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Beethoven's Early Approach to Different Types of Keyboard Instruments in Bonn and Its Lifelong Aftermath

Already as a child, Beethoven came in contact with different types of keyboard instruments and combination instruments – the clavichord, organ, harpsichord, Tangenten- and Hammerflügel; during his early Viennese years he would encounter still more types of keyboards, such as the newly invented Orphika.¹ Beethoven's beginnings coincided with a period of accelerated evolution in keyboard instruments, including experiments to give the harpsichord and organ the much-desired capacity for dynamic variety; thus, it seems plausible that this early exposure inspired Beethoven to take part in the continued evolution of the piano throughout his life.

The Mastiaux musical instrument collection and the Bonn keyboard-instrument maker

Gottlieb Friedrich Riedler In Beethoven's youth, there were several talented keyboard players in Bonn. Court Counsellor Johann Gottfried von Mastiaux's home was the most prominent place for music-making in the home in Bonn. There were other places, too, like the homes of the von Hatzfeldt (also spelled Hatzfeld) and von Wolff-Metternich families, but we have only substantial information about the musical activities in Mastiaux's home. Beethoven was the half-a-year younger piano teacher of his talented daughter Amalia, a friend of Eleonore von Breuning, to whom we will come back later. Amalia, the youngest of Mastiaux's five children, who were all very talented musicians, was a very good keyboard player according to reports of contemporaries (including the prince-elector Maximilian Franz himself).² It is most likely that the young Beethoven was involved here and there in music-making in the home – alone or with colleagues of the court orchestra or with members of the Mastiaux family.

Beethoven had access to a lot of instruments in his youth. In addition to a remarkable collection of music – including 80 symphonies of Haydn and 50 piano concertos of different composers – the musical-instrument collection of Mastiaux surely impressed

- ¹ This article is dedicated to Michael Latham to pay tribute to his life-long, very fruitful research on keyboard instruments. – This is a revised English version of my article “Der Clavierinstrumentenbestand und -instrumentenbau in Bonn als Anregung für den jungen Beethoven. Auf den Spuren des Instrumentenbauers Gottlieb Friedrich Riedler”, in: *Beethoven. Die Bonner Jahre*, ed. by Norbert Schloßmacher, Köln 2020, pp. 157–212. Further references may be found there.
- ² See e. g. *Magazin der Musik* 2 (1787), pp. 1385f. or a letter of Ferdinand Goebel to his father Franz, 7 July 1787, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Duisburg, Rheinland department, Sammlung Küsters, RW 1195, Nr. 56.

the young Beethoven. According to Christian Gottlob Neefe's list in the *Magazin der Musik*, Mastiaux had several harpsichords built by the Ruckers and Couchet families in Antwerp.³ Additionally, Mastiaux owned string instruments from renowned makers, including violins and a viola dated between 1662 und 1693 from Cremona masters Girolamo (Hieronymus), Antonio and Nicola Amati, Antonio Stradivari and Andrea Guarneri; one instrument in the collection was attributed to the best violinmaker in the German speaking countries, Jacob Stainer in Absam/Tirol and was said to be "if not authentic as good as the original ones made by him".⁴

But Mastiaux was also up to date and ordered a piano with a carillon (Glockenspiel), a newly-invented model called a pyramid (Pyramide) after its shape, built by the only – and until now nearly unknown – keyboard-instrument maker in Bonn, Gottlieb Friedrich Riedler.⁵ In his article in the *Magazin der Musik* of 1783, Beethoven's mentor Neefe called this instrument maker both Riedeln and Riedlen.⁶ This report and these incorrect spellings are mentioned in nearly every publication on Beethoven's Bonn years. The correct name is, however, Gottlieb Friedrich Riedler, whose life is only sparsely documented.⁷ He may have come to Bonn from South Germany, where he was born nearby Tuttlingen in 1749. He worked in Bonn only for three years, from 1782 to 1785, as a harpsichord, piano and organ maker – his departure seems to have stemmed from his lack of success, and he even seems to have felt forced to disappear in a cloak-and-dagger operation because of bankruptcy (which we know from an announcement of the tribunal in the *Bönnische Intelligenzblatt* of 26 January 1786). This is an astonishing fact because other residences of prince-electors had gifted and very busy organ/piano makers, such as Koblenz, which had

3 "Ein Flügel von Andreas Rückers, dem ältern, de Ao. 1646. Ein grosser Flügel, von Joh. Rückers, de Ao. 1659. Ein Flügel, von Johann Couchet, de Ao. 1659. Ein Flügel von eben diesem Meister, de Ao. 1661. Ein grosser Flügel, von Joh. Peter Couchet, de Ao. 1664. Ein Clavichord, von Friderici. Ein grosses piramidenförmiges Hammerclavier, von Mechanicus Riedeln, woran noch ein Pedal, ein Glocken- und Pfeifenzug kommen sollen." [Christian Gottlob Neefe]: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle zu Bonn und andern Tonkünstlern daselbst, in: *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), pp. 377–396, here p. 392.

4 "[...] wenn sie auch nicht ächt seyn sollte, den wenig ächten, die Stainer gemacht, doch nichts nachgiebt." *Ibid.*, p. 393. All English translations by the present writer.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 392. In circa 1780, the organ maker Peter Kemper moved from the Eifel region to Bonn. We don't know if he was at all involved in the manufacture of pianos as well. After the invasion of the French troops in 1794 and the end of the electorate, there was no call for any instrument maker in Bonn.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 392 vs. p. 395. I refer to Neefe as "mentor" because it is a more general term and less specific than "teacher". We have nearly no concrete or documented information about his supposed role as a teacher for Beethoven. Franz Anton Ries was Beethoven's mentor and regular teacher and, from circa 1785, may have been more important for him than Neefe.

7 Record of his baptism, 19 May 1749, Parish register Aldingen 1749–1810.

Johann Peter Senft and his son Ignaz Joseph,⁸ the latter of whom once worked with Johann Andreas Stein in Augsburg; and Mainz, which was the centre of Germany's square-piano production at that time.⁹ At the Bonn court, however, there was only the obligatory *Saitenmacher* (producer of strings).¹⁰ Riedler experimented with innovative designs for keyboard instruments such as the *Pyramide*;¹¹ it seems that he was more interested in building instruments of his own invention than in simply producing standard-model instruments.

Beethoven was certainly in permanent personal contact with him because Riedler was commissioned by Prince-elector Maximilian Friedrich in 1783/1784 to build a new organ in the *Schloßkirche* (Castle Chapel), which had burned down in 1777 and where Beethoven had served as second court organist since 1782. The contract didn't survive, but from another document we know that Riedler planned to build a big organ with 30 stops and had already received payments of 1000 Reichstaler when the prince-elector died in April 1784.¹² The Habsburg archduke Max Franz succeeded him. Although he was a great friend of music (as were all members of the Habsburg family), he cancelled the project, but not before Riedler had already constructed the organ case.¹³ After his disappearance, and shortly before French troops occupied the Rheinland in 1794, another Bonn organ maker used Riedler's case to construct a seven-stop positive organ that would serve as a stopgap. The case (or a part of it) may have had the contour of a *lyra*.

