BEETHOVEN'S ORGAN WORKS

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This thesis, by Weldon Lavon Whipple, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Music of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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PREFACE

The question of establishing a corpus of Ludwig van Beethoven's organ works has never been systematically treated. This is due in part to the difficulty of establishing the medium of some works and to the problem of deciding which pieces—though established as works for other media—can be legitimately performed as organ works.

The Beethoven <u>Gesamtausgabe</u>, published in the nineteenth century, included only three organ works, composed while Beethoven was an organist at Bonn.

In 1865 Alexander Wheelock Thayer introduced the first two of a series of pieces for mechanical clock (WoO 33, nos. 4-5). The mechanical genre was further expanded in 1901 when Albert Kopfermann identified three more pieces for mechanical organ (WoO 33, nos. 1-3). Two additional pieces for mechanical clock (Hess 107 and the Adagio for Mechanical Secretary) were announced by Georg Kinsky in 1926, bringing the total of mechanical works to seven.

In 1938 the corpus increased to thirteen with the publication of three organ trios edited by Charles Tournemire. A fourth trio, edited by Marcel Dupré, was published in 1942.

A fourth group of works has recently attracted notice through the work of Wilhelm and Karl Krumbach, who included

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three works not previously associated with the organ (WoO 55, Hess 64, and Fugue Cycle in D Minor) in their recording of Beethoven's complete organ works.

In this thesis three other works are discussed in relation to the organ for the first time: <u>Wellington's Sieg</u> for Panharmonicon (Hess 108), the Prelude in C Major (Hess 310), and a sketch headed "Orgel Variationen."

Scholarship has not dealt with this increase in the number of Beethoven's organ works. In the case of a large corpus of compositions (e.g., Beethoven's piano music or Haydn's orchestral music), an increase of seventeen works during one century might not drastically affect general conclusions regarding the genre. When a body of only three works increases to twenty, however, many original conclusions are potentially altered.

This thesis will deal with the question of establishing a corpus of legitimate Beethoven organ works. In so doing, all pertinent manuscripts and published sources will be consulted in order to establish or confute the legitimacy of each work. Those found to be valid organ works will be given a full stylistic analysis.

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CHAPTER I

BEETHOVEN AND THE ORGAN: EARLY

TRAINING AND BACKGROUND

If he is a master of his instrument I rank an organist amongst the first of virtuosi. I too, played the organ a great deal when I was young, but my nerves would not stand the power of the gigantic instrument.

Ludwig van Beethoven¹

Beethoven's association with the organ began at an early age and lasted only a few years. In this respect his development was like that of Mozart, Schubert, Dvořák, and other musicians. Though of short duration, his period as organist was an important influence on his musical development.

Beethoven's Earliest Organ Instruction

The matter of Beethoven's earliest organ instruction is still unresolved. His first lessons were probably from the elderly Heinrich van den Eeden, Bonn court organist.²

¹Friedrich Kerst and Henry Edward Krehbiel, eds., Beethoven: The Man and the Artist, as Revealed in His Own <u>Words</u> (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Dover, 1964), p. 38.

²William Leslie Sumner, "Beethoven and the Organ," <u>Musical Opinion</u> 93 (March 1970): 323, states that Beethoven's first organ lessons from van den Eeden were at the age of nine.

Although the court records show that the young Beethoven studied music with him, they do not specifically indicate that those studies included the organ. It is this lack of documentation that has led Alexander Wheelock Thayer, in <u>Thayer's Life of Beethoven</u>, to maintain that van den Eeden "taught the boy chiefly pianoforte playing, he being a master in that art."³

If he did in fact study organ with van den Eeden, Beethoven must not have been very satisfied, for during the same period he sought instruction from Friar Willibald Koch, a respected organist at the cloister of the Franciscan monks in Bonn. He apparently progressed rapidly, and Koch soon accepted him as an assistant.⁴

At the age of twelve,⁵ Beethoven sought out Father Hanzmann, organist at the fourteenth-century cloister of the Minor Friars.⁶ Through Hanzmann's friendship and encouragement Beethoven became organist for the six o'clock morning mass.⁷

³Elliot Forbes, ed., <u>Theyer's Life of Beethoven</u>, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), 1:60-61 (hereafter cited as Theyer-Forbes).

⁴Cecil Austin, "Beethoven et l'orgue," <u>Revue musicale</u> 18 (1937): 234.

⁵Id., "Beethoven and the Organ," <u>Musical Times</u> 80 (1939): 525-26.

⁶Now known as St. Remigius Church. Sumner, p. 323. The author has been unable to locate Hanzmann's christian name in available sources.

⁷Thayer-Forbes, 1:61. See also Austin, "Beethoven and the Organ," pp. 525-26.

Thayer writes that Beethoven may have studied organ with Zensen,⁸ organist at the Münster Church in Bonn. According to Heinrich Theisen, a fellow student, the youth was even then writing pieces too difficult for his small hands.⁹

Christian Gottlob Neefe, van den Eeden's successor, was Beethoven's most important teacher of the Bonn period.¹⁰ Neefe possessed a solid understanding of music theory, acquired through persevering study of the works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg; he was also an excellent practical musician, as shown by his professional positions. In Leipzig he had met the famous Johann Adam Hiller, director of the Gewandhaus concerts. In 1777 Hiller gave Neefe a position as musical director of Seyler's Theatrical Company, then in Dresden.¹¹ A short time later two of the company's leading members, Karl Hellmuth and G. FriedrichGrossmann, accepted an engagement with Elector Max Friedrich to set up a similar troupe in Bonn. When Seyler

⁸Also spelled Zenser. Zensen's christian name is not recorded in available sources.

⁹Thayer-Forbes, 1:62. Theisen stated that Beethoven was ten years old; assuming the age to be exact, the year was therefore 1781 or 1783. 1783 is a possibility because Beethoven himself thought he was born in 1772, the year given in contemporary biographical notices. Only after his fortieth year did he realize that his birthday was in 1770. Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁰Information on Beethoven's organ studies thus far discussed is mainly second-hand. After this earliest period, however, his studies are more easily documented.

¹¹Thayer-Forbes, 1:35. Seyler's christian name is not recorded in available sources.

went bankrupt in August 1779, his employees sought work elsewhere. Neefe obtained a position as musical director of the Grossmann company in Bonn, whose season opened 3 December 1779.¹² He became court organist 15 February 1781.¹³ Beethoven probably became Neefe's pupil sometime between 1781 and June 1782, when Beethoven is first recorded playing organ at the court chapel.

Beethoven and the Electoral Chapel

Substitute organist

The Grossmann company made yearly tours from Bonn to nearby cities during the summer months. It was on one of these occasions that Beethoven is first recorded substituting for Neefe.

