piano concerto in A?)	p. 15
Variations for piano in F major, Opus 34	pp. 16-22
Bagatelle for piano, Opus 119 No. 3	p. 24
Bagatelle for piano, Opus 33 No. 1	p. 44
Third Symphony (<i>Eroica</i>), Opus 55, early ideas	pp. 44-45
Terzetto for soprano, tenor, and bass with orchestra, "Tremate, empi, tremate," Opus 116	pp. 46-47
Duetto for soprano, tenor, and orchestra, "Nei giorni tuoi felici," WoO 93	pp. 46-85
Duetto, "Languisco e moro," Hess 229	pp. 88-89
<i>Christus am Oelberge</i> , Opus 85	pp. 90-97, 102-105, 107-58, 160-66, 174
Violin Sonata in A minor ("Kreutzer"), Opus 47	pp. 166-73

Pages 98-101, 106, and 159 are empty.

LITERATURE

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 Ludwig Nohl, "Zur Biographie Beethovens. 2. Ein Skizzenbuch von 1802-3," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 68 (1872), 117-18 (dated "St. Petersburg im Jan. 1872"); reprinted in Nohl's *Beethoven, Liszt, Wagner* (Vienna, 1874), pp. 95-101.
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 Alan Tyson, "The 1803 Version of Beethoven's *Christus am Oelberge*," *MQ* 56 (1970), 551-84; reprinted in P. H. Lang, ed., *The Creative World of Beethoven* (New York, 1971), pp. 49-82. This article includes a facsimile of Bonn Mh 69, recto.
 Lewis Lockwood, "Beethoven's Earliest Sketches for the *Eroica* Symphony," *MQ* 67 (1981), 457-78.
 Christopher Reynolds, "Beethoven's Sketches for the Variations in E $\flat$, Op. 35," in *BS* 3, pp. 47-84.

WIELHORSKY					
Sheet	Pages	Paper-type/ Quadrant	Sheet	Pages	Paper-type/ Quadrant
I	[1/2 * [3/4 * [5/6 * [7/8 *	4 4b 3b 2b 1b	VII	[49/50 [51/52 * [53/54 [55/56 +	9 3b 4b 1b 2b
II	[9/10 [11/12 [13/14 [15/16 *	9 4a 3a 2a 1a	VIII	[57/58 [59/60 [61/62 [63/64 +	10 2a 1a 4a 3a
III	[17/18 [19/20 [21/22 [23/24 *	9 2a 1a 4a 3a	IX	[65/66 [67/68 [69/70 [71/72 *	10 1b 2b 3b 4b
IV	[25/26 [27/28 [29/30 [31/32 *	9 1b 2b 3b 4b	X	[73/74 [75/76 [77/78 [79/80 *	10 4a 3a 2a 1a
V	[33/34 [35/36 [37/38 [39/40 *	9 3b 4b 1b 2b	XI	[81/82 [83/84 [85/86 [87/88 +	10 4a 3a 2a 1a
VI	[41/42 [43/44 [45/46 [47/48 *	9 2a 1a 4a 3a	XII	[89/90 [91/92 [93/94 [95/96 +	10 4a 3a 2a 1a

Sheet	Pages	Paper-type/ Quadrant	Sheet	Pages	Paper-type/ Quadrant
XIII	97/98 99/100 101/102 103/104	10 4a 3a 2a 1a	XX	151/152 153/154 155/156 157/158	10 2a 1a 4a 3a
XIV	105/106 107/108 109/110 111/112	10 2b 1b 4b 3b	XXI	159/160 161/162 163/164 165/166	10 4b 3b 2b 1b
XV	A 113/114 115/116 117/118	10 (1b) 2b 3b 4b	XXII	167/168 169/170 171/172 173/174	10 3b 4b 1b 2b
XVI	119/120 121/122 123/124 125/126	10 2a 1a 4a 3a	XXIII	B C D E	(10) (4a) (3a) (2a) (1a)
XVII	127/128 129/130 131/132 133/134	10 2a 1a 4a 3a	XXIV	F G H I	(9) (4a) (3a) (2a) (1a)
XVIII	135/136 137/138 139/140 141/142	10 4a 3a 2a 1a	Leaf A = Bonn Mh 69 (SBH 635) B = untraced C = Modena, Biblioteca Estense (not in SV) D = Modena, Biblioteca Estense (not in SV) E = Bonn Mh 70 (SBH 636) F } = Bonn Mh 71 (SBH 637) G H I		
XIX	143/144 145/146 147/148 149/150	10 4a 3a 2a 1a			

All three paper-types have 16 staves with a TS of 190 mm.

LANDSBERG 6

LOCATION: Kraków, BJ
 PRESENT SIZE: 91 leaves
 DATE: ca. June 1803 to ca. April 1804
 EDITION: none

LANDSBERG 6, the so-called *Eroica* sketchbook, was formerly in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin but could not be traced at the end of World War II. Long believed to be in Poland, it was located, after more than thirty years, in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków, where it remains at the time of writing (1984).

The sketchbook was evidently acquired at the *Nachlass* auction by the firm of Artaria; it became *Notirungsbuch E* in Artaria's first classification. The date at which Ludwig Landsberg purchased the book is not known, but it must have been before the 1844 catalogue was compiled, since it is not listed there. It came to the Berlin Royal Library in 1862, together with the rest of Landsberg's collection.

Nottebohm's 1880 monograph on LANDSBERG 6 has made it perhaps the most famous of all the sketchbooks. He tells us that when he saw it the book had 182 pages (i.e., 91 leaves), some with 16 staves and some with 18 staves. It had been professionally sewn (*buchbindermäßig gebunden*); it had been trimmed; it was bound with a stiff cardboard cover, and had already been bound in that way when Beethoven started to use it. He adds the essential data that apart from the loss of 5 leaves the book was intact; a leaf had been lost before page 1, and 4 more between pages 2 and 3, but after page 3 nothing was missing. Accordingly the sketchbook originally consisted of 96 leaves. Nottebohm does not explain how he knew that 5 leaves had been lost, but from his writings it is clear that he attached no particular significance to an overall size of 96 leaves (see above, Chapter II, pp. 48 and 50). Perhaps at the time five stubs were visible.

Today the sketchbook still has 91 leaves, arranged in the same order as in Nottebohm's account. But the volume was given an entirely new binding in 1934, and it is clear that a few of the book's external features were altered at that time. It is fortunate, therefore, that a set of photographs made in August 1931 has survived; this