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Beethoven's 'Concept'. Working Manuscripts Between Sketch and Fair Copy

Statements of Beethoven himself about his compositional methods are rare. Occasionally, however, they are included in his letters. In 1821, for instance, the composer wrote to Adolph Martin Schlesinger, the publisher of the Piano Sonata in E major Op. 109, that he had written down his 'concept' in a more detailed manner than usual.¹ Because of that it was possible for him to send the autograph score of the sonata to the publisher instead of a copy. Due to this statement we can suppose that Beethoven had written down the Sonata Op. 109 twice – once as a concept and once as a cleaner score which should be used for the engraving. In fact, a few pages of the first concept have survived.² The second autograph score is completely preserved.³

In another letter, a little later, Beethoven used the word "concept" again. This letter is dated 20 February 1822, and it is addressed to Schlesinger, too. Beethoven again referred to a piano sonata, this time to the Sonata in c minor Op. 111. The publisher had already received a copy of the sonata. Now Beethoven told Schlesinger that he would send him a new copy of the last movement. The previously sent copy should not be used for the edition. It did not contain the final form of the movement since Beethoven had given the copyist the wrong manuscript to copy. Beethoven wrote:

"It happened that, with so many different matters to attend to, I gave my copyist just my first draft, whereby as often happens some things were indicated that were still imperfect and not right. You must therefore not make use of it at all and I also ask you not to show it to anyone, and destroy it at once as soon as you have received the other copy."⁴

- 1 Beethoven wrote to Schlesinger on 13 November 1821: "[W]as die andern 2 Sonaten [Op. 110 and Op. 111] anbetrifft, so werden selbe bald folgen, u. zwar korrekt abgeschrieben, mit dem Manuscript mitschicken, dies ist zu gefährlich, denn wenn ein widriger Zufall Manuscript u. Abschrift träfe, so wäre das ganze werk verlohren, das vorigemal [Op. 109] geschah es, indem ich meiner kränklichen Umstände wegen mein Concept weitläufiger aufgeschrieben als gewöhnlich, jezt aber wo wie es scheint meine Gesundheit beßer ist, zeige ich wie sonst <nur> auch nur gewisse Ideen an u. bin ich mit dem ganzen fertig im Kopfe, so wird alles aber nur einmal aufgeschrieben –". Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996–1998, Vol. 4, p. 455 (No. 1446).
- 2 Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Wien, A 47.
- 3 Library of Congress, Washington, ML 30.8b. B4 op. 109 1820 Case.
- 4 "[...] in so vielen zerstreuten Beschäftigungen geschah es, daß ich dem Copist mein bloßes erstes Konzept übergeben, wodurch wie es manchmal zu geschehen pflegt manches noch unvollkommen u nicht richtig angezeigt war, sie dürfen also gar keinen Gebrauch davon machen auch bitte ich sie es niemanden andern zu zeigen, so bald sie die andere Abschrift erhalten haben vernichten sie es so-

Here Beethoven used the word “concept” for a manuscript in which some things were still imperfect and not correctly indicated. Moreover, we know from this letter that he had written down the Sonata Op. 111 (like Op. 109) twice. In this case, both manuscripts have been preserved – the early autograph score, however, is a fragment because the second movement is missing.⁵

Another hint at a concept can be found in a letter which Beethoven wrote to his nephew Karl in 1825 concerning his String Quartet Op. 132: “For God’s sake reassurance about the quartet, terrible loss, the concept is written on nothing but small pieces of paper, and I will never again be able to write the whole thing like this –”.⁶ At that time Beethoven feared that a part of his autograph score had been lost.

On the basis of these quotations we can assume that Beethoven referred to an autograph score that was still unfinished as a concept. Such a score could sometimes be almost complete – as with the Sonatas Op. 109 and Op. 111. But it could as well be so rudimentary (as with Op. 132) that Beethoven feared he could not restore the work on the basis of the concept. No further information about this type of working manuscript can be obtained from Beethoven’s letters. In order to find out more about them, one must inevitably consult the sources.

In this paper I will focus on a certain part of the compositional process: the transition from sketching to elaborating a work and writing it down. What did this transition from one phase of working to the next consist of? Presented roughly and in a simplified way, while sketching, Beethoven collected his first ideas for a composition, which he developed further and further. At the end of the sketching phase, he usually wrote down one single or some alternative continuity drafts. Thus he fixed the course of the leading voice. Subsequently, he proceeded to the next phase of working: the elaboration of the score. In doing so he also changed the manuscript: Beethoven no longer worked in sketchbooks but used new sheets of paper. Depending on the instrumentation, he chose a certain size of paper with a corresponding number of staves. This change of working phase was also accompanied by a change of writing style – from the fleeting private handwriting used in sketches to a cleaner writing style that could be understood by an outside reader.

gleich”. Beethoven: Briefwechsel, Vol. 4, p. 474 (No. 1458). English: Barry Cooper: *The Creation of Beethoven’s 35 Piano Sonatas*, London/New York 2017, p. 198.

- 5 First autograph score of the first movement: Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 71. Second autograph score: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 198.
- 6 Letter from 11 August 1825: “Um Gottes willen nur beruhigung wegen dem quartett, schrecklicher verlust, auf nichts als kleinen Fezen ist das Concept geschrieben, u. nie mehr werde ich im stande seyn das ganze so zu schreiben –”. Beethoven: Briefwechsel, Vol. 6, pp. 131 f. (No. 2029). English translation by the author.

