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In January 1846 after a performance of Ludwig van Beethoven's Piano Trio Op. 97 in Leopold Jansa's chamber music series, a reviewer (signing himself Philokales) mused upon the problem of interpretation. He observed:

"[...] the performance of Beethoven's works gives rise to such completely opposing views, that at the present day every individual musician has a different opinion about the solution of this disagreement, which he tries, as best he can, to resolve. So, I believe, one can only ever speak about an approximately correct interpretation of a piece of music, (particularly one of Beethoven's, almost all of which rise so immeasurably far above everything of the same kind that previously existed). And it is precisely here, in my opinion, that the artists who come nearest to the ideal, are those whose way of performing any composition is based as closely as possible on the creator's tradition for this particular composition."<sup>1</sup>

The occasion for his rumination was a last-minute change in personnel. Carl Czerny was to have played, but was indisposed, and Carl Maria von Bocklet substituted for him.<sup>2</sup> The disappointed reviewer regretted the substitution, because, as he noted in a subsequent article, "it is really a very long time since Czerny last appeared publicly as a pianist";<sup>3</sup> and he explained that "it would have been of the greatest interest to any real musician to hear the aforementioned B♭ major trio by Czerny, the only living pupil of the great Beethoven."<sup>4</sup> He was convinced that Czerny was one of those artists for whom the "inherited

- 1 "[...] namentlich ist es der Vortrag Beethoven'scher Tonwerke, über welchen so ganz entgegengesetzte Ansichten obwalten, daß bis zur Stunde jeder einzelne Musiker eine von den Übrigen seines Gleichen wesentlich verschiedene Meinung bezüglich der Lösung dieser Streitfrage aufstellt und so gut als es in seinen Kräften steht, vertritt. Es kann also, wie ich glaube, immer nur von einer approximativ-richtigen Auffassung eines Tonwerkes (und namentlich eines Beethoven'schen von denen fast jedes Einzelne sich so unendlich weit über Alles in derselben Art früher Dagewesene erhebt) die Rede sein. Und eben da kommen, meines Dafürhaltens, diejenigen Künstler dem Ideale noch am nächsten, deren Vortragsweise irgend einer Composition sich auf die möglichst genaue Tradition des Schöpfers eben dieser Composition stützt." Philokales: Sechste und letzte Quartettsoirée des Hrn. Jansa, am 18. Jänner 1846, in: *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 6 (1846), p. 34. All translations by the present author, if not otherwise stated.
- 2 The reviewer later learned, as he explained in a subsequent article, that Bocklet had played the work for Beethoven in the 1820s, apparently to the latter's satisfaction (though of course Beethoven's deafness was by then almost total), but he remained disappointed not to have heard Czerny. See Philokales: Erklärung, in: *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 6 (1846), p. 56.
- 3 "[...] es ist wirklich sehr lange her, seit Czerny zum letzten Male öffentlich als Clavierspieler auftrat". Ibid.
- 4 "[...] wäre es auch für jeden echten Musiker von dem höchsten Interesse gewesen, das genannte B-dur-Trio von Czerny, dem einzigen noch lebenden Schüler des großen Beethoven vortragen zu hören". Philokales: Sechste und letzte Quartettsoirée, p. 34.

Barry Cooper

## Beethoven's Pedal Marks Revisited

Beethoven's pedal marks have been the subject of several brief studies in the past, notably by William S. Newman and David Rowland, and more recently by Leonardo Miucci.<sup>1</sup> A more comprehensive study has now been completed by Chi-fang Cheng, who worked with the present writer examining all Beethoven's pedal marks, including those in his songs and folksong settings, which had never previously been considered.<sup>2</sup> She documented the pedal marks and provided a useful checklist of almost all the works that contain them. However, the ideas offered in the present paper are my own, although she was able to incorporate many of them into her dissertation. Unlike Rowland's study, which concentrated on Beethoven's pedalling practice in performance, the present one concentrates on the pedal marks in the scores themselves (just the damper pedal, not the *una corda* indications), and it addresses a series of questions.

