ALAN TYSON

Alan Walker Tyson
1926–2000

FEW COMPOSERS HAVE ATTRACTED so much critical, scholarly, and analytical attention as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Despite inevitable changes of emphasis, the classic status accorded them even by contemporaries has proved extraordinarily durable. Until relatively recently their music stood at the heart of the concert repertory and was widely accepted as a touchstone of excellence. As early as the mid-nineteenth century important biographical and musical studies of Mozart and Beethoven initiated traditions of research which still retain their momentum. Alan Tyson's contribution to their continuing vitality can scarcely be overestimated. By the time he entered the field the main questions of authenticity and chronology seemed to have been settled in so far as the evidence allowed, and reasonably satisfactory texts established. Yet it was precisely in these fundamental matters that he was to make his most remarkable discoveries, some of which brought with them fresh insights into the composers' working methods. The originality of his achievement was great; it can perhaps be paralleled only by the singularity of the path that led him to musical scholarship in the first place.

Tyson took some pride in having three Scottish grandparents, but the Tysons themselves were Cumbrian, and although born in Glasgow he and his brothers were brought up in London, where their father was Surmaster of St Paul's School. In 1940 Tyson went to Rugby. He specialised in Classics; many years later he claimed to have wanted to take science, but it is unlikely that any firmly expressed preference would have been overruled. In any case, he pursued Classics with enthusiasm and success. At

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Rugby too he learned the viola, which apparently suited him better than the piano, and he much enjoyed playing in the school orchestra. His parents encouraged his musical interests; towards the end of his school days his father gave him Tovey's *Essays in Musical Analysis*. However, he seems not to have been taught any music theory. He never became entirely at home with standard musical terminology, although that set no constraints on his intuitive understanding of music or his astounding musical memory.

On leaving school in 1945 Tyson decided to do his two-year stint in the armed forces before going up to Oxford. He took a naval short-course, as it happened in Oxford, which should have led to a commission, but when at a late stage he presumed to question a long-established point of navigational procedure he was judged unsuitable. He made out the rest of his time as a postman seaman, a position that gave him plenty of practice in palaeography. Having contributed to and edited the *New Rugbeian* at school, he continued to exercise his talent for light verse in his new surroundings, as he was later to do in Oxford. One example was published in *Blighty*, a humorous weekly distributed free to the forces overseas and listing Churchill among its patrons.[1] But most of his efforts would scarcely have filled the bill: some parodied verses that would have been unfamiliar to much of the readership, some were in Latin, and others (for instance a couple of verses beginning 'O atom bomb, where are you bombing?') would have conflicted with the editors' morale-boosting brief.

The naval interlude seems to have left very little impression on him. In 1947 he followed in his father's and grandfather's footsteps to Magdalen, as his two brothers and a nephew were later to do. He had won the top open scholarship in Classics, and was to end up with a double first. Meanwhile he pursued many interests and was already noted among fellow undergraduates for qualities that many were to associate with him later: great sociability, good humour, kindness, interest in others and wit without malice. There were walking holidays in Greece, France, and Tuscany, and for three seasons he engaged seriously in mountaineering. In the summer of 1949 he spent nine days with his next eldest brother in the Arolla district where they climbed intensively every day, ending with the Dent Blanche. On a different occasion, when he and a friend were climbing the Schreckhorn with a guide, something went wrong. They were delayed, were obliged to spend a second night in the alpine hut, and returned to

[1] 'Clippie', by P/S A. A. W. Tyson, HMS *Royal Arthur*, in *Blighty*, NS no. 376 (28 Dec. 1946), 15. Authors of more substantial contributions were awarded two guineas, but versifiers could normally expect no more than half a guinea, which is what Tyson got.

the valley only on the third day. Tyson said very little about the incident, which seems to have shaken him; it may have been in his mind when a little later he wrote a brief appreciation of the mountaineering writings of Leslie Stephen,[2] who in 1861 was the first to climb the Schreckhorn. After 1950 he was obliged to give up climbing because of the degeneration of a hip through Perthes' disease, which he had contracted as a child.