As a first step in the elaboration of the work, Beethoven usually copied the leading voice from the last continuity draft and wrote it down into the empty score.⁷ He distributed the leading voice among the various instruments and then worked out the rest of the score. With the change of working phase, Beethoven's role also changed: he turned from an inventor and collector of ideas into a copyist of his own musical text, of his sketches. As a 'creative copyist' he sometimes changed the leading voice when copying it. The numerous revisions in Beethoven's working manuscripts show that the elaboration of the score was not just routine work. Apparently, it was not always possible for Beethoven to work out a piece within one single manuscript that could then be handed over to a copyist or publisher. This is evident from manuscripts which contain an intermediate stage between sketches and the final score. They contain the first stage of elaboration of a work. Such manuscripts have been preserved for only a few of Beethoven's works. Lewis Lockwood believes that "composing scores, let alone advanced sketches that formed intermediate stages of his works on their way to completion, must have existed for many instrumental works of the middle years, although few have survived."⁸ Sieghard Brandenburg makes similar assumptions and calls such a manuscript "pre-autograph"⁹ or "Konzeptschrift".¹⁰

- 7 He did so, for example, with the Eighth Symphony, see Federica Rovelli: Revisionsprozesse in Beethovens Niederschriften der achten Symphonie op. 93, in: *Editio. Internationales Jahrbuch für Editions-wissenschaft* 31 (2017), pp. 90–116, here pp. 97–100.
- 8 Lewis Lockwood: On Beethoven's Revision of the First Movement of the Cello Sonata in A Major, Opus 69, in: *Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata for Violoncello and Piano Op. 69, 1. Movement. Facsimile of Autograph NE 179 in the Beethoven-Haus Bonn*, ed. and with commentary by Jens Dufner and Lewis Lockwood, Bonn 2015, pp. 37–49, here p. 37.
- 9 "Besonders rein geschriebene, an Korrekturen arme Autographen lassen stets vermuten, daß ihnen Partiturskizzen oder 'Vorausgraphen' vorausgingen, von denen Beethoven die endgültige Niederschrift kopiert hat. Der Nachweis über das einstige Vorhandensein solcher partiturähnlichen Vorlagen, nach denen Beethoven seine 'Reinschriften', die 'Autographen' im engeren Sinne, anfertigte, läßt sich bei frühen Werken meistens nur indirekt führen, da der Komponist diesen Manuskripten, nachdem sie ihren Zweck erfüllt hatten, vermutlich keinen Wert beimaß und sich nicht um ihre Aufbewahrung bemühte [...]. Auf die Existenz von partiturähnlichen Vorlagen lassen einige Schreibversehen in Reinschriften schließen, die als typische Kopierfehler anzusehen sind. [...] Der Sinn solcher partiturähnlichen Manuskripte zwischen Skizze und Reinschrift ist klar, sie dienten der Ausgestaltung der Nebenstimmen, vielleicht auch der Instrumentation, nachdem die Hauptstimmen bereits im eigentlichen Skizzenbuch entworfen und im Zusammenhang niedergeschrieben waren." *Ludwig van Beethoven: Keßlersches Skizzenbuch, Vol. 1: Übertragung von Sieghard Brandenburg*, Bonn 1978, p. 11.
- 10 *Ludwig van Beethoven: Klaviersonate A-Dur opus 101. Faksimile nach dem Autograph im Besitz des Beethoven-Hauses Bonn*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1998, p. v.

This paper presents various manuscripts which are no longer sketches but also not yet complete, fully elaborated scores that could be given to a copyist or used for the engraving. Possibly these manuscripts represent what Beethoven himself called concepts. The following questions will be discussed: Which characteristics do these manuscripts exhibit? How can we distinguish them from sketches? Which function did they have for Beethoven? Can we find such composing scores for works of every genre?

In order to find such manuscripts, it is necessary to detect works for which two autograph scores have survived. Furthermore, scores that can be called 'fair copies' because they are written down neatly and contain few corrections, which indicates that Beethoven copied them from a model, are interesting. If such manuscripts include copying errors, this is a further indication that Beethoven copied them from a source that no longer exists.¹¹

Piano music In the field of piano music, there are some works for which two autograph scores have been preserved. The Piano Sonata in A major Op. 101 is a perfect example for retracing Beethoven's working method from sketch to fair copy: for a part of the first movement – or, more precisely, approximately the last 50 measures – a late sketch¹² has survived as well as a composing score¹³ and a second autograph score.¹⁴

The continuity draft (see Figure 1) comprises bars 55–94, so it covers approximately the second half of the movement. It is very similar to the final version and differs from it mainly regarding register and because it is incomplete in texture.¹⁵ It consists of the leading voice and the bass; only the leading voice is present in monophonic sections. The sketch contains many traces of changes: first Beethoven had written down the melodic progression in ink; later he revised and partly completed it in pencil. As usual for sketches, the musical text is incomplete with regard to elements of primary notation: the clefs are missing as well as key and time signature, but also quaver flags, dots, accidentals and clef changes are omitted sometimes. Elements of secondary notation (like slurs, dynamics) are almost non-existent.

After Beethoven had sketched the leading voice and the bass, he started to work out the movement. His first autograph score has been partially preserved (see Figure 2).

¹¹ In the appendix there is a list of several works for which two autograph scores have survived. It also contains works for which we can assume that two scores originally existed.

¹² Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, HCB BSk 13/61.

¹³ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. Vm.⁷ 537, fol. 49.

¹⁴ Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 219. Sieghard Brandenburg was the first one to examine these manuscripts in detail, see Beethoven: Klaviersonate A-Dur opus 101, ed. by Brandenburg, pp. III–XI.

¹⁵ See Cooper: *The Creation of Beethoven's 35 Piano Sonatas*, p. 160.