Riedler was unique among the builders of organs and pianos in his day; while building both sorts of instruments was not uncommon, Riedler did not limit himself to a few standard models but rather experimented with many new forms.

Even if Riedler and Beethoven knew each other only for a short time, it seems that he contributed to Beethoven's lifelong interest in keyboard instruments and his professional discussions with Viennese piano makers later on.

8 See Rudolf Ewerhart: *Die Orgel- und Claviermacher Senft in Koblenz und Augsburg*, Tutzing 2011, esp. pp. 151–153.

9 See Michael Günther: *Der frühe Tafelklavierbau im Gebiet des Mains und mittleren Rheins zwischen 1760 und 1790*, in: *Geschichte und Bauweise des Tafelklaviers*, ed. by Boje E. Hans Schmuhl and Monika Lustig, Augsburg/Michaelstein 2006 (Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte, Vol. 68), pp. 81–116.

10 See e.g. *Kurfürstlich kölnischer Hofkalender für das Jahr 1783*, ed. by J.[ohann] P.[hilipp] N.[erius] M. V[ogel], [Bonn 1782], p. 9.

11 Neefe: *Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle*, p. 395.

12 Expert opinion of the privy councilor Andreas Isaac to President of the Court Chamber Johann Ignaz Graf Wolff-Metternich zur Gracht, Bonn, 20 July 1784. Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Duisburg, Rheinland department, Kurköln II, Nr. 480, fol. 11–18.

13 See the announcement of the clerk of the Bonn court of justice in the *Bönnische Intelligenzblatt* of 11 October 1785.

FIGURE 1 A trimmed-down version of Riedler's organ in the Bonn Schloßkirche [?], section of a memorial page on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Seminar in Moers, where the organ was used at that time; coloured lithography, 1846 (Grafschafter Museums- und Geschichtsverein, Grafschafter Museum im Moerser Schloss)



It should be mentioned in advance that none of the Riedler instruments in the Mastiaux collection survived or have been identified. But it is important to be aware that Riedler's attempts at innovation were appreciated, even if they were not technically mature. For example, in buying the aforementioned "large fortepiano with the shape of a pyramid made by mechanic Riedeln which will be supplemented by a pedal, a stop with carillon and a stop with pipes"¹⁴ Mastiaux did of course take a risk. This situation is just the opposite of what we have experienced over the last 120 years with technically mature instruments like Steinway pianos, which lost many of the tone colours of historical instruments and have too heavy an action for relaxed and highly nuanced piano playing.

According to Neefe, Riedler built:

- 1) Normal harpsichords.
- 2) Harpsichords with plectra from steel instead of crow or raven quill.

14 "Ein grosses piramidenförmiges Hammerclavier, von Mechanicus Riedeln, woran noch ein Pedal, ein Glocken- und Pfeifenzug kommen sollen." Neefe: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle, p. 392.

- 3) Particularly good instruments with newly invented hammers [It is unclear what this exactly means as Neefe provides no further description, but in this period, uncovered hammers or tangents were common and, when used with the moderator, produced the sound of instruments with covered hammers, which came later].
 - 4) Combination instruments with plectra and hammers [which were common in Italy and Spain already at the beginning of the century].
 - 5) Instruments with gut strings which are able to imitate the sound of 2 violins, viola, cello, double bass, and flute.
 - 6) He did make an invention that keeps keyboard instruments in perfect tune irrespective of weather conditions.
 - 7) An instrument which is able to transcribe the music while playing.
- Furthermore, he is skilled in building physical instruments and in the science of electricity.”¹⁵

So far, all of the above is well-documented in the Beethoven literature.

Combination instruments and new inventions Let us have a look at similar instruments that have survived. Especially interesting is the combination harpsichord/piano (4) because it represents the gradual replacement of the proven and fully developed harpsichord by the piano and its new tonal/timbral variety, enabled by its novel technical possibilities with respect to touch and sound-generating registers (e.g. knee levers or pedals) in the late eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The ancestor of the harpsichord/piano combination was the Claviorganum (combination organ, virginal and regal) of the sixteenth century. An early vis-à-vis instrument already combining harpsichord and fortepiano was built by Jean Marius as early as 1716.¹⁶ Concurrent with Beethoven's youth, John Geib and James Davis patented similar instruments in London in 1786 and 1792, respectively.¹⁷ Later, Matthäus Müller in Vienna built vis-à-vis-instruments, too, but with two pianos. Such inventions allowed the completely forgotten art of

- 15 “1) Bekielte Flügel, nach der gewöhnlichen Art. 2) Flügel mit stählernen Federn, anstatt der Rabenfedern, und nach einer noch unbekanntem Einrichtung. 3) Besonders gute Instrumente mit neuerfundnen Hämmern, von denen sich der Spieler alle Zufriedenheit versprechen darf. 4) Instrumente nach einer neuen Erfindung mit Federn und Hämmern zugleich. 5) Instrumente mit Darmsaiten, auf denen man die Wirkung von 2 Violinen, Violen, Violoncell, Contrabaß und Flöte hervor, bringen [sic] kann, und zwar mit aller Gemächlichkeit. 6) Hat er ein Mittel erfunden, die meisten Clavierinstrumente unverstimmbar zu machen, obgleich die Witterung sehr auf die Saiten wirkt. 7) Ein Instrument, auf welchem alles, was der Spieler spielt, in währendem Spielen durch einen besondern Mechanismus in Noten abgedruckt wird. Beyläufig gedenk ich noch seiner Geschicklichkeit, in Verfertigung verschiedener physicalischer Instrumente, und in der Wissenschaft von der Electricität.” Ibid., pp. 395 f.
- 16 A vis-à-vis harpsichord from around 1700 is shown in an anonymous pen-and-ink drawing kept in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, see the illustration in Michael Latcham: *The Notebook of Johann Andreas Stein. Facsimile – Transcription – Translation*, Wilhelmshaven 2014, Vol. 2, p. 434.
- 17 Michael Latcham: *Towards a New History of the Piano. A Context for the Work of Johann Andreas Stein as a Piano Maker*, München/Salzburg 2019, pp. 245–248.



FIGURE 2 Johann Andreas Stein's vis-à-vis instrument combining harpsichord and fortepiano (Verona, Accademia Filarmonica/Museo di Castelvecchio; photo: Michael Latcham)

joint improvising to be resurrected. Best known are the combination instruments built by Johann Andreas Stein. He was highly respected in Bonn during Beethoven's youth.¹⁸ A description of his "Poli-Tono-Clavichordium" – a harpsichord with four choirs of strings combined with a piano – appeared in the *Augsburg Intelligenzblatt* in 1769,¹⁹ and Stein is known to have built vis-à-vis instruments in 1777 and 1783. Two of the latter have survived – one is now in Verona (Accademia Filarmonica/Museo di Castelvecchio) and the other one in Naples (Conservatorio di Musica "S. Pietro a Majella").