**Earliest indications of dampers** The first question is, which works contain Beethoven's earliest pedal marks – or rather, indications of removal of dampers? Whereas French and English piano makers had begun building a pedal for damper removal by the 1790s, on Viennese pianos of that date dampers were normally removed by knee levers, and so Beethoven's earliest markings were bound to indicate damper removal rather than actual pedal. There has been considerable confusion in the literature concerning the dates of these markings,<sup>3</sup> and the earliest ones appear amongst his sketches rather than his finished compositions. Miucci has found five references in the *Kafka Sketch Miscellany*, which covers the period 1786–1799, as follows:<sup>4</sup>

- 1 William S. Newman: *Beethoven on Beethoven. Playing His Piano Music His Way*, New York 1988, pp. 231–252; David Rowland: *Beethoven's Pianoforte Pedalling*, in: *Performing Beethoven*, ed. by Robin Stowell, Cambridge 1994, pp. 49–69; Leonardo Miucci: *Beethoven's Pianoforte Damper Pedalling. A Case of Double Notational Style*, in: *Early Music* 47 (2019), pp. 371–392.
- 2 Chi-fang Cheng: *Beethoven's Pedal Markings*, PhD dissertation, University of Manchester 2020.
- 3 Tilman Skowronek, for example, suggests that Beethoven's first pedal markings, other than sketches, appeared in his first two piano concertos in versions from 1795 and in his Piano Sonata Op. 26, which dates from 1801. See his *Beethoven the Pianist*, Gothenburg 2007, p. 332. The dates he gives for the concerto manuscripts derive from Newman: *Beethoven on Beethoven*, p. 233.
- 4 Miucci: *Damper Pedalling*, pp. 377–381; see also *Ludwig van Beethoven. Autograph Miscellany from circa 1786 to 1799*, ed. by Joseph Kerman, London 1970, where the sketches were first transcribed.

variety of arpeggiations that were in use during the era, probably including the practice of arpeggiating several times up and down when the word *arpeggio* was appended to chords of long value (see C. P. E. Bach's advice above). It is reasonable to assume that this means of filling in texture on pianos that did not have a long sustain would also be applied in the absence of the word. Yet, in the mid-nineteenth century, the practice was recommended also on pianos with longer sustain. With reference to J. S. Bach's *Chromatic Fantasy* BWV 903 in 1848, Adolf Bernhard Marx mentioned an oral tradition that promoted this practice:

"When we wish to emphasise particular chords even in our full sounding instruments we do not play the notes exactly together, but rather in a quick arpeggio, whilst holding down all the keys [see Figure 1a]; on the weaker sounding instruments of Bach's time, this method of playing must have been even more necessary – perhaps with an even slower arpeggiation, possibly also descending again to freshen those notes which had faded [see Figure 1b]."<sup>42</sup>



FIGURE 1 Adolf Bernhard Marx's explanation of the arpeggiation of chords of long duration in Bach's *Chromatic Fantasy* BWV 903

As late as 1918, the *Klavier-Lexikon* by Walter Niemann mentioned this type of arpeggiation practice (notably not indicated by a sign) labelling it as an older ornament (Figures 2 and 3).<sup>43</sup>



FIGURES 2 AND 3 Walter Niemann's explanation of the arpeggiation of chords of long duration

<sup>42</sup> "Schon auf unseren klangvollen Instrumenten geben wir Akkorde, die mächtig hervortreten sollen, nicht mit genau gleichzeitigem Anschlag an, sondern in reissend schneller Brechung, unter Festhalten aller Töne [...]; bei den klangarmen Instrumenten der bach'schen Zeit muss diese Spielweise – und vielleicht langsamere Brechung, vielleicht selbst ein theilweises Zurückgehen, um die verklungenen Töne wieder anzufrischen – noch viel nothwendiger gewesen sein." Adolf Bernhard Marx: *Seb. Bach's chromatische Fantasie. Einige Bemerkungen*, in: *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 50 (1848), cols. 33–41, here cols. 36 f. (footnote). See also Gerhard: *Willkürliches Arpeggieren*, p. 125, and Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 114–117.