"On this day, June 20, 1782," Neefe writes of himself and the Grossmann company, "we entered upon our journey to Münster, whither the Elector also went. The day before my predecessor, Court Organist van den Eeden, was buried; I received permission, however, to leave my duties in the hands of a vicar to go along to Westphalia and thence to Michaelmas fair at Frankfurt." The Düsseldorf documents prove that this vicar was Ludwig van Beethoven, now just eleven and a half years of age.¹⁴

Apparently Neefe had intended for the retired van den Eeden to be his second-the latter had likely served during Neefe's tour of the previous summer. With the former court organist dead, Beethoven had to substitute quite unexpectedly. Even with sufficient time to prepare, substituting for Neefe would

¹²Ibid., pp. 28-30. ¹³Ibid., p. 25. ¹⁴Ibid., p. 65.

have been no easy task, judging from the service schedule in the court calendar:

On all Sundays and regular festivals high mass at 11 a.m. and vespers at 3 (sometimes 4) p.m. The vespers will be sung throughout in <u>Capellis solemnibus</u> by the musicians of the electoral court, the middle vespers will be sung by the court clergy and musicians in plain chant with the exception of the <u>Magnificat</u>, which will be performed in concerted music. On all Wednesdays in Lent the <u>Miserere</u> will be sung by the chapel at 5 p.m. and on all Fridays the <u>Stabat Mater</u>. Every Saturday at 3 p.m. the Litanies at the altar of our Lady of Laretto. Every day throughout the year two masses will be read, the one at 9, the other at 11--on Sundays the latter at 10.¹⁵

Beethoven filled Neefe's post very admirably during his absence. On one occasion his improvisation before the Credo was especially beautiful—so beautiful that even though it was much too lengthy, no one asked him to stop.¹⁶

In 1783 Beethoven's duties increased. When Kapellmeister Andreas Lucchesi was granted a leave 26 April 1783, Neefe assumed his responsibilities,¹⁷ and Beethoven was given more opportunity to substitute for his teacher. Furthermore, the twelve-year-old was by now playing for the early services at the Minorite Church.

Second court organist

In the summer of 1783 Beethoven again assumed Neefe's duties while Neefe toured with the Grossmann company.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 68.
¹⁶Austin, "Beethoven and the Organ," p. 527.
¹⁷Thayer-Forbes, 1:68.

Beethoven "still had no recognition as [a] member of the court chapel, not even as 'accessist'¹⁸..., and consequently no salary from the court."¹⁹ When Neefe returned from the tour, Beethoven petitioned Elector Max Friedrich for an appointment. An appointment was granted in early 1784, but no salary was prescribed. Six months later, on 15 April 1784, the elector died, and all the musicians were dismissed.²⁰

The new elector, Max Franz, upon reaching Bonn requested three reports: 1) a list of all members of the court chapel, 2) a description of the singers and players, with a summary of their capabilities, and 3) recommendations on a reduction of their salaries.²¹ These reports nearly destroyed Neefe's career in Bonn. Following are the contents of the first two reports on Neefe and Beethoven:

Christ. Gottlob Neefe, age 36, born at Chemnitz; married, his wife is 32, born at Gotha, has two daughters in the electorate, aged 5 and 2, has served three years, was formerly Kapellmeister with Seiler; salary 400 fl. Christian Neffe [sic], the organist, in my humble opinion might well be dismissed, inasmuch as he is not particularly versed on the organ, moreover is a foreigner, having no <u>Meritten</u> whatever and of the Calvinist religion. Ludwig van Beethoven, age 13, born at Bonn, has served two years, no salary.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 70-71. ²⁰Ibid. ²¹Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁸Thayer describes the office of accessist as a provisional appointment that became permanent only after a demonstration of competency or when the death or resignation of a permanent member created a vacancy. Such positions were sought by aspiring musicians as stepping-stones to a musical career. Though they received no official salary, there are indications that accessists may have received some sort of remuneration. Ibid., p. 10.

Ludwig Betthoven [sic], a son of the Betthoven sub No. 8, has no salary, but during the absence of the Kapellmeister Luchesy he played the organ, is of good capability, still young, of good and quiet deportment and poor.²²

The reports must have stunned Neefe. It seems unlikely that a trained musician could have written these statements about Neefe. They were probably written by a lesser court functionary who was intolerant of Neefe's Calvinist beliefs. The third report recommended that Neefe be replaced by Beethoven:

If Neffe [sic] were to be dismissed another organist would have to be appointed, who, if he were to be used only in the chapel²³ could be had for 150 florins, the same is small, young, and a son of one of the court <u>musici</u>, and in case of need has filled the place for nearly a year very well.²⁴

The result was a compromise. On the court roster of salaries dated 27 June 1784, Neefe is listed as organist with a salary of 200 florins (a sizable reduction from his earlier salary of 400 florins); Beethoven is listed as organist with a salary of 150 florins.²⁵ Consequently Neefe began searching for other employment with a more livable income. Before he

²²Ibid., pp. 78-79.

²³By this time Beethoven also frequently played continuo with the court orchestra.

²⁴Thayer-Forbes, 1:79.

²⁵A number of secondary sources maintain that Count Ferdinand Ernst von Waldstein persuaded the elector to appoint Beethoven as second organist. Stanley Lucas, "Beethoven and the Organ," <u>Musical Opinion</u> 50 (1927): 704; Anton Felix Schindler, <u>Beethoven as I Knew Him</u>, ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 40. Forbes, however, disagrees: "When Beethoven received his appointment as second organist in 1784, the Count was in Malta." Thayer-Forbes, 1:92.

could locate another job, however, the elector recognized his merits and restored his former salary on 8 February 1785.²⁶

Further Accounts of Beethoven's Organ Playing

Accounts of Beethoven's playing attest to his skill as an organist. An anecdote recorded by Franz Gerhard Wegeler tells of his improvised accompaniment to the Lamentations of Jeremiah during Holy Week sometime between 1790 and 1792.²⁷ They were sung by Ferdinand Heller, apparently one of the court musicians. Beethoven, accompanying at the piano (the organ being banned)²⁸ asked Heller,

who sat with unusual firmness in the tonal saddle, if he would permit him to throw him out [of the saddle, that is], and utilized the somewhat too readily granted permission to introduce so wide an excursion in the accompaniment while persistently striking the reciting note with his little finger, that the singer got so bewildered that he could not find the closing cadence. . . . Kapellmeister Lucchesi . . . was astonished by Beethoven's playing. In his first access of rage Heller entered a complaint against Beethoven with the Elector, who commanded a simpler accompaniment,

²⁷Although Wegeler dates the occurrence as 1785, Joseph Schmidt-Görg, in "Ein neuer Fund in den Skizzenbüchern Beethovens: Die Lamentationen des Propheten Jeremias," <u>Beethoven-Jahrbuch</u>, neue Folge, zweite Reihe, 3 (1957-58): 109-10, convincingly places the date as 1790-92.

²⁸Tbid., p. 109, points out that indeed the organ was not used, that the accompaniment "wohl aber an klavierartigen Instrumenten gebräuchlich war." See also Joseph Kerman, ed., Ludwig van Beethoven: Autograph Miscellany from Circa 1786 to 1799: British Museum Additional Manuscript 29801, ff. 39-162 (the "Kafka Sketchbook"), 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 1970), 1:96r, 2:131-33, 287.