On one side of Stein's instrument there are three manuals, two of them for the harpsichord (upper manual: 8'; middle manual: 16', 2 × 8', lute stop, repetitive 4'/8'), on the lower manual one can combine all four harpsichord registers and the piano. On the opposite side of the instrument, one can only play the piano. Underneath the instrument we find a wire star layout action for the piano similar to the trackers in an organ. This is no surprise in the light of the fact that Stein was also an organ builder, as were many instrument makers of that time; for example, Gottfried Silbermann in Freiberg and Ignaz

¹⁸ See e.g. Christian Gottlob Neefe: *Dilettanterien*, [Bonn] 1785, p. 30.

¹⁹ See Michael Latcham: Franz Jakob Spath and the "Tangentenflügel", an Eighteenth-Century Tradition, in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 57 (2004), pp. 150–170, here p. 160.

Kober, Ferdinand Hofmann and Johann Jakesch in Vienna all built both organs and pianos.

These combined instruments mark the transition from one type of keyboard instrument to the other, both in general and in detail. The hammers are still uncovered, that is, made of bare wood. As a result, the sounds of the harpsichord and piano are more similar – with respect to the overtone spectrum, for example – than they would be with covered hammers. We can hear it in a fascinating recording of Andreas Staier and Christine Schornsheim on the *vis-à-vis* that is now in Verona.²⁰



FIGURE 3 Merlin's combination instrument with music-transcribing mechanism (Munich, Deutsches Museum, Inv. No. 43872)

20 Harmonia Mundi, France HMC 901941 (with a valuable booklet text by Michael Latcham).

Figure 3 shows the combination instrument of a harpsichord with a piano stop made by Jean-Joseph (also John Joseph) Merlin, London, in 1780.²¹ Merlin's instrument combines the technical affordances of Riedler's instruments Nos. 4 and 7 in Neefe's list: in addition to the combined hammer/plucking mechanism, Merlin's instrument had a mechanism that uses lead pencils to transcribe the music as the instrument is played. The earliest known example of such a transcription mechanism was built by Johann Hohlfeld in 1753; in 1774, Johann Friedrich Unger presented the design for a similar mechanism to the Königlische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, which he described as *Entwurf einer Maschine wodurch alles was auf dem Clavier gespielt wird, sich von selber in Noten setzt* ("Draft for a machine which automatically sets in score everything what is played on a keyboard instrument"). Whether Riedler had heard of or seen Hohlfeld's mechanism, Unger's design, or Merlin's instrument before moving to Bonn in 1782 is beyond our knowledge; it is also unknown if Beethoven may have come in contact with this apparatus during his concert tour in Berlin in 1796.

The search for dynamic flexibility and other tone colours Even for organs, creative makers tried to achieve dynamic flexibility long before the romantic organ with the crescendo pedal (*Registerschweller*) was invented in the middle of the nineteenth century. It's not clear whether Johann Andreas Stein really built his *Melodica* or only planned to do it.²² In his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart described it as an organ stop which can be used in a harpsichord, piano or organ in order to produce a seamless crescendo from *pp* to *ff* and back according to the pressure on the keys; however, it is unknown if his description is based on personal experience with the instrument.²³ Not far from Bonn, an organ with a special mechanism for activating the registers was built in 1794 by Johann Christian Kleine, two years after Beethoven left the Rheinland. It has a so-called 'Forte – Piano coppel' invented by Christian Gottlieb Schröter. If one presses the keys of the *Hauptwerk* (great organ) only halfway, one plays only the stops of the positive (the second manual); if one presses down the keys completely, one plays both the stops of the *Hauptwerk* and posi-

21 Combination instruments were built in Italy and Spain, too, see Michael Latcham: *The Combination of the Piano and the Harpsichord Throughout the Eighteenth Century*, in: *Instruments à claviers – expressivité et flexibilité sonore. Keyboard Instruments – Flexibility and Expression*, ed. by Thomas Steiner, Bern 2004, pp. 113–152.

22 Johann Andreas Stein: *Beschreibung eines neuerfundenen Clavierinstrumentes, Melodica genannt*, in: *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 13 (1772), pp. 106–116.

23 Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart: *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. by Ludwig Schubart, Wien 1806, p. 291.

tive.²⁴ This was a further step along the path from terraced dynamics to dynamic flexibility.

Attempts to create an extended variety of sound as well as volume and dynamic flexibility were also the aim of Georg Joseph Vogler's revolution in organ-building called the 'Simplifikationssystem'. Although swell boxes were built in England already in the 1720s, these did not appear on the continent before the early nineteenth century. Vogler's so-called 'Orchestrion' was no longer defined by the 'Werkprinzip' that originated in the Baroque area – a system of divisions that corresponds to a clearly visible section of the case – but arranged the manuals after the sound colour of the stops. And most important for our topic: he put all pipes in one big swell box, and by increasing or decreasing wind pressure, a crescendo or decrescendo became possible.²⁵ In his very successful concerts, he played his own works or improvisations like *Die durch ein Donnerwetter unterbrochne Hirtenwonne* (The shepherd's delight interrupted by a thunderstorm), in some respects a precursor of Beethoven's sixth Symphony.²⁶ An independent composition with the same title by Justin Heinrich Knecht was published by Bossler in Darmstadt 1793, who had previously published the first editions of Beethoven's so-called *Kurfürsten* (Prince-electors) Sonatas WoO 47 in 1783 and Knecht's *Pastoral Symphony* in 1785.

In the nineteenth century swell boxes became more and more common in organ building – a parallel of the swell mechanisms of harpsichords, which were only used for echo effects and not for seamless crescendo and decrescendo effects.²⁷ Later on, there were swell mechanisms in pianos too.