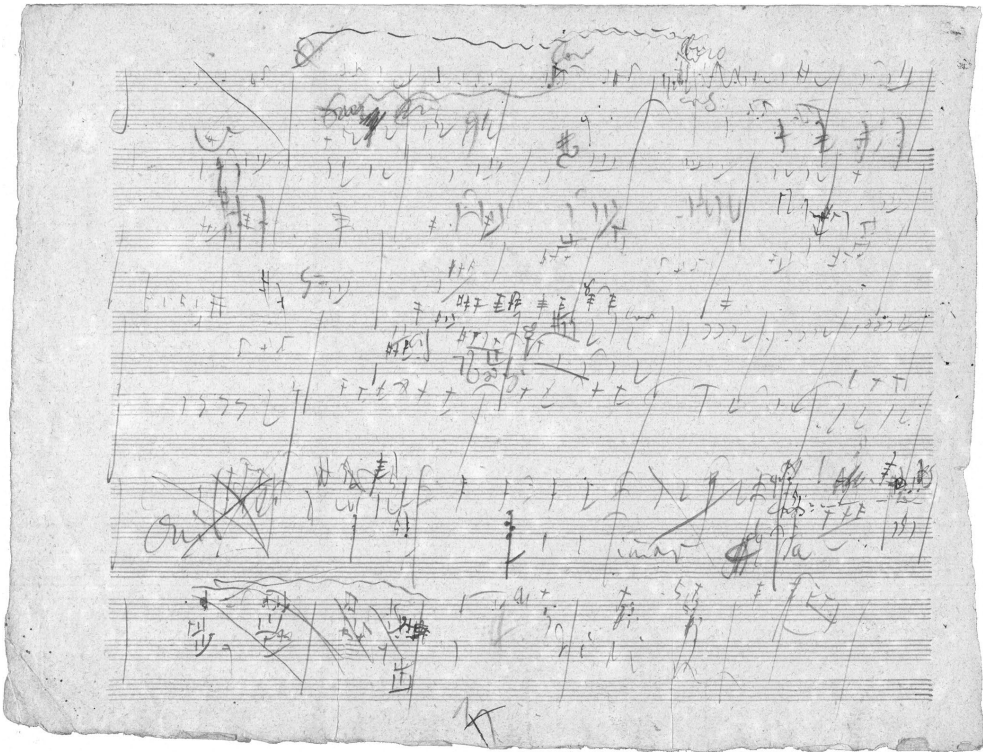


FIGURE 1 Sketch for the Piano Sonata in A major Op. 101, first movement, bars 55–94;
 Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, HCB Bsk 13/61, verso
 (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/6114035556679680/scan/1)¹⁶

Today the manuscript only consists of two pages containing bars 53–102, but probably Beethoven had written down the complete movement, and the first half of the bifolio has been lost. This first attempt of writing down the sonata shows the first step in the elaboration of the movement; it is a private working manuscript of Beethoven's. This is evident from the fact that the texture is incomplete in some measures, like for example in measures 67, 72 and 74: in the upper stave Beethoven wrote only the melody with single notes instead of the chords in the final version. Furthermore, the bass is missing completely in measures 72 and 74. In addition, not all of the final articulation marks and dynamics are present yet.¹⁷ The manuscript also exhibits characteristics of sketch notation such as missing beams, accidentals and clef changes.

Despite that incompleteness this manuscript is not a sketch because the writing is much cleaner than usual for sketches. At the top of every page, Beethoven wrote down the clefs and the key signature. Moreover, the secondary notation is more developed than

¹⁶ All weblinks in this article last consulted 6 October 2022.

¹⁷ See Beethoven: Klaviersonate A-Dur opus 101, ed. by Brandenburg, p. IV.

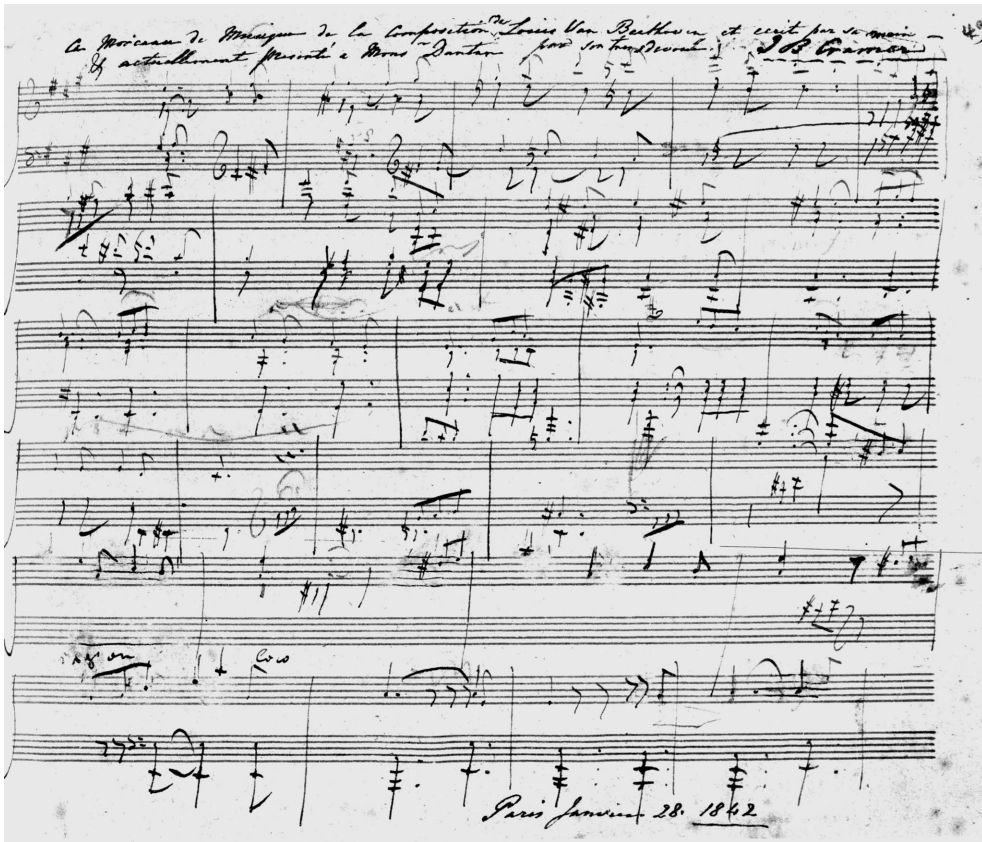


FIGURE 2 Piano Sonata in A major Op. 101, first movement, bars 53–79, first autograph score; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. Vm.⁷ 537, fol. 49r

in the continuity draft. From a musical point of view, it is a textual stage between sketch and completed work: the text is more complete than in the sketch because the inner voices are now also largely present. The musical text does not differ significantly from the final version: there are, for example, minor rhythmic variants.