²⁶Ibid., p. 79.

although the spirited and occasionally waggish young prince was amused at the occurrence.²⁹

Another account is related by a Professor Doctor Wurzer,³⁰ an electoral counsellor in Bonn who met Beethoven during a visit to Godesberger Brunnen in the summer of 1790 or 1791. Wurzer told Beethoven of the newly renovated church at the Marienforst cloister near Godesberg, and of its new, or at least remodelled, organ. The composer accepted his invitation to improvise at the church. Beethoven's improvisations moved Wurzer and his party, and the

poor laboring folk who were cleaning out the débris left by the work of repair, were so greatly affected by the music that they put down their implements and listened with amazement and obvious pleasure.³¹

There are two further accounts of Beethoven's organ playing during the Bonn period. On several occasions Beethoven spent a few weeks with the von Breuning family at their summer vacation house in Kerpen, a village between Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. According to Gerhard von Breuning the composer often played the organ at the church there.³² Another tradition relates that the young Beethoven played the organ in the abbey at Siegburg, a city occasionally visited by Beethoven and his father and friends.³³

³¹Thayer-Forbes, 1:100. ³²Ibid., p. 93. ³³Ibid., pp. 62-63.

²⁹Thayer-Forbes, 1:81-82. Beethoven's sketch for the accompaniment is found in London, British Museum, <u>Additional</u> 29801, f. 96r.

³⁰Wurzer's christian name is not given in available sources.

During the summer of 1821, Friedrich Starke, a Viennese regimental bandmaster, visited Beethoven in Unterdöbling. When he learned that Beethoven had studied organ in his youth, Starke asked him to improvise. They went to the Johannes Church in Döbling, where Beethoven improvised two preludes, the first <u>con amore</u> and the second fugal. The rendition continued for nearly a half hour.³⁴

Beethoven's Organ Career Ends

The Döbling incident followed a long period of separation from the organ. After Beethoven left Bonn in 1792 he abandoned the organ in favor of the piano. This was an outgrowth of the broadening of musical roles during his years in Bonn—his duties had grown to include composition and performance on organ, piano, cembalo, and viola.³⁵ Although he officially retained his position as court organist for several years after going to Vienna, Beethoven determined that his success there lay in piano virtuosity.³⁶

Beethoven's organ background influenced his piano technique. His application of legato organ technique to the piano created a style unknown to most contemporary pianists, who played non-legato. Beethoven's opponents ridiculed his

³⁴Summer, p. 325. See also Austin, "Beethoven and the Organ," p. 525.

³⁵Thayer-Forbes, 1:95.

³⁶Austin, "Beethoven et l'orgue," p. 238.

heavy touch. His proponents, however, praised his expressive legato interpretation of slow movements.³⁷

Conclusion

Although Beethoven abandoned the organ when he went to Vienna, his association with the instrument affected his musical style and development. Neefe was his most influential teacher during the Bonn period and offered Beethoven his first systematic musical study. This training helped establish the methodical patterns Beethoven followed throughout his life. In 1793 Beethoven wrote to Neefe: "I thank you for the advice you have very often given me about making progress in my divine art. Should I ever become a great man, you too will have a share in my success."³⁸

³⁷Id., "Beethoven and the Organ," p. 527.

³⁸Emily Anderson, trans. and ed., <u>The Letters of</u> <u>Beethoven</u>, 3 vols. (New York: St. Martin's, 1961), 1:9.

CHAPTER II

ORGAN WORKS OF THE BONN PERIOD

Beethoven wrote three organ works while studying under Neefe in Bonn: the two-voice Fugue in D Major (WoO 31) and two Preludes through the Major Keys, op. 39, nos. 1-2. They are the only organ compositions published in Beethoven's <u>Gesamtausgabe¹</u> and the only ones generally accepted as organ works.

Fugue in D Major (WoO 31)

Origin

The two-voice Fugue in D Major, Beethoven's earliest extant organ work, was composed in Bonn in 1783.² Beethoven probably played the piece at his examination for the post of second court organist in February 1784.³

Manuscript

<u>History</u>. A manuscript for the Fugue in D Major is listed in the catalog of Beethoven's estate under item 171:

³Thayer-Forbes, 1:68.

¹Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Werke</u>, 25 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1862-88; reprint ed., Ann Arbor: Edwards, 1949), series 25, no. 309; series 18, no. 184.

²Gustav Nottebohm, <u>Beethoven's Studien: Beethoven's</u> <u>Unterricht bei J. Haydn, Albrechtsberger und Salieri</u> (Leipzig and Winterthur: J. Rieter-Biedermann, 1873; reprint ed., Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1971), p. 10.

"2 vollständige Manuscripte vom 12ten Jahre des Compositeurseine Fuge und ein Concert für's Pianoforte." The Viennese publisher Domenico Artaria purchased a large portion of Beethoven's estate, including the two manuscripts which he obtained for two florins. In 1901 the Artaria collection was given to the Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek (now the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek [DDR]),⁴ which retained it until 1945. In that year a large number of manuscripts, including the Fugue in D Major (identified as Manuscript Artaria 124), were moved to the Westdeutsche Bibliothek (now the Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz) in Marburg.⁵ Artaria 124 has recently been relocated in the Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin.⁶

<u>Description</u>. The original autograph is not extant. Artaria 124 is an early fair copy in an unknown hand. The manuscript consists of two folios in oblong format. Folios lr and 2v are six-stave paper; ff. lv and 2r are eight-stave paper. Folio lr, the title-page, reads: "Eine Zweistimmige / Fuge / verfertigt von Ludwig / van Beethoven / im alter von

⁶A microfilm is in the author's possession.

⁴Georg Kinsky, <u>Das Werk Beethovens: Thematisch-</u> <u>bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner sämtlichen vollendeten</u> <u>Kompositionen</u>, ed. Hans Halm (Munich: G. Henle, 1955), p. 472 (hereafter cited as Kinsky-Halm).

⁷Ibid., p. 472, lists the owner as the Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek. Ludwig Altman, in the foreword to <u>Beethoven Orgelwerke</u> (London: Hinrichsen, 1962), states that the manuscript is in Marburg.

11 jahren." In the upper left-hand corner of f. lv are the words: "Eine zweistimmige in geschwinder Bewegung / Fuga." The fugue is written on two-stave braces in soprano and bass clefs. Folio lv contains measures 1-44 of the piece; f. 2r, measures 45-80; and f. 2v, measures 81-95. The word "pedal" is written beneath the second staff in the first measure (i.e., measure 81) of f. 2v. An "Adagio" tempo indication appears in the penultimate measure. At the end of the fugue is the word "Fine." No manual changes are indicated.⁷

Editions

The Fugue in D Major was first published in 1888 in the final volume of Beethoven's <u>Gesamtausgabe</u>. It has since been published by Liturgical Music Press in a collection entitled <u>Organ Works</u> and by Hinrichsen, edited by Ludwig Altman.⁸

Analysis

Form

The form of the Fugue in D Major is outlined in figure 1. Of particular note is the early modulation, in measure 10, to the subdominant, a key traditionally reserved

⁷Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Artaria 124, ff. 1-2.