- 24 "Nach der Erfindung Schröters [in Nordhausen] kann man bei einerlei Registern [i. e., unchanged stops] auf der Orgel die angenehmste der Hauptveränderungen, nämlich das Sanfte und Starke, oder das Forte und Piano, ohne Umstände und dadurch hervor bringen, daß die Windlade so eingerichtet wird, daß der Wind in sie auf sieben verschiedenen Wegen hinein geführt wird. Die Ladenventile werden nach sieben verschiedenen Windgraden herauf gedrückt; und man höret bloß die schwächsten Stimmen, wenn man die Tasten schwach niederdrückt; hingegen alle gezogene Stimmen, so bald man die Tastatur stark drückt." Johann Samuel Halle: *Die Kunst des Orgelbaues*, Brandenburg 1779, p. 179. I am thankful to Johannes Geffert who made me familiar with this instrument and its mechanism. See Hubert Fasen/Walter Friehs: *Archivfunde waren großer Glücksfall*, in: *Barockorgel Eckenhagen. Abschluss der Restaurierung 2008*, Eckenhagen 2008, p. 18. This rarely installed mechanism has held up for an astonishingly long time. We still find it in the Weil organ of the protestant church in Rheinbrohl (built in 1869). Thanks to Hans-Wolfgang Theobald for that information.
- 25 Already on 2 September 1780, the organ maker D. Baerts advertised a "Machiene" in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* (p. 106) which can be added to an organ or harpsichord enabling forte and piano.
- 26 Vogler's invention was, at that time, on everyone's lips. A report about his Orchestrion was published in the same column as a report on the inauguration of King Gustav IV of Sweden on 1 November in the *Preßburger Zeitung* of 25 November 1796, p. 1194. Beethoven, who was in Preßburg (Bratislava) at that time, may have read it.
- 27 See Edward L. Kottick: *A History of the Harpsichord*, Bloomington 2003, pp. 375f.

Beethoven may have known about all these experiments because the *Magazin der Musik* and other musical periodicals of the time – and occasionally even journals not devoted to music, like Christoph Martin Wieland’s magazine for literature *Der Teutsche Merkur* (1773–1789) – were full of articles on new inventions in the field of musical instruments, especially keyboard instruments. Neefe knew some of these periodicals, to which he contributed from time to time. In the same volume of the *Magazin der Musik* as his report on musical life in Bonn, in which he mentioned the 12-year-old Beethoven for the first time, we find an article about a ‘Bogenklavier’. It was an instrument with gut strings that were bowed; the bow was operated via keyboard. The maker was Johann Carl Greiner in Wetzlar, 130 km east of Bonn – the domicile of the Imperial Superior Court of Justice (Reichskammergericht) with good connections to Bonn. The Bogenklavier may have been invented in response to a desire among keyboardists to have the capability to play compositions for strings with an appropriate sound in this era of musical curiosity in which neither recordings nor radio broadcasts were available. The next step for Greiner was a so-called ‘Bogenhammerklavier’, a double keyboard instrument combining the Bogenklavier and a piano with steel strings and a down-striking action.²⁸ When such instruments were reviewed, the number of sound variations (*Veränderungen*) that players have at their disposal were always praised – the more, the merrier.

Already in 1751 Prince-elector Clemens August (reigned 1723–1761), a passionate keyboard player (and hunter) who even had a harpsichord in his sleeping-room, received “an indeed very rare Clavecin”²⁹ built by Franz Jakob Spath in Regensburg. Perhaps this was already a ‘clavecin d’amour’, which Spath had advertised in 1770, with a ‘Tangentenmechanik’ or a very simple hammer action which he called ‘Pandaleon’ (or a preliminary version of it).³⁰ The instrument for Clemens August was built as combination piano and harpsichord. In the context of this instrument, the term ‘Pandaleon’ may have referred to a simple action with uncovered hammers; additional stops included a flute stop (most likely consisting of pipes underneath the case), harp stop, lute stop, a double moderator for piano and *pianissimo*, a damper pedal and an *una corda* pedal.

Such instruments with flute stop were also built by Court Counsellor Peter Carl Bauer in Berlin. He called his version from 1768 the ‘Royal Crescendo’, a square piano with organ stop, four and a half octaves, six pedals (“*Veränderungen*”) and a flute stop. In

28 [Anon.]: *Instrumentenmacher. Instrumente*, in: *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), pp. 650–683, here pp. 654–661, esp. pp. 657–661.

29 “in der That sehr rare[s] Clavecin”. Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Duisburg, Rheinland department, Kurköln VI, No. 708.

30 *Musikalische Nachrichten und Anmerkungen auf das Jahr 1770*, ed. by Johann Adam Hiller, Leipzig 1770, p. 142. See also Latcham: *Towards a New History of the Piano*, pp. 135 f. and id.: Franz Jakob Spath.

1776 he built a so-called 'Crescendo', a piano in the shape of a pyramid with three pedals which made a seamless crescendo possible.³¹

In the same year as Riedler, Johann Peter Senft in Koblenz built a grand piano with a flute stop.³² Peter Carl Bauer built combination instruments with carillons, which Andries Weltman in Paris installed in harpsichords and pianos. Of course, we can find carillons also in organs, as in the famous one built 1737–1750 by Joseph Gabler in the abbey of Weingarten.

A harpsichord for the home of Emanuel Joseph von Breuning Beethoven was also the teacher of Eleonore von Breuning, with whom he had a close friendship. Her father, the court counsellor Emanuel Joseph von Breuning, bought a first-class, double-manual harpsichord from the estate of Prince-elector Clemens August at an auction in May 1765. According to an inventory of the prince-elector's estate compiled in February 1765, there were two harpsichords: "N. 621 A grand instrument in the shape of a Sterzstück, with a case decorated with a painting of a hunting scene, with attendant green stand in parts gilded, with a music stand and gilded candleholder 300 Reichstaler" and "N. 622 dito also in the shape of a Sterzstück with a case grounded in black with painted flowers, attendant stand and a music stand and candleholder."³³ The term "Sterzstück" refers to a piece of meat from the tail of a cow or pig but also – and more relevantly here – to the shape of plough handles.³⁴ Ruckers, for instance, added a "St" for "Staatstück" in front of the production number on the keyframe of his harpsichords in shape of a wing.

Breuning had to pay 153 Reichstaler for the second harpsichord. For comparison: the annual salary of Beethoven's father was 100 Reichstaler. As was usual at that time, both instruments were listed without the name of the maker or further technical details like stops, in the way one might describe a piece of furniture. In any case Beethoven may have given lessons to Eleonore (Figure 5) on this first-class-instrument.

- 31 See *Magazin des Buch- und Kunsthandels, welches zum Besten der Wissenschaften und Künste von den dahin gehörigen Neuigkeiten Nachricht giebt*, 1. Stück, ed. by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, Leipzig 1780, p. 152.
- 32 Ewerhart: *Die Orgel- und Claviermacher Senft in Koblenz und Augsburg*, pp. 151–153.
- 33 "N. 621 Ein großes Instrument in Form eines steerts stücks [Sterzstück], worauf die Jagd gemahlet, durchaus gefürnist, mit grün angestrichenem, und zum theil verguldetem Fuß sambt dazugehörigen Pulput [Pulpit], mit 2 verguldeten Leuchter. 300 Rtlr [and] N. 622 Ein dito in Form eines steerts stücks, worauf der grund schwartz, und Blumen gemahlet, mit zugehörigen Fuß, sambt Pulput und Leuchter 200 Rtlr". Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Duisburg, Rheinland department, Kurköln 11, Nr. 277, fol. 47v.
- 34 See the entry for "Pflugsterz", in: *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, www.dwds.de/wb/Pflugsterz (all weblinks in this article last consulted 12 October 2022).