With his graduation in 1951, Tyson reached the first of two turning points in his life when he had to face difficult decisions. On the face of it there was nothing unusual in his hesitation over the choice of a career, nor in his parents' anxiety at his indecision. His distinction in Classics and his father's profession pointed in an obvious direction which he was initially prepared to explore, if half-heartedly. He turned down a job at Harrow immediately after graduating, and tentative feelers at Winchester came to nothing. Applications for university posts at Manchester and Cardiff were unsuccessful, which discouraged him. But there were other factors at work. As early as 1951 he was reacting against the narrowness of school life and thinking of a career in psychotherapy as a possibility. When asked years later how he came to take up psycho-analysis, he replied that, as was the case with most analysts, he had begun by feeling the need to understand himself better. Whatever his difficulties may have been, the attempt to solve them opened up new horizons.

As soon as his finals were over Tyson made a proposal of marriage which was rejected. Apparently soon afterwards he struck up the first of his more durable relationships with an Afro-American graduate of Smith College called Marie Wills (later Singer). Sixteen years older than Tyson she was an accomplished pianist with an interest in jazz who accompanied her own singing; later in life she took up painting with considerable success. In 1950 she had joined Anna Freud's Hampstead Child-Psychotherapy Course. She was to qualify in 1954 and move to Cambridge, where she became well known as a psychotherapist and teacher, and was elected a Fellow of Clare Hall. Whether or not Tyson had already thought of being analysed before he met Wills, she played a large part in directing his steps. It is not difficult to understand how her responsible guidance may have helped to counteract the sense of oppression he seems to have experienced in relation to well-intentioned parental expectations and indeed family life in general.

Three important developments date from the following year, 1952. Tyson obtained at the second attempt a Prize Fellowship at All Souls and

[2] 'The Playground Revisited', *Oxford Mountaineering* (1953), 41–4.

announced his intention to work on psychology. He began analysis, probably at Wills's instigation, with Ilse Hellman-Noach, who was closely associated with Anna Freud's Hampstead Clinic; this was evidently a preliminary step towards his training as an analyst at the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, for when he started there in 1953 Hellman was his training analyst. And to earn a little money he coached Ralph and Frances Partridge's son Burgo for university entrance. This job, though not important in itself, had an important outcome. When Frances Partridge engaged him on 1 May, she wrote in her diary that he was 'training to be a psycho-analyst', and added: 'Perhaps that will come in useful, as I have just agreed to index the complete works of Freud for James's translation'.[3] It was thus, it seems, through the Partridges that Tyson met or became better acquainted with James Strachey, and was enlisted in the same year as one of the four editors of the Freud *Standard Edition* along with Anna Freud and Alix Strachey. At that time he knew no German, so he set about learning it and in due course contributed several of his own translations to the edition, including the study of Leonardo da Vinci and the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.[4] In September 1955, after checking his Leonardo translation, Anna Freud wrote to him that she was most impressed by it. She suggested some corrections involving shades of meaning, but it is extraordinary that he should have been able to tackle so soon texts in which everything depended on precision of that kind.

For the next few years Tyson's life settled into a relatively stable pattern. Initially psycho-analytical circles deprecated the distraction of his Oxford connections, and there were those at All Souls who wished he would abandon psycho-analysis altogether. Chief among these was the new Warden, John Sparrow, with whom his relations were always to remain uneasy. However, both parties soon found that they had to accept Tyson as they found him. As part of his training he was temporarily attached in 1954 to the nursing staff at the Cassel Hospital and he underwent a second analysis with Charles Rycroft, one of his supervisors at the Institute. It is of some interest that at the end of their lives both Hellman and Rycroft remarked quite independently that they did not feel that their analyses of Tyson had progressed very far. He qualified as a lay analyst in 1957 and practised until 1963.

Meanwhile he had decided that his prospects would be improved if he were able to work as a psychotherapist in the Health Service, for which a

[3] *Everything to lose: diaries 1945–1960* (1985), p. 155.