<sup>43</sup> Walter Niemann: *Klavier-Lexikon*, Leipzig 1918, p. 46.



FIGURE 17A Beethoven: Piano Sonata  
in f minor Op. 2 No. 1/1, bars 27–30

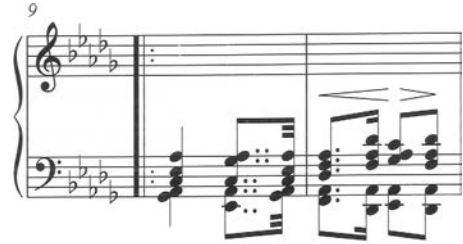


FIGURE 17B Beethoven: Piano Sonata  
in f minor Op. 57/11, bars 9–10

may suggest a slight acceleration without excessive accents that may disrupt the melodic flow. In Figure 17b, on the other hand, the hairpin seems to imply a slight stretching of time over the chords.

**Sforzando** Scholarly literature on the subject of accentuation is extensive; especially the studies by Brown and Rosenblum provide detailed codification of accents based on their roles in the context of the music. Based on Rosenblum's detailed classification, the accent marks commonly found in Beethoven's piano works – *fp*, *sf*, *sfp* and *rin<sup>f</sup>* (or *rinforzando*) – are considered as 'qualitative' accents which call for varying degrees of emphasis in volume (i. e., dynamics) and varying degrees of note values (i. e., rhythms) according to the context of the music. The concept of 'qualitative' accents is possibly related to declamatory style in which each syllable or word is given a different emphasis. C. P. E. Bach stated in his Essay that it would be a mistake for an orator "to place an impressive accent on every word, [as] everything would be alike and consequently unclear". Furthermore, Bach suggested lengthening certain notes and rests as a means of evoking declamatory style.<sup>33</sup>

Since the *sf* is the most common accent mark in Beethoven's piano music, various musical significations of *sf* are illustrated below.

33 "Widrigensfals würde ich denselben Fehler begehen, in den ein Redner fällt, welcher auf jedes Wort einen nachdrücklichen Accent legen wollte; alles würde einerley und folglich undeutlich werden." Bach: Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen. Erster Theil, pp. 59, 129. English: Bach: Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments, pp. 81, 160–162.



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.<sup>21</sup>

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. 31r/v and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 31r/v.





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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> However,

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>31</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 23 f.



Shelfmark	Format	Number of leaves	Paper type (ITW 1985)	Number of staves	Date (catalogue entry)	Date (Literature)	Proposed date
D-BNba BH 125 <sup>22</sup>	desk	1 (fragment)	38	8 of 20	1817/1818		
US-PRScheide 132 <sup>23</sup>	desk	4	44 <sup>2</sup>	16	ca 1819		May/June 1818
A-Wgm A 45	pocket	36	35	12		April to June or July 1818 <sup>24</sup> – Mid May 1818 to July 1818 <sup>25</sup>	
US-Wc ML30.8b.B4	desk	4	44	16	1817 <sup>2</sup>		May–July 1818
A-Wgm A 44	desk, pocket	14 (+3 desk leaves)	35	16 12		July/August 1818 <sup>26</sup>	
PL-Kj Mendelssohn-Stiftung 2 (partly belonging to A-Wgm 44)	pocket	28	35 <sup>2</sup>	Different numbers of staves		July/August 1818	
D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 54 <sup>28</sup>	desk	1 (fragment)	41 <sup>27</sup>	10 of 16	1818 (summer/fall)		summer 1818
D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 58 <sup>29</sup>	desk	1	44	16	1818 (summer/fall)		
US-PRScheide 131 <sup>30</sup>	desk	6	38; 2; 33	8; 20; 12; 10; 16	1818 <sup>2</sup>		summer/fall 1818
D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v., Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16 <sup>31</sup>	desk	8	41	16	1818 (Fall)		July–Fall 1818

22 Permalink of ms. D-BNba BH 125: [www.beethoven.de/de/s/catalogs?opac=hans\\_de.pl&\\_dokid=ha:wm84](http://www.beethoven.de/de/s/catalogs?opac=hans_de.pl&_dokid=ha:wm84).