FIGURE 4 Concerning the paintings on the case, a similar instrument built by Andreas Ruckers I with the date 1628 (Private collection in Salzburg, formerly in the Beurmann collection in Hamburg)



FIGURE 5 Eleonore von Breuning, seated at a piano or harpsichord, circa 1785 (anonymous painting, Beethoven-Haus Bonn, loan Karl-Oswald von Nell 1)

Search for tone colours in early compositions of Beethoven There are good reasons to assume that Beethoven sent his *Sechs Variationen über ein Schweizer Lied* WoO 64 to Eleonore in summer 1792 as a symbol of his connection to her and her family and as an attempt to apologize after a violent quarrel.³⁵ Were the variations “pour la harpe ou le Forte-Piano”, which were published by Simrock in 1798 – presumably without knowledge of the composer –, composed for a recumbent harp (*Liegende Harfe*)? It is one of those keyboard instruments with a simple action but a lot of possibilities to change the sound using stops. The range of the recumbent harp was normally 4½ octaves (c2–f6), exactly the range of Beethoven's Variations.

Dynamic flexibility was then en vogue and of course by no means a perquisite of Bonn taste. But we have to point out that the 12-year-old composer, who was an unpaid member of the court orchestra for one year, already incorporated this idea in his *Kurfürsten Sonatas*, for instance in the *pp* passage in the development section of the first movement of the E♭ major Sonata, which may reflect the influence of the court orchestra.³⁶ Neefe spoke about dynamic flexibility in his aforementioned report published in the same year as the *Kurfürsten Sonatas*: he notes that the Italian “Capelldirector” Cajetano Mattioli (in his opinion a second Christian Cannabich, who was the highly recommended music director of the famous court orchestras in Mannheim and Munich) “observes the accentuation and declamation of the orchestral playing, and established the most accurate attention for Forte and Piano and the musical light and shadow in all gradations in the Bonn orchestra.”³⁷

Thus, compositions such as the *Sechs Variationen über ein Schweizer Lied* are completely misunderstood in our time. They do not focus on structural issues because they are neither written for Beethoven to present himself as composer/pianist nor for an especially gifted dilettante but presumably for a pupil. They are composed as a study in sound (and thus not appropriately playable on modern instruments). The aim was not to improve the technical abilities of the pianist and subsequently to impress the audience that way (there are no real challenges, even on a low level) but to achieve optimal variety of sound by a fanciful use of different stops. This is typical for Beethoven: there are always

35 Michael Ladenburger: Für wen und für welches Instrument hat Beethoven die Sechs leichten Variationen über das Schweizer Lied “Es hätt’ e’ Buur e’ Töchterli” WoO 64 komponiert? Eine Annäherung, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1QxwYljhYTFgsJQiOD4TlZsHXN2r4BHgd/view>.

36 At the top of the first page of music in the first-edition score, it says “Cembalo solo”, but the title page (“fürs Klavier”) makes it clear that it is written for piano, although “Klavier” was, in those days, still a collective term which included harpsichords and clavichords.

37 “Er hat zuerst die Accentuation oder Declamation auf Instrumenten, die genaueste Beobachtung des Forte und Piano, oder des musicalischen Lichts und Schattens in allen Ab- und Aufstufungen im hiesigen Orchester eingeführt.” Neefe: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle, p. 377.

challenges, from his earliest compositions on; we only have to recognise and execute them.

There was a reproduction of the first page of the autograph manuscript of the A♭ major Sonata Op. 110 from 1821 in the invitation to the conference in Lugano.³⁸ This manuscript is the endpoint of a long development. Never did a musical score contain such detailed dynamic and agogic instructions. But at the same time, we must be aware that Beethoven respected the latitude of the performer (which is the reason why he never composed and published cadenzas for the public, for instance). For a long time, he gave no advice for the use of the *una corda* pedal or the moderator. The latter was very important when one used a Tangentenflügel or a piano with uncovered hammers. But we should be aware that this does not mean that an interpretation in 1783 was in principle less sophisticated or without subtleties. But with the increasing dominance of the piano in comparison with the clavichord and harpsichord, this more ‘modern’ instrument allowed more and more performance indications to be given, and those parameters became more and more constitutive for Beethoven.

The parallel use of clavichord, harpsichord, early piano and organ is reflected in his early piano music. One of the very few really remarkable discoveries of the Beethoven anniversary 2020 was the harpsichord player, fortepianist and organist Olga Pashchenko, who played the Sonatas WoO 47 on an anonymous fortepiano from around 1785 from the collection of Edwin Beunk.³⁹ If we encounter an artist as gifted as Olga Pashchenko and as familiar with all the different types of keyboard instruments, their appropriate playing technique, and historically informed performance practice while having studied Beethoven’s own fingerings – which we know from a copy of the first edition kept in the British Library⁴⁰ –, then we are almost guaranteed to have a very special musical experience. This music springs to life. Its rhetoric jumps up at us and overwhelms us. When evaluated according to the criteria of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the pure compositional substance loses its central relevancy. The sound characteristics of the keyboards of Beethoven’s time – with a high percentage of overtones due to thin strings, less string tension and a thin soundboard – underline the rhetorical approach of the music, which one cannot play appropriately on a modern instrument. Even a piano built after 1810 is inappropriate. When this music is heard on a period instrument with all its sound variety and transparency, the listener understands that the 12-year-old Beethoven

38 See the PDF programme on www.hkb-interpretation.ch/beethoven2020.

39 Edition Klavier-Festival Ruhr 39 (2020) Cat. No. 426008533275, www.youtube.com/watch?v=EYQXrXLgFL0.

40 See Michael Ladenburger: Der junge Beethoven – Komponist und Pianist. Beethovens Handexemplar der Originalausgabe seiner Drei Klaviersonaten WoO 47, in: *Bonner Beethoven-Studien* 3 (2003), pp. 107–117.

did not intend to compose pleasing music that showcases his talent but was trying from the very beginning to expand the boundaries of music and his own virtuosity. The Sonatas are really hard to play and show the unity of Beethoven as composer and pianist.