[4] As an offshoot of the work on the Freud edition Tyson published, in collaboration with James Strachey but as first-named author, 'A Chronological Hand-List of Freud's Works', *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 37 (1956), 19–33.

medical doctorate was an essential qualification. Never having done any science he had no exemption from the First MB. So he took a course to rectify that in 1959–60, and then proceeded to the five-term course for the Second MB at University College London. All this presented him with as little difficulty as had the German language, but his mostly much younger fellow students at University College found the work considerably more arduous than he did, and were perhaps less bothered by the authoritarian teaching style, which was quite unlike anything he had been used to. His frustration showed and put him at odds with some of the staff. But he stayed the course, and at the end of it was invited to remain at the college and take a degree in a related subject such as bio-chemistry, an offer extended only to students of outstanding ability. However, he preferred to move on to clinical studies at University College Hospital Medical School. There he founded and edited a fortnightly duplicated magazine called *Probe*, which ran for a year in 1963–4. Because of its unofficial status it was able to air matters, especially about staff–student relations, which were not raised publicly elsewhere. It ruffled feathers and achieved a regular circulation of over 350 copies. After being obliged to resit his gynaecology and obstetrics examination Tyson obtained his MB and BS in 1965. He held house officer posts in medicine and surgery in London at New End Hospital, and was registered with the General Medical Council in 1967 at the age of forty.

Tyson's career now took an unexpected turn. It seems that satisfaction at acquiring his qualifications outweighed any strong desire to use them: the goal achieved, his interest waned. His first move was not to seek the kind of post in clinical psychiatry for which he had spent so much time equipping himself, but to apply successfully for a visiting lectureship in psychiatry at the Montefiore Hospital in New York for the year 1967–8; he could claim relevant experience, for he had lectured at various times to students in the Hampstead Child-Therapy Course and in the Tavistock Clinic Child-Therapy Course, and also on Freud and related fields in the sub-faculty of psychology in Oxford. Nor did he return to clinical work in 1968. For the next two years he was lecturer in psychopathology at Oxford, and during the same period took part in an introductory course for students at the Institute of Psycho-Analysis. In 1972 he was honoured with membership of the recently founded Royal College of Psychiatrists. But after 1970 he held no position of any kind concerned with psychological matters. Instead he devoted himself full-time to musicology.

Such radical steps are not taken easily. For many years Tyson must have thought of his musicology as a scholarly hobby, in no way a threat

to his psycho-analytical career even if scarcely less important to him. Its origins lay a long way back. Whether, as seems likely, his studies for Greats first directed his attention towards the theoretical aspects of psychology, the seeds of his musicological work were, as he himself testified, sown even earlier by his introduction to textual criticism in the Mods course. The subject appealed to him strongly. His first idea was to work on Shakespeare, but he quickly realised that the ground had been too thoroughly worked over to afford a newcomer much scope, and he turned to music. This came about in an unusual way. The decisive factor was not the natural aptitude that enabled him to play jazz and Broadway songs by ear at the piano, strum the guitar, and quickly recognise the characteristic harmonic features of the newly emerged Beatles, essential to his work as such innate musicality may have been. Nor was it the habitually wide-ranging curiosity that led him, for instance, to acquire at some point a couple of square pianos dating from the period in which he specialised. It was something much more unexpected: he was a born collector.

Somewhat unfocused bibliophilia may be traced as far back as his undergraduate days, for his library contained early editions, presumably picked up at that time, of philosophical and political works that would have been required reading for Greats. Possibly no later he began collecting antiquarian printed music. Since he never noted dates of acquisition the growth of his collection cannot be charted at all precisely, but the general picture is not hard to reconstruct. After the war English musical publications of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were plentiful and for the most part cheap. Purcell and Handel seemed obvious cases for investigation. Tyson bought a few editions, including some earlier ones, but soon saw that nothing new was to be extracted from them. By contrast, although many of the editions of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven had appeared in their lifetimes and each composer had had well-documented contacts of one kind or another with England, the possible consequences for textual transmission had never been investigated. This prompted a line of enquiry that led to all Tyson's earlier discoveries, either directly or by divergent paths along the way.