23 Permalink of ms. US-PRScheide 132: <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/5h73q066m>.

24 Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, p. 351.

25 Gertsch: Ludwig van Beethovens “Hammerklavier”-Sonate, p. 70.

26 Ibid.

27 Paper type identified by Brenneis for the RISM catalogue entry 464001321.

28 RISM ID no. of ms. D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 54: 464001321. Catalogue entry by Clemens Brenneis. Digitisation: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001788700000000>.

29 RISM ID no. of ms. D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 58: 464000847. Catalogue entry by Clemens Brenneis. Digitisation: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00014A6600000000>.

30 Permalink of ms. US-PRScheide 131: <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/9880vv59s>.

31 RISM ID no. of ms. D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v., Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16: 464001324. Catalogue entry by Clemens Brenneis. Digitisation: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001787400000000>.

TABLE 3 Concordances between A-wgm A 45 and US-wc ML30.8b.B4

A-wgm a 45	US-wc ML30.8b.B4	Contents
fol. 17v, st. 11/12	p. 1, st. 10/11	Stretto on the head of the fugue theme
fol. 19r, st. 11/12	p. 1, st. 13/14	Fugue theme accompanied by broken chords in sixteenths
fol. 19v, st. 1/2	p. 1, st. 14	Sequence on the head of the fugue theme
fol. 19v, st. 3–7	p. 1, st. 15/16	Strettos on the head of the fugue theme
fol. 20v, st. 8/9	p. 2, st. 1/2	Stretto on the head of the fugue theme
fol. 21r, st. 2–11	p. 2, st. 1–6	Episode in B major/E major
fol. 21v, st. 1–4	p. 2, st. 7/8	Fugue theme accompanied by arpeggios in sixteenths

The US-wc manuscript in turn shows a link with another source in desk format, US-PRscheide 131; however, the concordance is limited to only two sketches:

TABLE 4 Concordances between US-wc ML30.8b.B4 and US-PRscheide 131

US-wc ML30.8b.B4	US-PRscheide 131	Contents
p. 1, st. 4	fol. 2v, st. 7/8	Countersubject with syncopated figurations
p. 1, st. 5 and 7	fol. 2v, st. 4	Chromatic sequence with the head of the fugue theme

The link between the two manuscripts offers a clarification of the dating of US-PRscheide 131. The catalogue entry proposes 1818 with a question mark, but a dating of summer/fall 1818 appears to be more exact, suggested by the connection with A 45 and also by another sketch for the transition to the fugue in a very advanced stage to which I will return later.

Another manuscript preserved at Princeton, US-PRscheide 132, shows a connection to A 45 and Scheide 131. In Scheide 132, as in A 45, we find a formulation of the fugue exposition in which the subject, after the sixteenth-note scales, continues with eighth-note triplets. The corresponding passages in the two manuscripts are sometimes so similar that in this case, as in that of US-wc, it seems that Beethoven used Scheide 132, at least in part, to write out the sketches after the first annotations in pocket format. The date suggested in the catalogue entry of the library is around 1819, but the above-mentioned considerations and the stage of the transition to the fugue – not as advanced as in Scheide 131 – suggest for Scheide 132 a dating between May and June 1818.

The connection between A 45 and the manuscript in desk format D-B Landsberg 9 consists of some identical sketches dedicated to combinations of the head of the fugue theme and the sixteenth notes of the theme itself.