Beethoven probably used the composing score as a model for the second autograph score of the movement which he copied from there.¹⁸ With regard to the first movement, this score contains few traces of revision.

However, Beethoven made a mistake when copying the movement from his composing score: he left out bar 78 – probably he was distracted by the change of pages. Later, he wrote down the measure on the margin (see the last measure in Figure 3). Forgotten measures that were inserted later or bars which are written down twice are typical copying errors and can be found in many manuscripts which Beethoven copied from a model.

¹⁸ There are no composing scores for the other movements of the sonata.

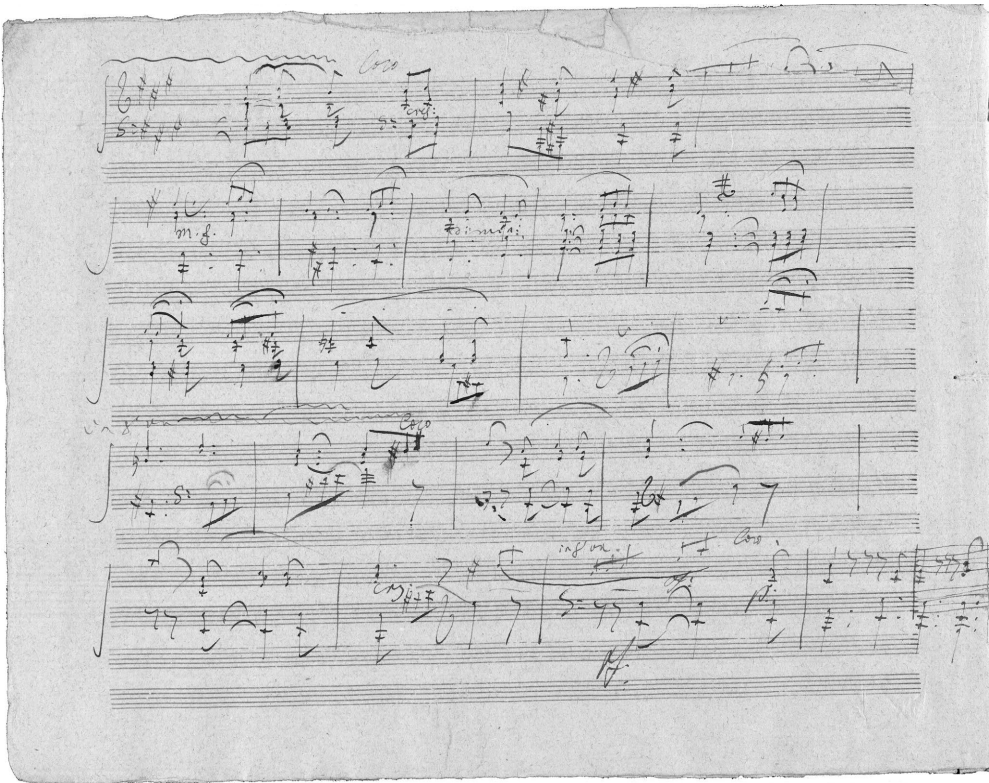


FIGURE 3 Piano Sonata in A major Op. 101, first movement, bars 59–78, second autograph score, Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 219, p. 4 (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/6696224245678080/scan/5)

Another piano piece for which two complete autograph scores exist is the Bagatelle Op. 126 No. 2.¹⁹ The earlier score²⁰ is a working manuscript that could not be given to a copyist because it contains so many revisions (see Figure 4).

In this composing score Beethoven initially wrote down the leading voice in ink in a first basic layer. Then he completed the musical text with pencil and made numerous changes to the text he had already written, especially in the second part of the Bagatelle (from bar 62). The text written in pencil shows a sketchy, fleeting handwriting. Beethoven used the pencil to try out different variants and to make major revisions, which made the score very confusing.

This working manuscript has some similarities with the composing score of the Sonata Op. 101: the texture is partly incomplete; rhythmic elements (such as beams), rests and clef changes are sometimes missing. In addition, the performance indication “can-

¹⁹ See Sieghard Brandenburg's description of the two sources in *Ludwig van Beethoven: Sechs Bagatellen für Klavier Op. 126. Faksimile der Handschriften und der Originalausgabe mit einem Kommentar*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Vol. 2: Originalausgabe, Übertragung, Kommentar, Bonn 1984, p. 66.

²⁰ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 1–2.



FIGURE 4 Bagatelle Op. 126 No. 2, first page of the first autograph score; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 1r

tabile" at the beginning of the second part is not present yet. Dynamic indications and slurs are not completely set. Nevertheless, this is not a sketch but a first document of the elaboration of the work since Beethoven wrote down the clefs, key and time signature at the beginning of the piece, and at least the basic layer of the musical text is notated rather neatly. The clear division of the pages with blank staves between the piano systems and the fact that Beethoven wrote down the complete piece up to the end also distinguish the manuscript from a sketch. Since he had revised the first autograph score so much, Beethoven wrote down the Bagatelle anew.²¹

In the second autograph score, Beethoven adopted the beginning of the piece (bars 1–61) with only a few changes from the composing score and completed the Bagatelle in terms of dynamics, slurs and performance indications. From measure 62 onwards, he no longer followed the original: the second autograph score contains a more developed form. The new version of this section was written down by Beethoven without further revision (he did, however, use the empty intermediate staves for short pencil sketches).