The importance for Tyson of his collection needs to be emphasised, for few readers of his work will have guessed the extent to which it nourished his earlier scholarship, or even known of its existence: he only occasionally needed to mention that a particular edition was in his own possession, and locations of rarities cited in catalogues and bibliographies do not attract much attention. From the 1950s the collection grew fast. Tyson bought continental first and early editions of the Viennese

classical composers as an essential complement to English ones. And his English purchases often brought with them a wide variety of other publications, because it was the custom in England at that time for amateurs to have their favourite songs, piano pieces, or chamber music bound in substantial composite volumes. Each volume bought for the sake of one item was a lucky dip that might contain in addition something of unexpected interest among the trivia. So almost by accident the collection began to reflect the whole spectrum of contemporary English musical taste, and the various ways in which the many publishers sought to exploit or shape some aspect of it. Far from turning a blind eye to what lay outside his primary concerns, Tyson noticed and followed leads that resulted in important research; his work on Clementi is an outstanding example.

For thirty years or more Tyson maintained the same patterns of collecting, though the scope widened as he began to travel abroad more frequently. He built up probably the finest private collection of the post-war period for primary and secondary printed sources of the music on which he worked most closely. At the same time the attraction of the ancillary and the peripheral never lost its hold on him. He brought together music by his composers' teachers, pupils, associates and prominent contemporaries of every kind. Various types of publication might provide useful background in particular contexts: a quantity of popular dances for piano intended for the same public as potboilers by Beethoven and Schubert; theatrical and literary year-books and almanacs occasionally carrying important musical supplements; librettos and the plays on which they were based; little word-books apparently printed for concert-goers; pocket histories of Vienna and guides with maps for tourists of the day, and a street directory.

Moreover, Tyson's interests ranged far beyond what originated in Vienna or London, or in the classical period: he had first editions of many of the most eminent composers right up to his own time, though fewer and with relatively little supporting material. And he could never resist anything from any time or place that seemed in some way musically or bibliographically anomalous. Thus a certain proportion of the collection, which by the later 1980s contained, quite apart from the literature, over 3,500 items of printed music and some seventy manuscripts, had no bearing on his scholarly work. However, the dividing line between the actually or potentially useful and the demonstrably irrelevant is a very fuzzy one. Unexpected connections or analogous situations might crop up at any point, and when they did Tyson was likely to have at least some of the evidence to hand. Even the first editions from later periods

reflected continuities and changes in publishing practice that might prove instructive, though examples may also have been useful in seminars, and collecting for its own sake may have played a part as well. It was Tyson's wish, most generously honoured by his family in 1998, that the British Library and the Bodleian Library, in that order, should eventually receive anything they might want from his collection before the remainder was dispersed. The gift has been of enormous benefit to both institutions.[5]

Although Tyson's early collecting gave the impetus for his first musicological undertakings, it could naturally not answer all his needs. He had to search for further material in many libraries, above all in the music library of the British Museum (later transferred to the British Library). An essential source of information in his work on English editions was provided by the registers at Stationers' Hall, where publishers had to submit any publication for which they wished to claim copyright on the day of publication. Of the institutions to which registration copies were distributed the Museum was most easily reached while Tyson was training in London; it was only a short walk from University College Hospital, where he would fill every spare moment studying music. The Museum had other advantages. In relatively recent times considerable effort had been put into improving the representation of continental editions of the Viennese classics; after the acquisition in 1946 of the Paul Hirsch Library, which was particularly rich in that respect, the Museum could offer a range of editions hard to match outside Vienna. Especially valuable for Tyson were the apparent duplicates, for the engraved plates from which a particular work was printed would often be corrected, damaged, or both, between printings. With the Museum copies and his own for comparison he was well placed to trace the vicissitudes through which a text had passed, even if a trip to Vienna on his Lambretta motor scooter (later upgraded to a Volkswagen Beetle) became necessary at some point. An early essay on Steiner's publishing of Beethoven gives striking evidence of his sharp eye in such matters.

Tyson had never published on music until his first year as a medical student, but he soon made up for lost time: by 1967, when he was registered, he had produced some twenty articles, several of the earlier ones grouped round a book on the authentic English editions of Beethoven. This was a notable achievement. It was known from correspondence that

[5] See O. W. Neighbour, 'The Tyson Collection', *British Library Journal*, 24 (1998 [2000]), 269–77; P. Ward Jones, section headed 'Music', *Bodleian Library Record*, 16 no. 5 (April 1999), 432–3. Tyson's working papers have been placed in the Bodleian.