⁸Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Organ Works</u>, Masterpieces of Organ Music, supplement (New York: Liturgical Music Press, 1947; Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser, n.d.); Altman, pp. 27-28.

section	measure	voice	thematic material scale degree	key
I	1	u	sub I	D
	4	1	ans V	-
	7	u	sub I	
	10	u	sub IV	G
	12	1	sub (stretto) IV	-
	14		· · ·	D
II			episode l	
	15 23 25 27			ъ
	25	1	sub vi	
	27	u	sub (stretto) vi	
	30		episode 2	
	38	1	sub (false entry) iii	f#
	42	u	sub ii	e
	44	1	sub ii	
	46			G
	47		episode 3	
	52	u	sub IV	
	54	1	sub (stretto) IV	
	56			C
	57		episode 4	
	59 61			a
	61			f#
	65	u	sub iii	
	67	1	sub (stretto, false iii entry)	
	69			D
III	74	u	sub I	
	77	1	ans V	
	82	alto	sub I	
	84	sop	sub (stretto, false I entry)	
	91	alto	sub I	

Fig. 1. Formal analysis of Beethoven's Fugue in D Major (WoO 31)

ABBREVIATIONS: u=upper, l=lower, sub=subject, ans= answer, sop=soprano

for the close of a piece.⁹ Even the second modulation to that key, in measure 46, occurs less than halfway through the

⁹While studying with Albrechtsberger, Beethoven still tended to modulate to the subdominant too early. Alan Edgar Frederic Dickinson, "Beethoven's Early Fugal Style," <u>Musical</u> <u>Times</u> 96 (February 1955): 76. piece, and Beethoven avoids the subdominant completely as the fugue approaches its close.

A statement of the subject is answered at the fifth only twice: at measures 4 (fig. 2) and 77. In all other



paired entrances, both statements are at the same pitch (measures 10, 25, 42, 52, 65, and 85). In paired entrances at the same pitch, a quasi-stretto is present: the statements are at two-measure intervals (fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Beethoven's Fugue in D Major (WoO 31), mm. 25-29



Episodic materials are treated sequentially. All episodes include melodic sequences; in addition, episodes 1 and 2 contain convincing harmonic sequences (fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Beethoven's Fugue in D Major (WoO 31), a) circle-of-fifths harmonic sequence in episode 1, mm. 14-22; b) melodic sequences in episode 4, mm. 56-64





Texture

The fugue's two-part counterpoint exhibits a large degree of linear independence. Rhythmic reciprocity is present throughout, particularly in the episodes (fig. 5). The

Fig. 5. Beethoven's Fugue in D Major (WoO 31), mm. 29-34: rhythmic reciprocity in episode 2



overall melodic contours display much contrary and oblique motion. Similar motion is clearly subordinate, and passages in parallel thirds or sixths are completely absent.

The pedals are added at measure 81 and play a doubled dominant pedal tone (fig. 6, page 18). Although the texture at this point is literally four-voice, the pedals simply sustain doubled octaves until the penultimate measure, where they play single notes. A quasi four-voice texture does appear at measures 86-89, however, when the soprano half notes are dotted and the bass sustains (fig. 6). The final two measures are a homophonic cadential extension. Fig. 6. Beethoven's Fugue in D Major (WoO 31), mm. 81-95



Comparison with Bach's Fugue in E Minor, BWV 855

When he composed the Fugue in D Major, Beethoven was studying Johann Sebastian Bach's <u>Wohltemperiertes Clavier</u> with Neefe. A comparison of the fugue with Bach's Fugue in E Minor (WTC, book 1, no. 10),¹⁰ the only two-voice fugue in the <u>Wohltemperiertes Clavier</u>, may therefore prove informative in evaluating the Fugue in D Major.



¹⁰Johann Sebastian Bach, <u>Werke</u>, 47 vols. (Leipzig: Bach-Gesellschaft, 1851-99, 1926; reprint ed., Ann Arbor: Edwards, 1947), 14:40-41. Form. As shown in figure 8, the Fugue in E Minor is formally concise and compact. Every complete statement of the subject is answered at the fifth. In contrast to Beethoven's five opening statements of the subject, only two subject entrances precede the first episode of Bach's fugue.

section	measure	voice	thematic material	tonicization
I	l	u	sub	i
	3	1	ans	v
II	5		episode l	
	11	u	sub	III
	13	1	ans	VII
	15 20		episode 2	
	20	1	sub	i v
	22	u	ans	i
	24		episode 3	
III	30	1	sub	vii
	32	u	ans	iv
	39	u	sub (false entry) i

Fig. 8. Formal analysis of Bach's Fugue in E Minor

ABBREVIATIONS: u=upper, l=lower, sub=subject, ans= answer

Bach avoids prolonged tonicization of the subdominant at the beginning of his fugue. The subject does appear in the subdominant in measure 20, however, and at the close.

Like those in the Fugue in D Major, the episodes in the Fugue in E Minor are primarily sequential (fig. 9, page 20). Bach's fugue has fewer episodes, however, and is shorter.

<u>Texture</u>. Although structurally superior to Beethoven's fugue, the Fugue in E Minor exhibits contrapuntal weaknesses. In measures 19-20 and 38 of Bach's fugue, for example, Fig. 9. Bach's Fugue in E Minor (BWV 855), mm. 15-20, sequential treatment in episode 2



passages in parallel octaves lack contrapuntal independence (fig. 10). Passages in parallel thirds and sixths occur in measures 6-10, 24, 26, and 28-29 (fig. 11). The Fugue in E Minor has little rhythmic independence. Except for measures 15-18 and 34-37, the voices primarily move together in sixteenth notes.

Fig. 10. Bach's Fugue in E Minor (BWV 855), parallel octaves in a) mm. 19-20 and b) m. 38



Fig. 11. Bach's Fugue in E Minor (BWV 855), parallel sixths and thirds in mm. 7-10



Stylistic evaluation

Beethoven's Fugue in D Major compares favorably with Bach's Fugue in E Minor. The former exhibits structural weaknesses when contrasted with Bach's fugue. Its formal defects, however, are balanced by Beethoven's deft two-part counterpoint---counterpoint superior, in this case, to Bach's.

Two Preludes through the Major Keys for Piano or Organ, op. 39

Origin

Although the Preludes through the Major Keys are the only organ works to which Beethoven assigned an opus number, very little is known of their origin. Beethoven first wrote the preludes in 1789 as exercises in modulation; they were revised for publication in 1803.¹¹

Manuscript

A corrected copy of the preludes is found in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DDR) in Manuscript Artaria 128. The original autograph is not extant. The manuscript consists of four folios in tall format, on twelve-stave paper. Notation is in ink except for page numbers in pencil in the upper right-hand corners of the odd-numbered pages. At the top of f. 1r in Beethoven's hand is: "1789. Von Ludwig / van Beethoven," followed by the inscription in a second hand: "Praeludium durch die 12. Dur-Tonarten." A similar

ll Kinsky-Halm, p. 96.

inscription, in the same unknown hand, appears on the third staff of f. 3v at the beginning of the second prelude: "Praeludium durch die 12. Harte Tonarten."¹²

Editions

The preludes were first published in December 1803.¹³ The title page of the first edition reads: "DEUX / PRÉLUDES / par tous les 12 Tons majeurs / pour le / Fortepiano, ou l'Orgue / composées par / LOUIS VAN BEETHOVEN. / Oeuvre 39. / à Leipzig chez Hoffmeister et Kühnel. / (Bureau de Musique.) / Pr. 8gg."¹⁴

The pieces are currently available in the <u>Gesamtausgabe</u> and in a number of collections of piano music. They are also separately published as organ works by Bornemann, the Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag, Liturgical Music Press, and Hinrichsen.¹⁵

¹²Eveline Bartlitz, comp., <u>Die Beethoven Sammlung in</u> der Musikabteilung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek: Verzeichnis; <u>Autographe, Abschriften, Dokumente, Briefe</u> (Berlin: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 1970), p. 15.

¹³A letter from Beethoven to the publisher regarding publication of the preludes appears in Anderson, 1:97-98.