Instruments of Johann Andreas Stein in Bonn Really important for the young Beethoven was the fact that there were fortepianos of Johann Andreas Stein in Bonn, one in the possession of Countess Hortensia Hatzfeldt,⁴¹ the grandniece of Prince-elector Maximilian Friedrich von Königsegg-Rothenfels. Born in Vienna in 1757 and well-trained by the best Viennese teachers, she was an outstanding singer and pianist.⁴² Furthermore she was familiar with Mozart; under his direction she sang Elettra in the first Viennese performance of *Idomeneo* in the Palais Auersperg in March 1786.⁴³ Her brother-in-law was August Clemens Ludwig Maria Graf von Hatzfeldt, Mozart's "dear best friend" ("lieber bester Freund") for whom he wrote the violin solo part in the insertion aria K. 490, which was composed for the performance just mentioned.⁴⁴ Her other brother-in-law, Franz Ludwig von Hatzfeldt, was the unofficial but very active director of court music for the prince-elector Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal in Mainz from 1789 on.⁴⁵ It seems likely that he acted as agent in order to motivate the local Hofmusikstecher (court music engraver) Bernhard Schott to publish Beethoven's 24 Variations on Vincenzo Righini's arietta "Venni Amore" for piano in D major WoO 65 in 1791. Righini had visited Bonn in 1788, at which time he was the music director at the Mainz court. Righini was well-known by the countess because she had sung the role of Armida in the first performance of his opera of the same title in Vienna 1782. She may have even initiated the acquaintance between Beethoven and Righini in Vienna in 1787. It was surely not by chance that Beethoven dedicated his variations to Countess Hatzfeldt. We have to consider whether she was the dedicatee because she was a great pianist for whom these special variations were composed according to her pianistic abilities and the sound potential of her Stein piano and/or because she helped to arrange its publication in a publishing house with which Neefe seems to have had no personal contact (in contrast to Götz in Mannheim and

41 Neefe: *Dilettanterien*, p. 30.

42 See [Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld]: *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst für Wien und Prag*, Wien 1796, p. 25 and Neefe: *Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle*, p. 387.

43 *Ibid.*

44 Michael Ladenburger: "Ich denke dein", aber in welcher Form? *Miszellen zu einem musikalischen Schabernack*. Beethovens Lied "Ich denke dein" mit Variationen für Klavier zu vier Händen WoO 74, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/19EI-ug4OC6e7XNwn5gRVkBbn3LxcccAro/view>, p. 15.

45 Franz Stephan Pelgen: Neufund der Handakten zweier Mainzer Hofmusikintendanten im Staatsarchiv Breslau (Carl Philipp Graf von Ingelheim und Franz Ludwig Graf von Hatzfeldt), in: *Musik und Musikleben am Hof des Mainzer Kurfürsten Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal*, ed. by Axel Beer, Ursula Kramer and Klaus Pietschmann, Mainz 2021, pp. 37–76.

Bossler in Speyer, who published the *Nine Variations on a March* by Ernst Christoph Dressler WoO 63 and the *Kurfürsten Sonatas* WoO 47 in 1782 and 1783, respectively). Neefe wrote a poem about Countess Hatzfeldt, with whom he was familiar, mentioning her Stein piano and the soulful sound raised by her omnipotent fingers (Figure 6).

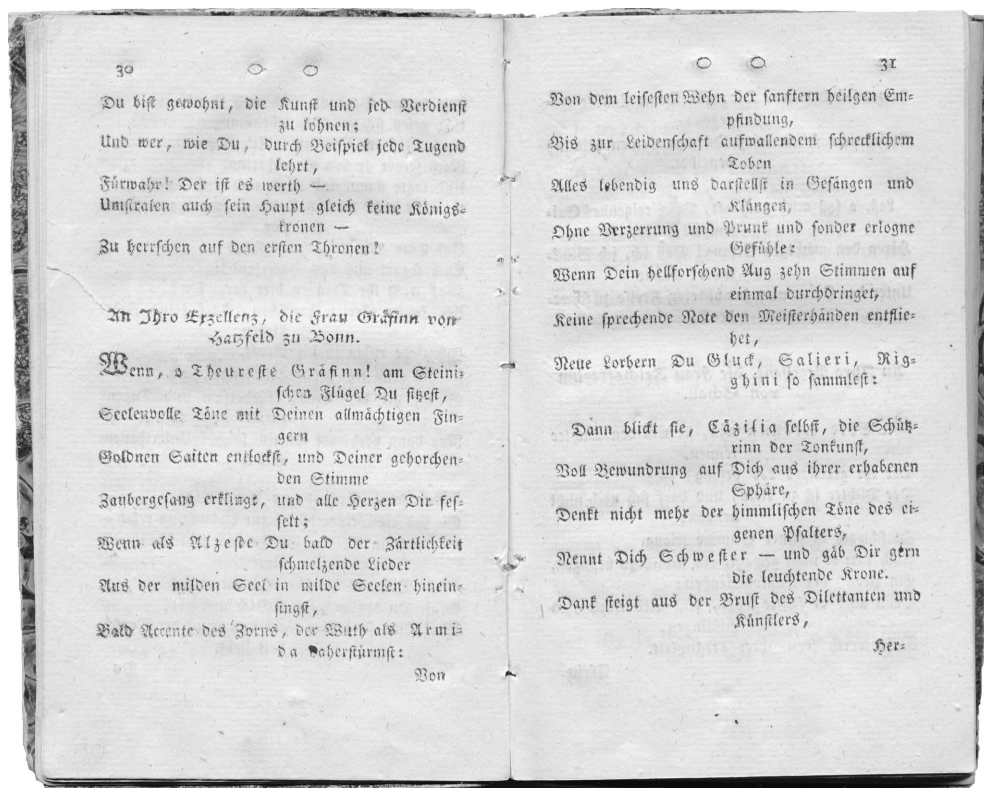


FIGURE 6 Christian Gottlob Neefe: *Dilettanterien*, [Bonn] 1785 (Archiv des Rhein-Sieg-Kreises)

We don't know the date when she purchased the piano (and accordingly whether it had uncovered hammers or not); in any case, it was before 1785. Her sister Countess Franziska von Thurn und Taxis wrote an entry in Nannette Stein's *Stammbuch* in 1788. Countess Hatzfeldt may have played a major role in promoting Beethoven not only in Bonn before Count Waldstein arrived in 1788 but especially during Beethoven's first Viennese years, from 1792 on. She was part of the aristocratic musical life in her native city, perfectly networked as a member of the aristocracy – the daughter of Count Zierotin (Empress Maria Theresia served as godmother of Countess Hatzfeldt's own daughter Theresia) – and, at the same time, an active musician.

At the latest, on his way back from his first stay in Vienna, Beethoven became familiar with an instrument made by Stein with covered hammers when he visited Stein's work-

shop in Augsburg in April 1787.⁴⁶ Stein started with this improvement in 1783. It was a little revolution because the effect was until then only available by the use of the moderator, and now the sound differed much more from the harpsichord than before.