21 Today the pages of the second autograph score can be found in the following manuscripts: Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, Mh 23, fol. 31/v and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 31/v.



FIGURE 5 Bagatelle Op. 126 No. 2, first page of the second autograph score;
 Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, Mh 23, fol. 3r
 (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/6514452203569152/scan/4)

Thus the manuscript shows few traces of changes and exhibits the characteristics of a fair copy. But Beethoven was still not satisfied with measures 58–73: now it was no longer necessary to rewrite the whole Bagatelle, but it was sufficient to exchange the last two pages (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 3r/v). Beethoven removed them and replaced them with a new version that had been modified again (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Mh 23, fol. 4r/v). In this case, there are greater musical differences between the first and second autograph score of the piece than in the Sonata Op. 101, where the musical text of both scores is very similar.

After looking at the two examples, the characteristics of Beethoven's composing scores can be summarised. The musical text of these manuscripts is not fully elaborated: elements of the primary notation are sometimes missing, such as beams, rests, accidentals or clef changes. Especially the secondary notation is not developed completely. Occasionally, the manuscripts are also incomplete regarding texture. Some of the composing scores have been heavily revised and are therefore often confusing and unclear. For these reasons they were not addressed to an outside reader but were private working manuscripts.

But the manuscripts are not sketches either – on the one hand, because they are not located within sketchbooks and, on the other hand, because they do not only contain sections of a work but the complete composition or a whole movement. Moreover, works with several instruments are written in a score in which at least all the parts are planned – even if sometimes not all have been completed. Mostly, but not always, Beethoven wrote down the clefs and key signature at the beginning of the work or at the top of every page. The majority of the musical text is not written in a sketchy writing style but rather more neatly. There are also more dynamic indications and articulation marks in the composing scores than in sketches. The musical text of these working manuscripts may differ significantly from the final version (*Bagatelle* Op. 126 No. 2) or may be quite similar (*Sonata* Op. 101).

Vocal music Another typical example of a composing score can be found among the continental folksong settings (“*Como la mariposa*” WoO 158 No. 20); here a fair copy has survived as well. “*Como la mariposa*” is an arrangement of a Spanish song for two voices accompanied by a piano trio. In this case the initial compositional situation is different from the piano works considered above. There, Beethoven himself invented and sketched the musical material that formed the starting point for the elaboration of the work. In contrast, the Spanish melody he arranged here was given. In this case Beethoven did not create the leading voice himself, nor did he change it, but he added the accompaniment consisting of piano, violin and cello. Because of that there are no sketches for this folksong setting, but Beethoven used a composing score to elaborate the accompanying parts.²²

The outward appearance of this manuscript clearly shows that it was intended for Beethoven’s own use only: at the beginning of the song there are no clefs and no key or time signature. In the whole piece many clef changes, accidentals and rests are missing. From the beginning, Beethoven did not try to write cleanly – the writing style is fleeting, and there are many changes made with ink and pencil. Beethoven worked meticulously at the end of the song (bars 24–30), where he tried out several variants for the ending. In these final measures the string parts are still missing.

The working manuscript comprises the whole song and is written in score. But it is also partly incomplete – concerning the missing string parts and elements of primary notation – and furthermore difficult to read due to the numerous changes. So it was obviously not intended for an outside reader but only for Beethoven himself. Because of that he made a second, this time very clean autograph score of the song.²³

²² Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 79, fol. IV–2V.

²³ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. II0V–IIII.



FIGURE 7 "Como la mariposa" WoO 158 No. 20, first page of the second autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 11, Heft 12, fol. 110v

be a private working manuscript. It seems that Beethoven intended to make only one valid score at first. During the working process this manuscript became so messy due to changes that he decided to make a copy of the lied before he had finished it. This is documented by a manuscript which is held today in the British Library:²⁵

Certain parts of the musical text have been written in a clean and neat manner, and no changes have been made to them. Beethoven seems to have written them down first. This includes the clefs and the key and time signature at the beginning of the lied as well as the entire voice with the lyrics of the first verse, the brackets and bar lines. From this, we can conclude that Beethoven had originally created this manuscript (unlike the composing score for WoO 158 No. 20) as an autograph score that should be handed over to a copyist or publisher.

The elaboration of the piano accompaniment, however, obviously caused some effort since Beethoven made many changes to it. The interlude, for example, which consists of

25 British Library, London, Add. 47852, fol. 13v–14v.



FIGURE 8 “Der Liebende” WoO 139, first page of the first autograph score;
© The British Library Board, Add. 47852, fol. 13v

one single measure (bar 16), was inserted only later. Because of that it is written very tightly, and the notes of the left hand were moved to the lowest empty stave on the page.

Unlike the working manuscripts described before, the first autograph score of the lied “Der Liebende” is not incomplete in terms of texture or secondary notation. But within the postlude, bars 29–31, Beethoven only wrote down the leading voice (that is, the right hand of the piano) and then broke off the elaboration of the score after bar 31. Instead of finishing the score, he made a copy of it – on the one hand because of the extensive revision of the piano part, and on the other hand perhaps because he had left no space for the following verses the first time. He took this into account in the fair copy so that a copyist could later add the second and third verse.²⁶ The musical text of the second autograph score²⁷ differs only slightly from that of the first one.