14 Kinsky-Halm, p. 96.

¹⁵Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Préludes circulaire</u>, op. 39, nos. 1-2, ed. Marcel Dupré, Anthologie des maîtres classiques de l'orgue, nos. 4-5 (Paris: Bornemann, 1942); id., <u>Two</u> <u>Preludes in All Major Keys</u>, op. 39 (Vienna: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag, n.d.); id., <u>Organ Works</u>, Masterpieces of Organ Music, supplement; Altman, pp. 16-26. Further editions are listed in appendix 6.

Modulating antecedents

Pieces that modulate through many keys were written by a number of composers before Beethoven. The Venetian Antonio Caldara, for example, wrote a Preambulum (as one of his few extant instrumental works) that modulates through many keys.¹⁶ Pietro Antonio Locatelli wrote a similar piece.¹⁷ Johann Kaspar Ferdinand Fischer's <u>Ariadne Musica</u> includes twenty short preludes and fugues in all major and minor keys (including E Phrygian) using key signatures of up to four sharps or flats. A prelude and fugue in B major is also included as an anomaly.¹⁸ J. S. Bach also experimented with

¹⁷Reference to such a work by Locatelli is made by Ludwig Altman in "2 Preludes through the Major Keys for [Piano or] Organ, Opus 39," in <u>The Beethoven Companion</u>, ed. Thomas K. Scherman and Louis Biancolli (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), pp. 49-50; and in the foreword to <u>Orgel-</u> werke. Neither source gives any particulars about the work, but perhaps the second caprice ("Il labirinto armonico") to the twelfth concerto of <u>L'arte del violino</u>, op. 3, is the piece intended (Pietro Antonio Locatelli, <u>L'arte del violino</u>: <u>25 capricci</u>, ed. Romeo Franzoni [Milan: Ricordi, 1920], pp. 62-69). See also Arend Koole, "Pietro Antonio Locatelli," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart 8 (1960): 1078.

¹⁸Johann Kaspar Ferdinand Fischer, <u>Ariadne Musica</u>, in <u>Liber Organi</u>, 11 vols. (Mainz: Schott, 1931-66), vol. 7: <u>Deutsche Meister des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, II</u>, ed. Ernst Kaller, pp. 4-35. The preludes-fugues are in the following keys respectively: C major, C-sharp minor, D minor, D major,

¹⁶Recorded with Johann Kaspar Ferdinand Fischer, <u>Ariadne Musica, with Other Preludes and Fugues in All Keys</u>, performed by Franz Haselböck, organ (Musical Heritage Society MHS 1634), side 2, band 5. Harry Halbreich, in his annotations to the recording, gives no source for the Preambulum. Perhaps it is part of the MS entitled "Proba organistica," owned by the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DDR). See Bernhard Paumgartner, "Antonio Caldara," <u>Die Musik in Geschichte und</u> <u>Gegenwart</u> 2 (1952): 648.

modulation in his <u>Kleines harmonisches Labyrinth</u>, a tripartite composition that follows no regular pattern of modulation and frequently modulates between distant keys.¹⁹ Georg Andreas Sorge's Toccata per ogni modi follows the circle of fifths much more closely than the compositions of previous composers. His piece progresses around the sharp side of the circle of fifths and includes major keys and their relative minors.²⁰

Analysis

Opus 39, no. 1

<u>Structure</u>. The first Prelude through the Major Keys consists of a series of modulations around the sharp side of the circle of fifths, based on an opening seven-note motive (fig. 12). As shown in figure 13 (page 25), the piece

Fig. 12. Opening motive of Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 1



traverses the major keys with key signatures of from one to seven sharps. In measures 37-56 an enharmonic modulation from C-sharp to D-flat major is effected by passing through

E-flat major, E Phrygian, E minor, E major, F minor, F major, F-sharp minor, G minor, G major, A-flat major, A minor, A major, B-flat major, B minor, B major, and C minor.

¹⁹Bach, 38:225-26.

²⁰Georg Andreas Sorge, "Toccata per ogni modi," in <u>Spielbuch für Kleinorgel</u>, ed. Wolfgang Auler, 2 vols. (New York: C. F. Peters, 1951), 2:62-69.
measure	key	signature	measure	key	signature
l	С	0	50	G	_
9	G	1#	56	$\mathtt{D}\mathtt{p}$	5 ^b
19	D	2#	68	₽p	4 ^b
27	A	3#	74	Ер	3 ^b
30	E	4#	84	Вр	2 ^b
34	В	5#	89	F	lp
35	F#	6#	93	d	
37	C#	7#	99	g	
47	o #		102	Ĉ	0

Fig. 13. Structural analysis of Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 1

the keys of C-sharp minor (measure 47) and G major (measure 50). From D-flat major, the modulation continues around the circle of fifths to F major (measure 89). Then follow excursions through D minor and G minor, leading to the home key of C major (measure 102).

<u>Modulation</u>. The large majority of modulations in the piece use diatonic pivot chords. These pivot chord modulations are of two types. The first appears in measures 27, 30, 35, 37, and 89, where the pivot chord occurs in the measure preceding a change of key signature; in every case the tonic chord in the original key becomes the subdominant in the new key (fig. 14, page 26). The second type appears in measures 9, 19, 34, 68, 74, and 84, where no pivot chord can be identified prior to the change of key signature—the pivot chord occurs on the first beat after the key signature changes (fig. 15, page 26).

Of the six remaining modulations, two (at measures 92 and 99) are diatonic pivot chord modulations involving no Fig. 14. Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 1, mm. 27-28



Fig. 15. Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 1, mm. 66-68



change of key signature. A third, at measure 47, is a modal mutation of C-sharp major to its parallel minor. At measure 50 all sharps in the key signature except F-sharp are cancelled, and the piece clearly modulates to G major, yet without definitive cadences in the key (fig. 16). Finally, modulations at measures 56 and 103 are established by secondary dominant (fig. 17).

Fig. 16. Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 1, mm. 50-55

Fig. 17. Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 1, mm. 55-57



Opus 39, no. 2

<u>Structure</u>. The second Prelude through the Major Keys, though much shorter than the first prelude, traverses the circle of fifths twice. As outlined in figure 18, only major keys are employed; no keys are used out of sequence. In both cases the bridge between the sharp and flat sides of the circle is through enharmonic modulation between C-sharp major and D-flat major.

Fig. 18. Structural analysis of Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 2

measure	key	signature	measure	key	signature
l	С	0	43	С	0
5	G	1#	50	G	1#
8	D	2#	51	D	1# 2#
10	A	3#	52	A	3#
11	E	4#	53	E	4#
15	В	5#	54	В	5# 6#
19	F#	6#	55	F#	6#
20	C#	7#	56	C#	7#
21	Dp	5 ^b	57	Dp	5 b
27	Ap	4 ^b	-	₽ p	4 ^b
32	Ep	3 ^b	58	Ep	3 ^b
33	Bb	2 ^b	59	Вр	2 ^b
37	F	lp	60	F	lp
			61	С	0

The opening thematic material is used throughout the prelude (fig. 19).