FIGURE 2B The French title page of Op. 31/1–2  
D-BNba J. Van der Spek c op. 31 (Beethoven-Haus Bonn)

not send him a third one to fill the volume, even if he otherwise gave out his works free of charge. Perhaps the third capriccio turned out to be for piano four hands and – because it didn't fit the series – was printed separately as Op. 3.<sup>49</sup> Nägeli had also asked Dussek for new works late in 1802, but Dussek did not accept, feeling bound to his German publishers Breitkopf & Härtel.<sup>50</sup> Nägeli then asked Clementi for works by Dussek to distribute on the continent, and, in 1804, sent in exchange Beethoven's Op. 31/3 and Joseph Wölfl's Sonata in c minor (from volumes 11 and 12 respectively); while Clementi reprinted Nägeli's editions, in the end, no new volume with works by Dussek entered the series.<sup>51</sup> Clementi himself had actually promised to compose new works especially for the "Répertoire":

49 RISM A/I AA 2502 III,79, AA 2502 III,82 and AA 2502 III,80 (for four hands). See the letter by Nägeli to Johann Jacob Horner in Paris, Zurich, 18 July 1802, CH-ZZ Ms. Car xv 196.27.2.

50 Max Ernst Unger: Vom Musikverleger H. G. Nägeli, in: Schweizerische Musikzeitung und Sängerblatt 63 (1923), pp. 193 f., 209 f., 225 f.; Roner: Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis, p. 109.

FIGURE 1 A trimmed-down version of Riedler's organ in the Bonn Schloßkirche [?], section of a memorial page on the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> 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"<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> "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.

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.<sup>20</sup>



**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).



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).

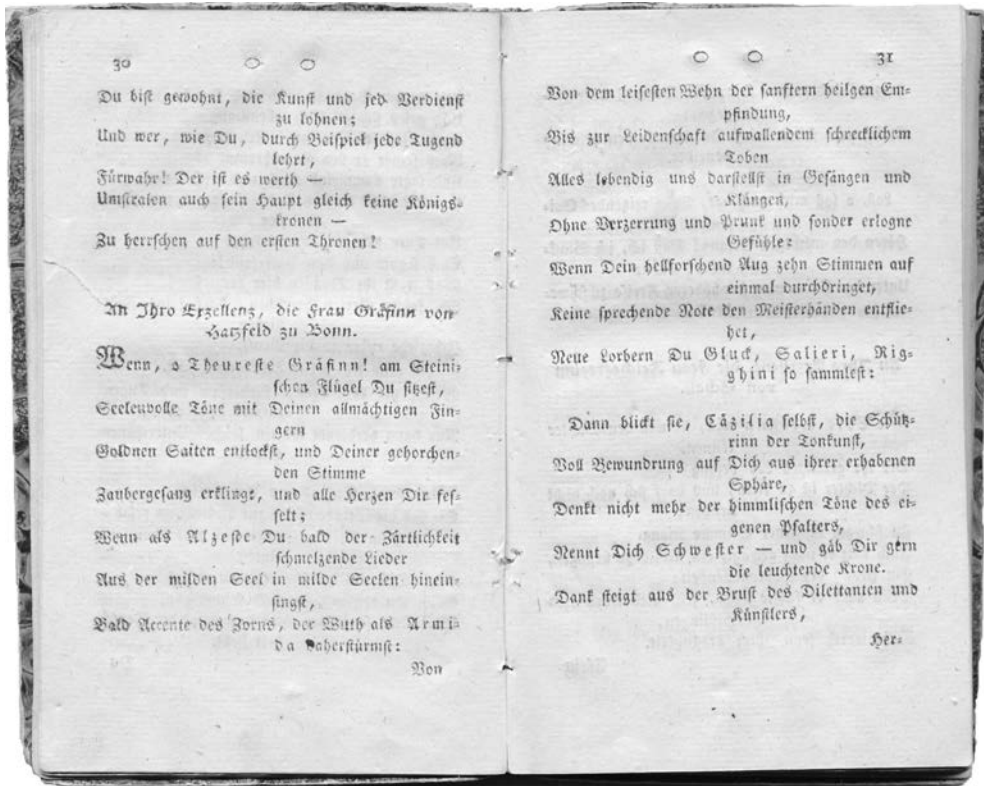


FIGURE 6 Christian Gottlob Neefe: *Dilettanterien*, [Bonn] 1785 (Archiv des Rhein-Sieg-Kreises)

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-

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