This manuscript is a perfect example of a fair copy by Beethoven because it contains very few traces of revision. Here, again, Beethoven made typical copying errors: when

²⁶ See Ludwig van Beethoven: Lieder und Gesänge mit Klavierbegleitung. Kritischer Bericht, ed. by Helga Lühning, Munich 1990 (Beethoven. Werke. Gesamtausgabe XII/1), p. 43.

²⁷ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 1v–2v.

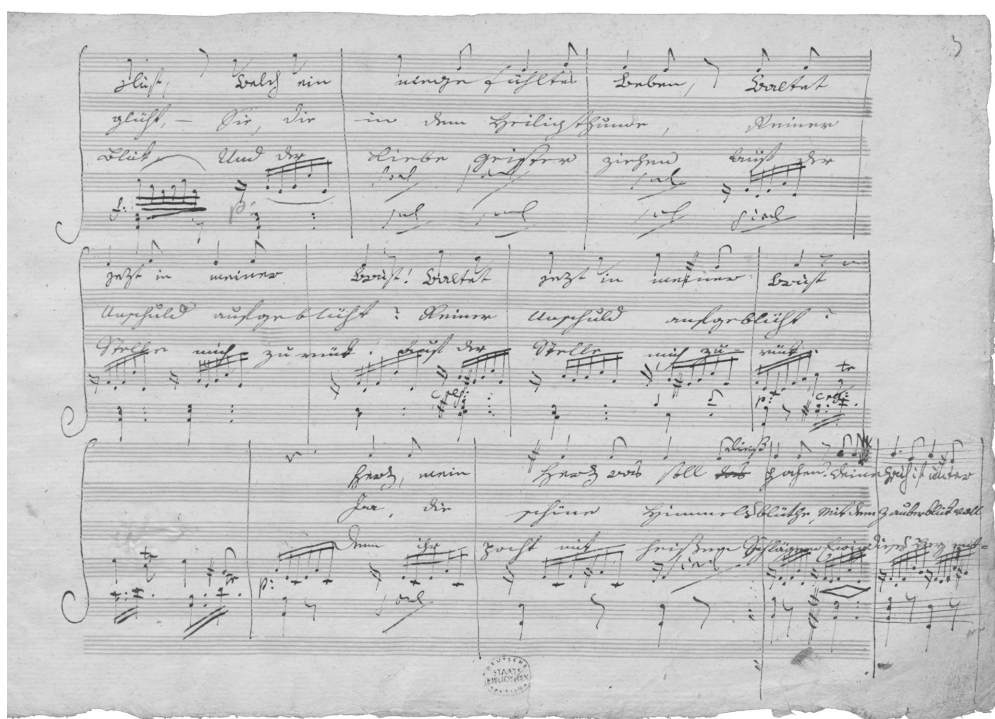


FIGURE 9 "Der Liebende" WoO 139, second page of the second autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 2r

moving from one page to the next, he had initially omitted two bars (bars 20 and 21). When he added the lyrics, he noticed that he had forgotten these measures. He added them at the end of the page (fol. 2r) and at the top of the following page (fol. 2v) in the margin (see Figures 9 and 10). Moreover, Beethoven mistakenly wrote down measure 29 twice. He noticed this, however, before he had added the left hand and crossed out the measure (see Figure 10).²⁸

These two examples of the vocal genre show that there could be different starting points when Beethoven began working on an autograph score. In the case of the lied "Der Liebende", he intended to create a manuscript which could be given to a copyist or publisher. During the working process, the manuscript became so confusing due to alterations that it had to be rewritten. In the case of the arrangement of the Spanish folksong, Beethoven set up the manuscript for his own use only from the beginning. Finally, both types of documents are private working manuscripts. Beethoven used them to work out the accompanying parts, to try out different variants and – as can be seen in the example of the Cello Sonata Op. 69 – to change the instrumentation.

²⁸ See Beethoven: Lieder und Gesänge mit Klavierbegleitung, p. 43.



FIGURE 10 “Der Liebende” WoO 139, third page of the second autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 2v

Chamber music For the first movement of the Cello Sonata Op. 69, a composing score has been preserved.²⁹ This is a typical example of a manuscript that Beethoven had initially prepared as a fair copy. However, it fell back into the stage of a working score because of numerous revisions.³⁰ The basic writing layer contains an early version of the movement that differs from the final form. Beethoven wrote it down with dynamics and articulation marks and without making many changes. Afterwards, he made several revisions to the text using various darker inks. In this phase of revision, he did not change the structure of the movement but rather the instrumentation, as for example from bar 25 on, where he exchanged the parts of the piano’s left hand and of the cello.³¹ However,

²⁹ Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 179. It is not known whether the other movements originally followed. See Jens Dufner: *The Autograph of the Cello Sonata, Op. 69, and Its Role in the Creative Process*, in: *Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata for Violoncello and Piano Op. 69, 1. Movement. Facsimile of Autograph NE 179 in the Beethoven-Haus Bonn*, ed. and with commentary by Jens Dufner and Lewis Lockwood, Bonn 2015, pp. 21–36, here p. 22.

³⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 34.

³¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 23 f.

even after that revision, the manuscript did not yet contain the final version of the movement. This version can only be found in a copy by Joseph Klumpar, which has been corrected by Beethoven.³² A second, more developed autograph score of the movement, which served as a model for the copy, must have existed but is lost now.³³

As with the lied WoO 139, the first autograph score of the cello sonata was not planned as a composing score initially. It only became a private working manuscript through the revisions made later on. Moreover, in this case the document following the working manuscript, the second autograph score, has not been preserved.