Fig. 19. Opening theme of Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 2



<u>Modulation</u>. The first excursion around the circle of fifths requires forty-six measures; the second requires only thirty (fig. 18). The piece (particularly in the second part [measures 46-76]) consequently lacks a feeling of tonal establishment. The first excursion has tonicizations of but one measure each on A, F-sharp, and E-flat; the second likewise has one-measure tonicizations on G, D, A, E, B, F-sharp, A-flat, E-flat, B-flat, and F. The effect is basically that of an ongoing series of secondary dominants.

Pivot-chord modulations are used almost exclusively. In all but three cases the submediant of the first key becomes the supertonic of the succeeding key (fig. 20, page 29). In a second modulatory pattern, found in measures 8 and 15, the tonic of the original key becomes the subdominant of the subsequent key (fig. 21, page 29). A final modulatory technique is used in measures 24-28, where Beethoven first weakens the established key by introducing neighboring diminished-seventh chords and then establishes a new key with a succession of secondary dominants (fig. 22).





Fig. 21. Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 2, mm. 7-9: I/IV pivot chord



Fig. 22. Beethoven's Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 2, mm. 24-28



Beethoven's preludes compared with Sorge's Toccata per ogni modi

A comparison of the preludes with Sorge's Toccata per ogni modi---which is a more effective example of a piece that modulates through many keys---will provide the basis for evaluating the modulatory technique of the preludes.

<u>Structure</u>. As outlined in figure 23, the toccata traverses the circle of fifths once and uses not only major

Fig. 23. Formal analysis of Sorge's Toccata per ogni modi

measure	theme	key	measure	theme	key
1	a	a	64	u	d#
1 3 5 7	b (seq)		66	v	
5	c		68	W	ep Gp
7	d	C	69		Gp
10	е		70	x (seq)	_
12	f		73		\mathtt{D}_{p}
13		G	74	У	•
14	£		76	y l	ъb
18	e h	e	79	Z	f
20	i (seq) j		81	1	
24	j	Ъ	83	aa	•
26	k		85 86		₽p
28	k	a	86	ႦႦ	
30	1		89	cc	-
34 36 38	m	A	91	m	Ep
36	n		93	m	С
38	0	f#	95 98	dd	
40	p		98	e e	g
42	q i' (seq)	o#	99	k	2
45 50 53	i' (seq)		101	k	Bp
50	đ	E	103	k	F
53	e		105	1 1	
55	f (frag)		109	1	d
56	r	В	112	ee	a
56 58 60	1		113	k	
60	S		115	v	
62	t	<i>e</i> #	117	ff	

keys, but their relative minors. Sorge crosses to the flat side of the circle of fifths after reaching the key signature of six sharps-one signature earlier than Beethoven.

The toccata is multithematic. New themes are regularly introduced in measures 1-44. Beginning in measure 45, statements of earlier themes are intermingled with new material. Sorge's thematic variety quite successfully balances a monotony to which modulating pieces are easily susceptible. Beethoven, on the other hand, emphasizes the lack of variation and tonal establishment in his modulations by employing a single theme throughout each prelude.

<u>Modulation</u>. The toccata's modulatory root relationships include ascending and descending minor thirds in addition to the ascending perfect fifths that dominate the preludes. All twenty-four modulations use diatonic pivot chords (fig. 24). The six modulations between a minor key

Fig. 24. Summary of pivot chords used in Sorge's Toccata per ogni modi

	type of modulation	pivot chord	frequency
1.	minor to relative major	i/vi VII/V	5 1
2.	major to dominant major	vi/ii I/IV V/I	1 3 2
3.	major to relative minor	vii ⁰ /ii ⁰ vi/i V/VII ii/iv	3 1 1 1
4.	minor to dominant minor	i/iv	6

and its dominant minor all employ the same pivot chord (i/iv). The other three types of modulations use nine pivot chords. Variety of modulation, resulting from the larger number of root relationships and pivot chords, is an important factor contributing to the effectiveness of Sorge's toccata.

One hundred and twenty measures in length, the toccata is shorter than the first prelude, but longer than the second. The longer measures that result from the toccata's shorter note values nevertheless make it seem longer than both preludes. Sorge's modulations are more widely separated than Beethoven's, and new keys are more convincingly established.

Summary

The Fugue in D Major (WoO 31), composed while Beethoven was studying Bach's <u>Wohltemperiertes Clavier</u>, compares favorably with similar works in two-part counterpoint, particularly with Bach's Fugue in E Minor (BWV 855). The Preludes through the Major Keys, op. 39, on the other hand lack the technical skill exhibited by Sorge in his Toccata per ogni modi.

These three earliest organ works cannot be included among Beethoven's most successful compositions. Indeed, their musical value may only occasionally warrant their inclusion on a recital program. But they are important as first steps toward Beethoven's mature musical style.

CHAPTER III

BEETHOVEN'S WORKS FOR MECHANICAL ORGAN

Beethoven's works for mechanical organ are among his most interesting organ works. Six pieces are most commonly included in discussions of the mechanical genre. Only five are included in Georg Kinsky and Hans Halm's <u>Das Werk</u> <u>Beethovens: Thematisch-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner</u> <u>sämtlichen vollendeten Kompositionen</u>, where they are entitled "Fünf Stücke für die Flötenuhr, WoO 33."¹ The sixth piece, listed in Willy Hess's <u>Verzeichnis der nicht in der Gesamt-</u> <u>ausgabe veröffentlichten Werke Beethovens</u>, is the <u>Grenadiers</u> <u>Marsch</u> for Flötenuhr (Hess 107).² Two works not commonly considered are an Adagio for Mechanical Secretary and the panharmonicon version of <u>Wellington's Sieg oder die Schlacht</u> <u>bei Vittoria</u> (Hess 108). This chapter will discuss these works and compare and evaluate related research in an attempt to establish or confute their validity as organ pieces.

¹Kinsky-Halm, pp. 474-75.

²Willy Hess, <u>Verzeichnis der nicht in der Gesamtausgabe</u> veröffentlichten Werke Ludwig van Beethovens (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957), p. 36.

The Flötenuhr (Spieluhr)

The Flötenuhr of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries commonly consisted of one or two small ranks of four- or two-foot flute pipes, whose valves were actuated by a rotating wooden barrel driven by the pull of gravity on a series of weights. Raised areas on the barrels (something like stubby wooden pegs) opened valves to the respective pipes as the barrel rotated. A clock was often used in conjunction with the barrel organ to make it play automatically every hour or thirty minutes.³

During the period 1750-1850, Flötenuhren were commonly found in castles, restaurants, and museums, particularly in Austria since the mechanical instrument industry was centered in Vienna. It was here that Beethoven, as well as Haydn and Mozart, wrote his pieces for the Flötenuhr.

Fünf Stücke für die Flötenuhr (WoO 33)

The five pieces of WoO 33 are actually two unrelated sets of pieces from two separate manuscripts. The first three—Adagio in F Major, Scherzo (Allegro No. 2) in G Major, and Allegro in G Major—are part of Manuscript Grasnick 23 in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DDR). The remaining two works, an Allegro and an Allegretto (Minuet) in C Major, constitute Manuscript Artaria 186 in the same library. Since

³Ernst Fritz Schmid, "Joseph Haydn und die Flötenuhr," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 14 (January 1932): 193-95.

the five pieces are actually two separate groups, they will be so treated in this chapter.