Beethoven had tried over many years to arrange simultaneous publication of his works on the continent and in London. Tyson was able to show by reference to the Stationers' Hall registers that the London editions were in some cases the first to appear; moreover, much more important, they were usually textually independent, having been prepared from manuscripts copied and sent over for the purpose. The continental editions sometimes benefited from the composer's last minute changes, but where errors were missed the English ones could often supply the correct readings. The practice of simultaneous publication in more than one country also gave the English editions of Mendelssohn and Chopin textual value. Tyson never published his work on them, though he sent information to other scholars. But through his familiarity with publications of the time he realised that many English publishers' plate numbers could be dated with a fair degree of confidence; with the help of a collaborator he put together a useful book of dated lists.

It was typical of Tyson that alongside all this he should find time for other important work. In his very first article, of 1961, he proved that two piano trios invariably included among Haydn's were by Pleyel, and a little later he removed six string quartets known as Haydn's Opus 3 from his canon. He drew attention to the role of Stephen Storace in bringing new works by his friend Mozart to London. He dispelled much of the uncertainty surrounding the early works of Field, at the same time suggesting his authorship for two small anonymous compositions (perhaps because of his psychological training he was always particularly interested in composers' beginnings). And he produced a definitive thematic catalogue of Clementi. Here he showed the same ability as in his Beethoven book to recognise the importance of neglected evidence. In the course of achieving international popularity Clementi's works were reprinted by numerous continental publishers who assigned their own conflicting opus numbers to them and sometimes regrouped them. Tyson noticed that the less widely circulated English editions of the great majority were entered at Stationers' Hall, that they were the primary sources for the texts, and that they carried the composer's own opus numbers reflecting their chronology. Much else remained to be done, but the framework was there. The resulting catalogue presented for the first time an authoritative overview of Clementi's complete output and cleared the way for future assessment.

It happened that about the time when Tyson was finally free of his house officer work a slight change of emphasis took place in his musicological research. Hitherto he had worked mostly with printed sources.

However, in the case of Beethoven, who was still his main concern, the texts evolved continuously from sketches, through a complete autograph, to later stages at any of which the composer might make further changes: a copyist's manuscript for the use of the engraver, publisher's proofs, and one or more published issues, not to mention the question of parallel publication. Tyson was able to study important sketches and copyists' scores in the British Museum, but in the nature of things associated sources were widely scattered in other institutions or private collections. His own collection could not help here because, although he occasionally bought manuscripts which might throw light on textual transmission, sources close to the composer, if they ever came on the market, fetched prices far beyond his means. In his only early manuscript study he had pointed out, on the basis of the printer's copy in the Museum, important departures from Beethoven's intentions in all current editions, and hence performances, of the Violin Concerto. He now published a more detailed sequel involving Viennese sources that was in all probability the direct outcome of greater freedom to travel following his release from hospital work.

The demands of the new lines of enquiry that were now opening up before him undoubtedly explain, at least in part, his hesitation over returning immediately to clinical work. A hospital appointment would allow too little leave for him ever to visit the innumerable places in Europe and the United States where manuscripts of Beethoven or, to anticipate a little, Mozart had come to rest, and although private practice might appear to offer greater flexibility, patients dependent on his help could not be abandoned for long. As a consequence of the growing international reputation of his scholarly work he obtained in 1969 a visiting professorship in music at Columbia University, which he managed to fit in between his other lecturing. This brought home the realisation that he could earn as much for a series of musicological lectures in the United States as for a year's work in a National Health Service hospital. It was becoming plain that musicology might offer him an alternative means of livelihood, and that the claims of the rival careers were incompatible; one would have to give way. Eventually, in 1971, the award of a Senior Research Fellowship at All Souls allowed him to follow his preference.