Usually, the situation is reversed: the first composing score is lost, and only the second autograph score has survived. In particular, if Beethoven's autograph scores contain copying errors, it is likely that a working manuscript originally existed, which served Beethoven as a model for the second score.³⁴ A clear copying error can be found, for example, in the autograph score of the Seven Variations on "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen" for Piano and Cello WoO 46:³⁵

On page 7, in the second system the beginning of the third variation is notated. Beethoven marked it with "Var. 3", but he mistakenly wrote down the first two bars of variation 4 in this system. He noticed his mistake, crossed out the measures and then wrote down the correct variation 3. Because of that we can assume that he copied from a manuscript that has not been preserved.

Beethoven's score sketches are considered to be typical of the creative process of his last years, because sketches of this kind have survived in large numbers for the late string quartets. Since Beethoven made so many sketches in score for the late quartets, we might assume that he did not need additional composing scores for these works. Questions of voice leading and instrumentation could have already been resolved in the score sketches. Nevertheless, a few composing scores have been preserved. For example, such a working manuscript exists for the last movement of the String Quartet in B♭ major Op. 130.³⁶

32 Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam, Hs. 62 v 3.

33 See Dufner: *The Autograph of the Cello Sonata*, p. 26.

34 Sieghard Brandenburg mentions two cases in which, due to copying errors in fair copies, he suspects that a composing score originally existed which Beethoven used as a model for the fair copy: autograph score of the Violin Sonata Op. 30 No. 2 (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, HCB Mh 26) and fragment of the autograph score of the Violin Sonata Op. 47 (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 86). In both cases Beethoven either omitted measures or wrote some bars down twice when copying, see Beethoven: *Keßlersches Skizzenbuch*, Vol. I, p. 11.

35 Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 77.

36 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 19c. No early autograph scores have been preserved for the other movements.



FIGURE 11 Seven Variations on “Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen” for Piano and Cello WoO 46, autograph score; Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 77, p. 7 (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/6611834882752512/scan/6)

This manuscript contains the complete movement in score, and it was heavily revised in many places: some pages have become unclear due to deletions or short sketches in pencil and ink (see Figure 12). Moreover, the score is incomplete concerning secondary notation: sometimes Beethoven made dynamic indications only in one of the parts instead of all.

There is also a second autograph score of the movement, which was written later.³⁷ Beethoven made several changes in this score as well. But he made most of them by erasing notes instead of crossing them out to ensure legibility (see Figure 13).

The same applies to the third and fourth movement of the String Quartet Op. 131: in addition to score sketches, there is an early composing score.³⁸ Since score sketches as well as composing scores do exist for both quartets, the composing scores can be dis-

³⁷ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Grasnick 10.

³⁸ For further information about the sources please consult the appendix.



FIGURE 12 String Quartet in B \flat major Op. 130, last movement, first autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 19c, fol. 22v

tinguished from the score sketches as an independent type of manuscript. However, the exact relationship between score sketches, composing scores and second autograph scores is still to be explored in detail with regard to Beethoven's late string quartets.

After piano music, lied and chamber music, a quick glance at orchestral works concludes this paper. During my research, I have found only one example of a work with a larger instrumentation for which a composing score exists: the *Opferlied* Op. 121b. The composing score, which is today in private hands,³⁹ is a fragment – it only comprises measures 32–63. It contains many revisions by Beethoven and is incomplete regarding texture: in several bars single parts like the second violin, viola and cello are missing. In addition, the part of the cello is in a stage of draft and differs greatly from the final version. Furthermore, there are almost no slurs or dynamic indications. For the *Opferlied* a second

39 See the facsimile of the first page in Ludwig van Beethoven: *Werke für Chor und Orchester*, ed. by Armin Raab, Munich 1998 (Beethoven. Werke. Gesamtausgabe x/2), p. 245.



FIGURE 13 String Quartet in B \flat major Op. 130, last movement, second autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Grasnick 10, fol. 17r

autograph score⁴⁰ exists as well. Beethoven probably copied it from the composing score because there are some copying errors. On several pages the manuscript is a kind of fair copy. It nevertheless also contains pages with some traces of revision.⁴¹

Conclusion Beethoven's composing scores provide an insight into the working phase that follows the sketching: the elaboration of the score. Usually, Beethoven seems to have developed and completed his works within one single manuscript. But sometimes he used two manuscripts: a composing score and a second autograph score, which can be a fair copy.⁴²

A composing score is a manuscript designed to be complete, which contains a whole piece or movement but is nevertheless partially incomplete. For example, individual parts

⁴⁰ Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, MH 4694/c.

⁴¹ See the description of both manuscripts in Beethoven: Werke für Chor und Orchester, p. 246.

⁴² Of course not every second autograph score is a fair copy. Sometimes Beethoven made several revisions in those manuscripts as well.

may not be fully elaborated, the secondary notation is often not entirely executed and elements of the primary notation may also be missing. Usually, these working manuscripts show many traces of revision. Composing scores can have various functions: Beethoven used them to try out different variants, to work out the accompanying parts or to change the instrumentation.

In some cases he made a first autograph score which was only intended for his own use (like WoO 158 No. 20). In other cases a manuscript which was initially prepared as a fair copy later fell back into the stage of a draft because of numerous revisions. Then Beethoven wrote down a second score (like WoO 139 or Op. 69).

Two autograph scores for one work have survived mainly for piano music, lied, folksong settings and chamber music. The sources suggest that Beethoven rarely made two scores when writing large orchestral works, possibly because this would have involved a lot of writing. In these cases he probably rather exchanged individual leaves.

Often Beethoven's early composing scores only survive as fragments. In some cases they are missing altogether, but we can assume, on the basis of fair copies with copying errors, that they most likely existed originally. The reverse situation, a preserved composing score, but a lost second autograph score, is less common. This situation can be explained by the fact that Beethoven was less concerned with preserving his incomplete working manuscripts than he was with preserving the finished scores. How many composing scores actually existed is difficult to say; as long as the search for such concepts continues, there is the possibility of finding further evidence that deepens our understanding of Beethoven's compositional process.