From the sheet music that was played in private circles in Bonn, nearly nothing is extant today. A very few manuscripts and prints survived, but not a single dedication copy of a first edition of Beethoven's early piano works from one of his Bonn patrons is known to exist. But there is one not-yet-scrutinised stock of music manuscripts attributed to the Hatzfeldt family, now in the Institute of Musicology at the University of Cologne (a few manuscripts are also located in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz).⁴⁷ It seems that not all manuscripts now attributed to Hatzfeldt once belonged together. Judging from the watermarks of the paper, we are able to see where and roughly when the manuscript copies were made. There are papers from mills in Basel and Kandersteg (used by the young Beethoven too) as well as others from the Scheven mill in Düren (60 km west of Bonn), some from South Germany and others which seem to have been ordered in Vienna. Only a very few of them have owners' signatures: "De Hatzfeldt" and "Ex Musicâ L. B. Clementis Augusti ab Hazfeldt 1757". Unless the date of the latter was a scribal error for "1775" (the others are from 1770 to 1772), it may go back to Countess Hatzfeldt's later husband Clemens August Johann Nepomuk Graf von Hatzfeldt-Schönstein.⁴⁸ It is lamentable (regarding our present topic) that the surviving sheet music consists mainly of excerpts from Italian operas, especially arias for soprano. Of the piano and piano chamber music repertoire, only a manuscript copy of one piano trio of Leopold Koželuh (with whom Countess Hatzfeldt was in personal contact) came to us.⁴⁹ Neither

46 According to an entry in the travel diary of Karl Bursy from 24 June 1816 and an entry in Beethoven's conversation book from September 1824, see Michael Ladenburger: *Beethoven auf Reisen* (Begleitpublikationen zu Ausstellungen des Beethoven-Hauses, Vol. 25), Bonn 2016, p. 59.

47 See <https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/search?searchCategories%5B0%-12%5D=-1&q=Hatzfeldt&View=rism&Language=en>.

48 All arias are for soprano: Giuseppe Sarti: "Mai l'amor mio verace" from *Ipermestra* (shelfmark III 72 R), Paolo Scalabrini: "Se non posso" from *Demetrio* (III 73 R), Santo Lapis: "Io son eco alla tua voce" (III 88 R), Davide Perez: "Non vi fidate nò" from *Farnace* (P 82 R) and Baldassare Galuppi: "Più non si trovano" from *Olympia* (H 211 R), and in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Giovanni Battista Lampugnani: "Priva del caro bene" from *Tigrane* (Mus.ms. 12501/5) and "Son regina e sono amante" from *Didone abbandonata* (Mus.ms. 12501/8) as well as Niccolò Jommelli: "Pupille amabili" from *Tito Manlio* (Mus.ms. 11257/14).

49 Trio in A major Op. 21 Nr. 2 Postolka IX:8 (1786), Institute of Musicology of the University Cologne, shelfmark 6 38 R. Koželuh, perhaps one of her Viennese teachers, dedicated his *Three Sonatas for Piano* (the third for piano four-hands) Op. 8 to Hortensia Hatzfeldt (Torricella, Vienna 1784). Further dedications to her are Neefe's *Variations for Piano on the March of the Priests* from Mozart's "Magic Flute" (Simrock, Bonn 1793) and Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel's 12 *Lieder* (Schott, Mainz 1789) and *Sonetto di Petrarca* (Kühnel, Leipzig 1808).



FIGURE 7 The Ulrichsplatz in Augsburg, originally a coloured engraving (optical view) by Balthasar Friedrich Leitzel, Augsburg, circa 1780 (private possession Michael Latcham). The engraving is an accurate graphical representation (not laterally reversed) of the place when Beethoven saw it in April 1787. When Mozart made his visit in 1777, the fountain was not yet there. The second house on the left side is Johann Andreas Stein's.

Hortensia nor her daughter Theresia was heir to her husband's estate as a 'Fideikommiss' recognises only male heirs; thus she may have used the scores and parts but only took her own collection – certainly containing a lot of piano music – when she left Bonn in 1794, moving back to her native Vienna after the death of her husband and in light of the invasion of the French troops.

Neefe and Simrock as dealer of keyboard instruments In Beethoven's Bonn years, his colleagues Christian Gottlob Neefe and Nikolaus Simrock dealt with keyboard instruments. Neefe sold clavichords from the workshop of the organ and piano makers Christian Ernst und Gottfried Christian Friederici in Gera.⁵⁰ Simrock, who mainly dealt with music, came from Mainz, at that time a centre for the manufacturing of square pianos. It's a pity that we have only in later years precise information about the assortment of Simrock, who had then close contacts to the Streicher family in Vienna. Johann Baptist

⁵⁰ See Ludwig Schieder-mair: *Der junge Beethoven*, Leipzig 1925, p. 69.

Streicher visited Simrock and his son Fritz⁵¹ in December 1821 on his tour to Paris and London.⁵² Although Bonn already had the new Prussian university for three years, the devastation of the complete cultural lockdown after the French occupation of the Rheinland and the end of the electorate seems to have still affected the cultural life there. According to Streicher's travel diary, Simrock had to bemoan: "There are no remarkable pianos in the region, and there is none in Bonn which I can see".⁵³ This was the result of the complete cultural lockdown after the occupation of the Rheinland by the French troops and the end of the electorate.

Keyboard instruments played by the young Beethoven outside Bonn In autumn 1783 Beethoven made the only concert tour of his youth, traveling with his mother to Rotterdam and 's-Gravenhage (Den Haag). Only in 1796 did he make a second and more extensive one to Prague, Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and – because of its success – to Preßburg (now Bratislava) and Budapest at the end of the year. He travelled once more to Prague in 1798 and to Budapest in 1800 for a concert with Johann Wenzel Stich, also known as Punto, the famous horn player. Apart from these, Beethoven seems to have preferred to avoid such very exhaustive tours.

On 23 November 1783, he played in 's-Gravenhage for Willem v, Prince of Orange-Nassau, governor of the Netherlands, and his wife Wilhelmine, who was a daughter of Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia and the sister of the later King Friedrich Wilhelm II, for whom Beethoven played in 1796; she was also the favourite niece of King Friedrich II, the Great. Beethoven got a reasonable payment of 12 ducats (approximately 63 guilders) from Willem v. We don't know which compositions he played or which instrument he used.⁵⁴ This concert, part of a series with changing guest soloists, was performed by the

51 His son of the same name became the publisher of Johannes Brahms.

52 Uta Goebel-Streicher: *Das Reisetagebuch des Klavierbauers Johann Baptist Streicher 1821–1822*, Tutzing 2009, pp. 91–95.

53 "Mit Clavieren sagte er, sey in dieser Gegend wenig zu machen; auch stund keines in Bonn, was ich hätte sehen können". *Ibid.*, p. 91.