Why did musicology triumph? His lack of enthusiasm for resuming the practice of psycho-analysis did not result from a loss of faith in it: without keeping up with the literature he continued for some time to grant occasional interviews at the request of a friend to give a general opinion, though he was anxious to avoid as far as possible any follow-up

work. But Tyson was an impatient person. It would not be surprising if he tired of dealing with patients who, as he understood well, never responded by the book and took their time about it. Yet it is curious that although he was noted as a theorist he never published anything substantial in that line.[6] Theory, of course, involves speculation, and it seems that ultimately the speculative did not satisfy him: he liked to solve problems, to get things right. The kind of musicology he pursued offered that possibility. Even in his early years as a psycho-analyst he was thought of as a perfectionist who wanted things to be precise. There was perhaps in addition another, rather different, reason for his retreat from clinical work. He hated to be tied down or have his freedom of action restricted in any way. Obligations irked him beyond measure, and he was not slow to complain about them. He could be utterly ruthless in his behaviour towards anyone, including his parents, who had served their turn in his own scheme of things, any impartiality that his training might have been expected to inculcate deserting him. Although he could enter happily into a domestic situation for which he had no final responsibility, he shunned any long-term commitment. He bitterly regretted having let slip an opportunity of marriage in the 1960s, but only after it was irretrievably lost.

To dwell on such things would be to give an unrecognisably distorted impression. To most of Tyson's friends inner tension betrayed itself only through occasional irascibility that was apt to erupt with scarcely discernible cause and quickly subside again. Such moments counted for little. Recollections are all of his geniality, sense of humour, warmth, thoughtfulness, personal and scholarly generosity, and his total lack of self-importance or any affected parade of the opposite. Witty, hugely sociable and widely informed, he was welcome in many circles.[7] His conversation raised the quality of intellectual life at All Souls whenever he was in residence. His stance tended to be that of an observer rather than

[6] He did write reviews from time to time until relatively late, for instance of books on Freud by Philip Rieff (*Observer*, 24 Jan. 1960) and Paul Roazen (*New Statesman*, 26 March 1976), and of a group of books by R. D. Laing (*New York Review of Books*, 11 Feb. 1971, followed by correspondence on 1 July).

[7] He became famous for his jokes, which he enjoyed as much as anyone and had an endearing habit of retelling. Two are recorded (with a rather misleading description of him) in Alan Bennett, *Writing Home* (revised edition, 1997), pp. 189, 203, and others in the address given at Tyson's memorial service (a copy of the text is at All Souls). For many years it was his task to sing the college's Mallard Song, which is sung by tradition at certain college dinners. Each time he produced a humorous penultimate verse of his own, alluding to a topical event or some eminent guest at the dinner; these verses are also preserved at All Souls.

a participant, as was noticeable when he became involved with the group of people who founded the *Universities and Left Review* in the aftermath of the Hungarian uprising of 1956, or when he was present at discussions among founders of the Social Democratic Party in 1981. This detachment was habitual, and he was conscious of it. When he was once asked how he had managed to study Classics, train as a psycho-analyst and medical doctor, translate Freud and achieve international recognition as a musicologist, he is reported to have replied that 'he found it all the same thing: thinking about what people did, wrote and said, and how and why they did so'.[8] The inference here for his musicology is not that he wanted to psycho-analyse composers of the past; he thought that impossible and never attempted it. It was rather a matter of gaining insight into psychological probabilities, in that sphere as in any other.

During his time in New York at the Montefiore Hospital and Columbia University Tyson made many friends and became a central figure in social gatherings which included various well-known people outside musicology or analysis.[9] This made his visits to the country in which his work was attracting most attention all the more enjoyable. It was a fortunate moment. Leading scholars among his contemporaries were also working on Beethoven, and students were following on. The series of articles that he published at this time made a deep impression. One, rather unusually, was biographical, interpreting major works of 1803–5 as Beethoven's reaction to his increasing deafness. Others, like those relating to the Violin Concerto, were textual studies initially prompted by manuscripts in the British Museum. One of these attempted to recover as nearly as possible the first version of the oratorio *Christus am Oelberge*, another sorted out the handwritings of five of Beethoven's copyists with their approximate dates of activity, and a third dealt with sketches for the Piano Trio Op. 70 No. 1. Such pieces typify Tyson's methods. He preferred to take a single topic that had caught his interest and explore it pragmatically through the interconnections of biography, codicology, the state of texts, and anything else that might be suggested by the matter in hand. In the process he would often find new uses for such evidence, but as a by-product. Only in the case of paper-studies did he reverse the emphasis and take general principles as his subject: having discovered their possibilities in working on particular problems himself, he thought they should be more widely understood.