WoO 33, nos. 1-3

History

The first three pieces for Flötenuhr were originally identified by Albert Kopfermann in the March 1902 issue of <u>Die Musik</u>. Until that time they had been known only by their title in the Beethoven auction catolog under item 184: "Clavierstücke mit Begleitung, zum Teil unbekannt." The three pieces are the "unknown part"; the known pieces are the four-hand piano variations on "Ich denke dein" (WoO 74), first published in Vienna in 1805.⁴ Beethoven wrote the variations for Josephine and Therese Brunsvik, according to his own dedication of 23 May 1799.⁵ On 29 June 1799 Josephine Brunsvik married Count Joseph Deym von Střitetž, owner of a famous Viennese art gallery called the Müllerische Kunstcabinet. It was for Flötenuhren in Deym's gallery that Mozart had written at least three works: Adagio and Allegro

⁴Albert Kopfermann, "Ein unbekanntes Adagio von Beethoven," <u>Die Musik</u> 1 (1901-2): 1059-61.

⁵The dedication reads: "In das Stammbuch der beyden Contessen Therese und Josefine Brunsvik. Ich Wünsche nichts so sehr, als dass Sie sich zuweilen beym durchspielen und Singen dieses kleinen Musikalischen Opfers erinnern mögen an ihren Sie wahrhaft Verehrenden Ludwig v. Beethoven. Wien, am 23t. May 799." Ernst Simon, <u>Mechanische Musikinstrumente</u> früherer Zeiten und ihre Musik (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1960), p. 83.

in F Minor/Major (K. 594), Fantasie in F Minor (K. 608), and Andante in F Major (K. 616).⁶

At his death Beethoven owned copies of the first two of Mozart's pieces.⁷ Kopfermann was the first to suggest that Beethoven obtained them from Deym to use as patterns for similar pieces of his own. When he gave his new pieces to Deym, Beethoven included the piano variations for Deym's future wife and sister-in-law.⁸ Unfortunately none of Deym's Flötenuhren is extant,⁹ so there is no way of ascertaining whether or not the three pieces were ever actually played on a mechanical instrument.¹⁰

Manuscript Grasnick 23

Autograph Grasnick 23 has ten folios, written in ink with corrections in ink and pencil. Folios 1-4 and 6 are twelve-stave manuscript paper in oblong format; ff. 5 and 7-10 are sixteen-stave paper.

The Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1) occupies the first four folios. The lower half of f. 4r and all of f. 4v

⁷Beethoven had one copy of Mozart's Adagio and Allegro in F Minor/Major (K. 594) and two copies of his Fantasie in F Minor (K. 608)—one in a second hand, another in Beethoven's own hand. Ibid., p. 84.

⁸Kopfermann, pp. 1059-61.

⁹Otto Erich Deutsch, "Count Deym and His Mechanical Organs," <u>Music and Letters</u> 29 (1948): 142.

¹⁰Deym is further discussed in appendix 2.

⁶Ibid., pp. 69, 82.

are blank. The piece is notated in four-stave braces-three staves in treble clef, one in bass clef. In the upper lefthand corner of f. Ir are the words "Adagio assai"; at the top right is Beethoven's signature.

Folio 5 contains the Scherzo (Allegro No. 2) in G Major (WoO 33, no. 2) on sixteen-stave paper. In the upper left-hand corner of f. 5r are the words "Allegro No 2 / Scherzo." Further to the right, but left of center, are the words "Statt No" or "Statt N 3," followed by a large figure eight. The piece is written in two-stave braces, all in treble clef, with an unused staff between each brace. On f. 5r, staves 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, and 16 are skipped, but frequently contain what appear to be sketch fragments of other works. The Scherzo occupies only the first five staves of f. 5v (the third line is blank); the remaining eleven lines contain more sketch fragments.

The Allegro in G Major (WoO 33, no. 3) occupies f. 6, on twelve-line manuscript paper similar to ff. 1-4. The word "Allegro" appears at the beginning of the piece. Six twostave braces occupy all twelve lines of f. 6r-no lines are skipped. Folio 6v has only four braces-lines 3, 6, 9, and 12 are unused. The Allegro is the most legible of the three pieces. Variations 1, 2, 5, and 6 of the four-hand piano variations on "Ich denke dein" occupy ff. 7r-9r. Folios 9v-10v are blank.¹¹

Ernst Simon points out that the three Flötenuhr pieces are not in chronological order in the manuscript. Because the Adagio and the Allegro are written on twelve-line paper and the Scherzo (Allegro No. 2) and the variations on sixteen-line paper, he therefore maintains that the sixteenline folios must have been added to the Adagio and Allegro at a later date.¹² Hess agrees with Simon; in his edition of the three pieces, the order is: Adagio assai (WoO 33, no. 1), Allegro (WoO 33, no. 3), and Scherzo (WoO 33, no. 2).¹³

Hess believes there may be another Flötenuhr piece belonging to the group, now lost. He interprets the words "Statt No 8" or "Statt N 3" on folio 5r (at the beginning of the Scherzo) as indicating that the Scherzo is perhaps a substitute for another piece, identified as number three or eight.¹⁴

¹³Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>, ed. Willy Hess, 14 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1959-71), 7:45-53.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 62.

¹¹Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Grasnick 23, ff. 1-10.

¹²Simon, p. 84.

Editions

The works for Flötenuhr are included in their original staff arrangement in the seventh volume of Hess's <u>Supplemente</u> <u>zur Gesamtausgabe</u>.¹⁵ Despite several engraving errors, the Hess edition is the most authoritative.¹⁶ The Adagio, more popular than the Scherzo or Allegro, is available separately in a number of transcriptions, for violin and piano, cello and piano, wind ensemble, piano solo, and organ.¹⁷

The organ is probably the instrument most capable of approaching the effect produced by a Flötenuhr. Yet the three works were not published for organ until 1962, in an edition by Ludwig Altman.¹⁸ The Adagio was the most difficult to transoribe because it necessitated reducing the original four staves to the three of organ scores. In some places the Altman version includes all the notes of the original. Often, however, notes are omitted, as shown in figure 25 (page 40). In this example the notes of the original second staff are not missed because they are doubled at the unison or octave in the third staff. Altman at other times uses the organ's octave stops to approach the original effect. In measure 49 he has reduced the turn to a unison and omitted the third; in measure 50 the pedals are reduced to a unison (fig. 26).

¹⁶Engraving errors are listed in appendix 3.
¹⁷An index to published scores is found in appendix 6.
¹⁸Altman, <u>Orgelwerke</u>, pp. 1-15.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 45-53.

Fig. 25. Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1), mm. 5-7, comparison of a) Hess and b) Altman editions a)



Fig. 26. Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1), mm. 49-50, comparison of a) Hess and b) Altman editions a)





The Scherzo and Allegro have not enjoyed the Adagio's popularity. They appear in Altman's edition in the order assigned by Kinsky, with no alterations necessary. Their notes are easily within the grasp of an organist.

Analysis

Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no.1). The Adagio is in strict sonata form, with three themes (fig. 27). The key

Fig. 27. Formal analysis of Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1)

neasure	motive	key	measure	motive	key
al	a (PT-Exp	o) F	39		g
a5	at	(C)	41		ď
8	b	F	a44	d'	E
al3	a''		a 50	a (PT-Rec	ap) F
al7	c (Trans)		a54	a'	- (C)
18		C	57	b'	F
22	d (ST)		a62	att	
26	d		65	d (ST)	F
30	e (CT)		69	d''	
33	c'(Dev)		72	a''	
37		C	76	e (CT)	

ABBREVIATIONS: a=anacrusis, PT=principal theme, Trans= transition, ST=subordinate theme, CT=closing theme, Expo= exposition, Dev=development, Recap=recapitulation relationships are ordinary except for a brief tonicization at the dominant during the second phrase of the principal theme.