Appendix

Opus/WoO	genre	date	first autograph score	second autograph score
	piano music			
1 Op. 101	piano sonata	1816/17	F-Pn, Vm. ⁷ 537 fol. 49 (1st movement, bb. 53–102)	D-BNba, NE 219
2 Op. 109	piano sonata	1821	A-Wgm, A 47 (3rd movement, bb. 41–48, 57–96)	US-Wc, ML 30.8b. B4 op. 109 1820 Case
3 Op. 111	piano sonata	1822	D-BNba, BH 71 (1st move- ment)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., Artaria 198
4 Op. 126/2	bagatelle	1824	F-Pc (in: Pn), Ms. 74, fol. 1–2	D-BNba, Mh 23, fol. 3r/v and F-Pc (in: Pn), Ms. 74, fol. 3r/v

5	Op. 126/6	bagatelle	1824	F-Pc (in: Pn), Ms. 81, fol. 1-2 (bb. 19-74)	D-BNba, Mh 23, fol. 13v-15v
6	Op. 75/3	vocal music lied ("Flohlied")	1809	–	D-BNba, NE 220
7	Op. 75/6	lied ("Der Zufriedene")	1809	RUS-Mda, Fonds 1290, Slg. N. B. Yussupov, op. 8, N 231, Liste 5	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 3r/v
8	WoO 139	lied ("Der Liebende")	1809	GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 47852, fol. 13v-14v (bb. 1-31)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beetho- ven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 1v-2v
9	Op. 128	lied ("Der Kuss")	1822	F-Pc (in: Pn), Ms. 33 (bb. 22-49)	GB-Lbl, Slg. Zweig, MS. 10, fol. 1r-2v
10	Op. 108 Nos. 15, 16, 12, 8	folksong settings	1816	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 4, fol. 54r-61r	RUS-SPsc, F. 991, Nr. 101, pp. 1-13
11	WoO 158 No. 4	folksong settings	1816	CH-Bu, Slg. Geigy-Hagenbach 1666 (bb. 19-37)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 107v-108v
12	WoO 158 No. 15	folksong settings	1816	J-Tn (bb. 1-14)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 107r
13	WoO 158 No. 19	folksong settings	1816	D-BNba, BH 79, fol. 1r (bb. 26-30)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 109r-110r
14	WoO 158 No. 20	folksong settings	1816	D-BNba, BH 79, fol. 1v-2v	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 110v-111r
15	WoO 158 No. 21	folksong settings	1816	D-BNba, NE 21, fol. 1r-2v (bb. 21-41)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 111v-113r
16	Op. 108 No. 22	folksong settings	1817	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 13, fol. 127v-130v	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 13, fol. 131r-133v (from b. 9)
17	Op. 108 No. 2	folksong settings	1818	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 7, fol. 78v, 83r (bb. 1-4, 36-43); in private hands (bb. 22-35)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beet- hoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 7, fol. 79r-81v

18	Op. 121b	Opferlied for solo voices, chorus and orchestra	1825	in private hands (bb. 32–63)	A-Wst, MH 4694/c
chamber music					
19	WoO 46	7 Variations on “Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen” for Piano and Cello	1801	–	D-BNba, BH 77
20	Op. 30/2	violin sonata	1802/03	–	D-BNba, HCB Mh 26
21	Op. 47	violin sonata	1803/04	–	D-BNba, NE 86 (1st movement)
22	Op. 69	cello sonata	1808	D-BNba, NE 179 (1st movement)	–
23	Op. 130	string quartet	1825/26	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 19c (6th movement)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Grasnick 10 (6th movement)
24	Op. 131	string quartet	1825/26	Pl-Kj, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven Artaria 211, fol. 19r–40r (3rd and 4th movement)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Mend.-Stift 19 (3rd and 4th movement)

Content

Forewords 7

Preface 10

NOTATION AND PERFORMANCE

Clive Brown Czerny the Progressive 15

Barry Cooper Beethoven's Pedal Marks Revisited 40

Neal Peres Da Costa The Case for Un-Notated Arpeggiation in Beethoven's Compositions for or Involving the Piano 59

Siân Derry Beethoven's Tied-Note Notation. An Ongoing Debate 100

Marten Noorduyn Beethoven's Indicators of Expression in His Piano Works 118

Yew Choong Cheong A Historically Informed Perspective of Beethoven's Idiosyncratic Dynamics and Accents in His Piano Works 137

Leonardo Miucci Beethoven's Piano Quartets WoO 36. Conservatism and Evolution 156

FROM SKETCH TO PRINT

Sandra P. Rosenblum Publishers' Practices and Other Happenings in the Life of Beethoven's Quintet for Piano and Woodwinds Op. 16 177

Susanne Cox Beethoven's 'Concept'. Working Manuscripts Between Sketch and Fair Copy 188

Mario Aschauer Text, Context, and Creative Process in Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* 210

Roberto Scoccimarro Beethoven's Sketches for the Last Movement of the Sonata Op. 106. Thoughts on the Creative Process 228

Claudio Bacciagaluppi Hans Georg Nägeli as Publisher and Bookseller of Piano Music 295

INSTRUMENTS AND KEYBOARD PRACTICES

Michael Ladenburger	Beethoven's Early Approach to Different Types of Keyboard Instruments in Bonn and Its Lifelong Aftermath	323
Tilman Skowronek	Beethoven and the Split Damper Pedal	345
Robert Adelson	Beethoven's Érard Piano: A Gift After All	358
Martin Skamletz	A Gesture of Expansion. The Limited Enlargement of the Tessitura in Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 53 as a Further Development of Procedures Essayed in His Early Chamber Music	374
Index		400
Authors		412

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