[8] Neal Zaslaw's obituary in the *Independent*, 14 Nov. 2000.

[9] e.g. Penelope Gilliatt, John Lahr, Thomas Nagel, Robert Silvers, Lionel and Diana Trilling.

His first essay of that kind, on reconstructing Beethoven's sketchbooks (1972), was written in collaboration with Douglas Johnson. That was symptomatic: in response to the interest aroused by his work the perpetual spectator became the participant and collaborator as well. He made personal contact with Beethoven and Mozart scholars throughout Europe and the United States, and corresponded indefatigably with any whose work overlapped or bordered on his own; although he was never dependent on the stimulus of exchange, he knew its value and enjoyed it. With the sketchbooks he was making a fresh start, no sustained study of them having been attempted for a century. They had been horribly mistreated by their nineteenth-century owners. Very few of them were in their original state. Most had had leaves torn out and given away or had extraneous leaves inserted in them; others had been entirely dismembered and the contents scattered. Naturally much had been lost. Reconstruction depended on many kinds of evidence. Watermarks could establish the original make-up of integral sketchbooks; stitch-holes could associate leaves from a home-made book consisting of various papers. Rastrology also served to identify batches of paper, because machines ruled staves in different groupings and with differing dimensions. Contiguous leaves could be traced by matching notches where they had been separated along the folds, or by the offset of smudges or blots (this was known familiarly, though not in print, as 'Blotforschung'). Writing instruments, ink colour, and sketch continuity all played their part.

Tyson's work on Beethoven culminated in the 1985 publication, with Johnson and Robert Winter, of a reconstruction of the complete corpus of identifiable sketchbooks. It fell to him to deal with a sequence of seventeen books spanning the years 1801 to 1817. Meanwhile he had produced at various times detailed accounts of several of them beyond the scope of the more comprehensive compilation. Tyson was not among those who looked to sketches to suggest or support analytical or aesthetic readings. He preferred, characteristically, to extract evidence that shed light on the genesis or growth of a work, or its date. Thus he was able to demonstrate that the third Razumovsky string quartet had been put together rather hastily by comparison with its two companions, and that the 'first' *Leonora* overture was not composed till 1807, after the other two. And on manuscript evidence of a different kind he showed that Beethoven was only partly responsible for the quintet arrangement published as his Op. 104. Some of these findings were published in one or other of three volumes of *Beethoven Studies* that Tyson edited himself between 1974 and 1982. In one of these too he set out guiding principles

for the complete edition of Beethoven's correspondence that the Beethovenhaus in Bonn eventually published in 1992–4.

While working on papers in Beethoven manuscripts Tyson was not neglecting those used by Mozart, who was eventually to displace Beethoven as his main object of study. The types of evidence that he looked for here were the same, but the context was rather different because most of the Mozart autographs were not sketches but complete manuscripts, whether the works contained in them had been completed or left in a fragmentary state. It is no surprise to find that Tyson's first results, published in 1975, involved, though not exclusively, autographs in the British Library or on loan there from the Stefan Zweig collection (subsequently donated in 1986). From 1980 his work was greatly facilitated when about 120 Mozart autographs and several Beethoven sketchbooks which had been missing from the Berlin Staatsbibliothek since World War II became available for study in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków; Tyson was one of the first to gain access to them.