54 The payment order for the concert with the remuneration for each musician: Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 386-01 (old nr. F 1, "Financien" No. 60), see the illustration in Ladenburger: *Beethoven auf Reisen*, p. 30. The order bears the signature of Count Sigismund Pieter Alexander van Heiden, the chamberlain of Willem v. It is possible that he was in personal contact with Caspar Anton van der Heyden, named Belderbusch, the omnipotent minister of state of Prince-electoral Maximilian Friedrich in Bonn. It seems likely that he mediated the chance for Beethoven to play for the Stadhouder. His nephew Carl Leopold Freiherr von Heiden, also known as Belderbusch zu Monzen und Streversdorf, may have offered Beethoven's later mentor and violin teacher Franz Anton Ries a cheap travel opportunity in his company to Vienna in summer 1779. See Michael Ladenburger: *A Four-Leaf Clover. A Newly Discovered Cello, the Premiere of the Ninth Symphony, Beethoven's Circle of Friends in Bonn, and a Corrected Edition of the Song "Ruf vom Berge"* WoO 147,

viola player Carl Stamitz and ten musicians (string players, two hornists and a trumpeter), mainly from the orchestra of Willem v.⁵⁵ It seems likely that Beethoven played his own compositions to impress his audience. If he played together with the orchestra, it may have already been a first version of his first Piano Concerto in E \flat major WoO 4 (on this occasion without flutes or with the flute part played by another instrument). As no oboists are listed on the payment order, the piano concertos by Neefe (1781) and Andrea Lucchesi (1773) are by no means out of the question.⁵⁶ Carl Stamitz's Piano Concerto in g minor (only with strings) or one of his chamber music compositions are in the running but are rather unlikely.⁵⁷ Beethoven may have started to compose his first piano concerto for this occasion and reworked it after his return.

There are several additions and corrections in the only existing musical source, a solo part with the orchestral sections in piano reduction with indications mainly of the wind instruments.⁵⁸ But it is also possible that he played solo; in that case, he most likely performed one of the *Kurfürsten Sonatas*, which were published just at that time. In any event, as explicitly mentioned on the payment order, Beethoven played a piano. Willem v himself owned and played a dulcimer (*Hackbrett*), built in 1769 by Antonio Battaglia in Milan, now in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.⁵⁹ In the archive of Willem v, there are inventories of some of his palaces, dated 1763/1764. For a certain time, concerts were given almost weekly – and sometimes more often – in the *Oranie Saal* in *Huis ten Bosch* or – more exceptionally – in the '*Aan Hoof*' in the *Stadhouderlijk Kwartier* (part of the *Buitenhof*), where Beethoven performed.⁶⁰ We only have an inventory of the *Stadhouderlijk*

in: *The New Beethoven. Evolution, Analysis, Interpretation*, ed. by Jeremy Yudkin, Rochester/Woodbridge 2020, pp. 50–77, here p. 73.

- 55 Michael Ladenburger: *Beethovens erster Konzertauftritt im Ausland – 's-Gravenhage* (Den Haag), 23. November 1783, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1z0sm8vpiBPqWoaY8kiC3reh5xo66Kff/view>.
- 56 Although Lucchesi's concerto is lost, we know from Breitkopf's thematic catalogue that the instrumentation included two oboes and two horns, see: *Supplement VIII, 1773*, p. 39 (*The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue. The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762–1787*, ed. by Barry S. Brook, New York 1966, p. 519).
- 57 It would be astonishing if Beethoven's first piano concerto at the time of the first performance would not have been a work in progress, as was the case with Opp. 15 and 19. On the other hand, he may have decided at some point, driven by his strong self-criticism, to stop the project and to wait some years before starting a new one, when he was at a better basic level as composer. As we see from his symphonies, string quartets and the early attempt at a violin concerto (WoO 5), in this phase of his musical development, he handled the musical genres of capital importance with special caution and scruple regarding publication.
- 58 Corrected copy with autograph title page, *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L. v., *Artaria 125*.
- 59 www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/BK-NM-11430-20.
- 60 For further concerts see Rudolf Rasch: *Muziek in de Republiek. Muziek en maatschappij in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1579–1795*, Utrecht 2018. The series drew a number of other musicians with

Kwartier from 1763. It had a music room with “an upright harpsichord or Pantalon”.⁶¹ It may have been an upright piano in the manner of those attributed to Christian Ernst Friederici in Gera.⁶² It's not clear whether it is the piano played by Beethoven. Maybe it was another one listed in another inventory but purchased after 1763.⁶³ There were additional keyboard instruments as we can see from the portrait of Princess Friederike Luise Wilhelmine of Orange-Nassau made by Johann Friedrich August Tischbein in 1788.⁶⁴

Conclusion We know a lot about Beethoven's interest in piano making and development in his Viennese years. He had discussions with some of the leading piano makers (documented in his conversation books during his last ten years), and he gathered new instruments for friends. In 1796, a Streicher instrument which was given on loan to Beethoven for a concert in Preßburg was not returned to Streicher but was sold on the

whom Beethoven had close contact later on, including George August Polgreen Bridgetower, who appeared in 1789, and Franz Clement, who performed in 1791. Bernhard Anton Romberg, who met Beethoven during his time in the Bonn court orchestra, performed with his son Bernhard and his nephew Andreas 1779 in Amsterdam and Arnhem.

- 61 “Een Staende Clavecimbael of Pantelon”. Archiv Willem v., Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 174.
- 62 See Latham: *Towards a New History of the Piano*, p. 119.
- 63 The organ and harpsichord maker Andries Veltman invoiced the tuning (and sometimes small repairs) of the keyboard instruments at the end of each month “Pour avoir accorde le pijano [sic] forte de Son Altesse Serenissime pendant un Moi[s]” and separately “dix accoor au clavecin”. The bills amount to 10 f (piano) and 20–30 f (clavecin), Archiv Willem v, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 386. Veltman (circa 1730–1796) took up residence in The Hague and was registered on 30 November 1761 as reformed, unmarried organ and “clavecijmbal” maker. He had spent time in Paris and seems to be the aforementioned Weltman who presented a method of changing registers and making a crescendo (on a harpsichord?) using “genouillères” (knee levers) to the Académie des Sciences in Paris. See Alan Curtis: *Dutch Harpsichord Makers*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Muziek* 1963, pp. 61 f. I am indebted to Gerard Tuinman for this information.
- 64 Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, BX 1970.8.5. See the reproduction in Rasch: *Muziek in de Republiek*, p. 44. She was the eldest child of Willem v. It shows her at a square piano or clavichord. A piano was delivered by a person named Weber for 64 f billed on a settlement on occasion of the musical entertainment (“Taffel muziek”) “op 3 Konings Abent” (on the eve of the Feast of Epiphany) on 5 January 1783 but presumably related to an earlier event, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 386, account of 13 January 1783. Music played an important role in the family, as can be seen from the fact that Willem's older sister Karoline of Orange-Nassau-Diez was in personal contact with Mozart, who dedicated his six piano sonatas K. 26–31 to her. She informed her brother occasionally about the musical development of her children and music-making within the home, during which they played on “clavecin”, see letter of 3 March 1780, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 463.

spot for a higher price because Beethoven had played on it.⁶⁵ The foundation for Beethoven's interest was laid in his youth – mainly in Bonn but also in Augsburg and elsewhere –, and these early experiences had already been reflected and precipitated in his first works for what would become his instrument, the piano.

65 See, for instance, Beethoven's letters to Johann Andreas Streicher, [Wien, August/September 1796], (No. 22), resp. Preßburg, 19 November 1796, (No. 23), in: Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996/1997, Vol. 1, pp. 31–33.

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