His Mozart findings were of many kinds. His study of the autograph scores of *La Clemenza di Tito*, *Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Così fan tutte,* and *Don Giovanni* showed that Mozart did not compose them straight through from beginning to end. Sometimes, for instance, he preferred to tackle ensembles before solo arias if he did not yet know the capabilities of the singers who were to take part. Comparison of the autographs of *Figaro* and *Così* with early manuscript copies brought to light cuts and revisions made in early productions very probably, and in some cases demonstrably, by Mozart himself, though whether such changes reflected his wishes or were forced upon him by circumstances there was no knowing. Tyson even restored to *Così* thirteen bars that had never appeared in print until the new complete edition followed his lead. Mozart is often said to have composed his music very largely in his head, so that writing it down was a purely mechanical process. But on his own admission the 'Haydn' and 'Prussian' sets of string quartets cost him much trouble, and Tyson's study of the papers bears him out: he finished some of them only after long delays and dodged back and forth from one quartet to the next. There are false starts to quartet movements on separate leaves which the paper showed to have been traditionally associated with the wrong completed works. The dates guessed for many other works and fragments proved equally fallible.

Not every work that did not progress very far can be regarded as a false start. It emerged that Mozart would often begin more piano concertos than he needed for a particular season and leave one as a fragment

until there was some reason to finish it a year or two later; four very well-known concertos came into being in this previously unsuspected way. No doubt many other works survive as fragments only because an occasion for their completion never arose. Several other discoveries of Tyson's were no less startling: four famous piano sonatas formerly thought to have been composed in Paris in 1778 should probably be placed as much as five years later; several fragmentary mass settings given early dates turn out to have been written about 1788, suggesting that Mozart was hoping for a church appointment at that time; the accepted conclusion of the Rondo for piano and orchestra K. 386 was in fact the work of Cipriani Potter, Mozart's last forty-five bars having been lost until Tyson rediscovered them; the D major Horn Concerto, far from having been begun in 1782, was a very late work of 1791 left unfinished at the composer's death, the version of the finale always heard being an elaboration and expansion of his draft by Süssmayr.

By the end of the 1980s the importance of Tyson's work was very widely recognised. Having been elected a Fellow of the British Academy as early as 1978, he now, in 1989, was awarded a CBE and an honorary doctorate at St Andrews University (and also made an honorary member of the British Psycho-Analytical Society). In the United States, where he had lectured extensively and held positions at Columbia, Berkeley, Princeton and the City University of New York, he was named corresponding member of the American Musicological Society in 1991. But by that time all was not well with him. For some years he had been displaying signs of growing eccentricity; his horizons were narrowing perceptibly, as was his vocabulary. By 1991 he could no longer read an article, although rather strangely he could still put together a lecture or an essay on a subject he knew well. Life became increasingly difficult for those around him at All Souls until his retirement in 1994, and in the next few years dementia overtook him entirely. However, 1992 saw the publication of his most ambitious single undertaking. He had compiled over a number of years a catalogue of the paper-types in every Mozart manuscript accessible to him, so that the approximate period of Mozart's use of each type could be assessed, and the dating of undated individual manuscripts correspondingly aided. He had distinguished over 100 watermarks; moreover the paper containing any one of them might subdivide into two or three distinct paper types in accordance with the rastrology. Wherever he might be working, it had been essential never to let accuracy of measurement or alertness of observation falter for a moment. It was an immense labour, and it is some consolation that the results of his phenomenal

determination and persistence should have appeared while he could still understand the importance of his own achievement.

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A complete bibliography of Tyson's musicological writings and his Freud translations is contained in S. Brandenburg (ed.), *Haydn, Mozart & Beethoven . . . Essays in honour of Alan Tyson* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 301–9. Two contributions to Japanese publications should be added. A talk given in 1991 at the International Mozart Symposium at Kunitachi College was published as 'Konnichi no mōtsuaruto kenkyū no hōhōron' in *1991 kokusai mōtsuaruto shinpojiumu hōkoku* (Tokyo, 1993), and an article commissioned by Shōgakukan appeared in no. 15 (1993) of the booklets accompanying the Japanese issue of Philips's complete recording of Mozart's works under the title 'Jihitsufu no yōshi ni yoru nendaigaku'. Tyson's titles for the original texts were respectively 'Methodology of Mozart Research today' and 'The Help of the Watermarks in the Leaves of Mozart's Autographs: they might often suggest when he wrote them'; typescripts of both are among his papers in the Bodleian Library, but neither contains anything not covered in his previous writings. Some miscellaneous pieces are mentioned in notes 1, 2, 4, and 6 above.