The lyrical principal theme is similar in character to the opening theme of Beethoven's Romance in F Major, op. 50, written at about the same time (fig. 28).¹⁹ The

Fig. 28. Comparison of the principal themes of Beethoven's a) Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1) and b) Romance in F Major, op. 50



transition between the first and second themes in the exposition is omitted in the recapitulation. The sixteenth-note accompaniment of the exposition becomes a sixteenth-note sextuplet accompaniment in the recapitulation (fig. 29, page 43).

The Adagio was written for an exceptionally large instrument, one with a range of at least F-d''' and two separately sounding ranks. The two upper and the two lower staves would have been assigned to the two ranks respectively. That the two inside staves were on separate ranks is certain because one of the staves frequently has notes of shorter

¹⁹Beethoven, <u>Werke</u>, series 4, no. 31.

Fig. 29. Principal theme of Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1) as it occurs in the a) exposition, mm. 1-2, and in the b) recapitulation, mm. 50-51





duration while the other staff has the same pitches sustained. In measure 5 (fig. 30, page 44), for instance, the pitches c', d', and f' on the third staff would be inaudible if played on the same set of pipes as the chords of the second staff.

Such unison overlapping occurs only between the two inside staves. In measure 49 a case of apparent overlapping within the two upper staves turns out to be possible on a Fig. 30. Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1), mm. 5-7



single rank (fig. 31): Beethoven was careful to place a staccato dot beneath the c'' in the top staff of measure 49 so that it would release simultaneously with the same note in the second staff as it moves downward to b'. The lower two staves have no overlapping at all and are playable on a single rank. This is further indicated by the fact that the

Fig. 31. Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1), mm. 48-49



two lower voices are frequently written on the lower staff in the autograph, leaving the third staff blank with no apparent concern for assignment to separate ranks (fig. 32).

Fig. 32. Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1), mm. 10-11, comparison of a) Hess version and b) Grasnick 23







<u>Scherzo in G Major (WoO 33, no. 2</u>). The second piece is in scherzo and trio form (fig. 33). The A section is a non-modulating simple rounded binary form. The second part Fig. 33. Formal analysis of Beethoven's Scherzo (Allegro No. 2) in G Major (WoO 33, no. 2)

section theme		A : : ba :		trio) : :d :	A	2
key	a c	· • bg •	טקן ת	:ll: a :ll	a	ba
mm.	1	8	16	24	(D.C.	al fine)

Fig. 34. Opening theme of Beethoven's Scherzo (Allegro No. 2) in G Major (WoO 33, no. 2)



(i.e., theme b) of the first section introduces no new thematic material, but simply anticipates the return of the first theme.

The trio is in simple binary form, likewise monothematic. The entire section is in the dominant. Beethoven uses a da capo to return to the A section; Altman writes out the return, but includes repeat signs, which would normally be omitted.

The Scherzo was intended for a smaller instrument than the Adagio. It has a range of g-d''' and can be played on a single rank of pipes.

<u>Allegro in G Major (WoO 33, no.3</u>). The Allegro is in compound ternary form, but is more fully developed than the Scherzo because of the introduction of variation at the return of the A section, the use of more keys, and the addition of a coda (fig. 35). The A and B sections are simple binary forms. The B section is somewhat unusual in its use of the subdominant key. The third section parallels the first, but has no repeats. Instead the material is written out and altered.

Fig. 35. Formal analysis of Beethoven's Allegro in G Major (WoO 33, no. 3)

section	A		B			A '			
theme a	a : :	ъ	:c :	: a :	a	at	Ъ'	a''	-(-
key G mm. 1	; D	G 8	C 16	G 24	G 40	49	57	61	64

Fig. 36. Opening theme of Beethoven's Allegro in G Major (WoO 33, no. 3)



Like the Scherzo, the Allegro has a range of g-d''' and is playable on a single rank of pipes. It therefore seems safe to assume that the Allegro was written for the same Flötenuhr as the Scherzo.

Mozart's influence on WoO 33, nos. 1-3

Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no.1). A comparison of the Adagio with Mozart's works for Flötenuhr, K. 594, 608, and 616,²⁰ substantiates Kopfermann's thesis regarding the identity and origin of the works. Figure 37 shows that Beethoven's Adagio and Mozart's K. 594 have identical ranges, tonal centers, notation, and form. Both works were probably composed for the same instrument, which, according to Otto Erich Deutsch, was the Flötenuhr in the Lauden Mausoleum in

Fig. 37. Comparison of Mozart's K. 594, 608, and 616 and Beethoven's WoO 33, nos. 1-3

Mozart, K. 594 Beethoven, WoO 33, no. 1 length: 153 mm. length: 79 mm. range: F-d''' range: F-d''' staves per brace: 4 staves per brace: 4 (3 in treble, 1 in bass clef) form: sonata keys: f. F form: sonata key: F Mozart, K. 608 Beethoven, WoO 33, no. 2 length: 222 mm. range: c-d^b length: 102 mm. range: g-d''' staves per brace: 4 (3 in treble, 1 in staves per brace: 2 bass clef (in treble clef) form: rondo or sonataform: scherzo and trio key: G rondo (?) keys: f, A^D Beethoven, WoO 33, no. 3 Mozart, K. 616 length: 80 mm. range: g-d''' length: 144 mm. range: f-f''' staves per brace: 2 staves per brace: 3 (in treble clef) (in treble clef) form: compound ternary form: seven-part simple key: G or rondo key: F

²⁰Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, <u>Werke</u>, 61 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1877-1905; reprint ed., New York: Kalmus, n.d.), series 10, nos. 19-20; series 24, no. 27a. The version of K. 594 in series 24, no. 27a, is an arrangement for two pianos, four hands. According to Simon, p. 70, a MS scored for Flötenuhr is in the New York Public Library.

measure	section	key	measure	section	key
1	Intro	f	71		Ър
12		Ab	75		g
20		թթ	79	PT-Recap	F
24		С	84	Trans	-
24 28		F	86		C
40	PT-Expo	-	87		F
45	Trans		93	ST	
47		С	101	CT	Ър
52	ST		102		Ep
60	CT	Ър	103		F
62	•	c	117	Coda	f
66	Dev	g	,	•••••	-

Fig. 38. Formal analysis of Mozart's Adagio and Allegro in F Minor/Major (K. 594)

ABBREVIATIONS: Intro=introduction, PT=principal theme, Expo=exposition, Trans=transition, ST=subordinate theme, CT= closing theme, Dev=development, Recap= recapitulation

Deym's art gallery. Although contemporary Viennese newspapers link the Mozart piece to that clock, there are, however, no similar accounts regarding the Adagio, and the Laudon Mausoleum is no longer extant.²¹

Beethoven's Adagio bears fewer similarities to K. 608. The Adagio extends a perfect fifth lower, suggesting that the two were intended for different instruments. Nevertheless K. 608 was written for a large instrument, one with at least two independently controlled ranks. Like the Adagio, K. 608 has frequent unison overlappings between the voices of the inside staves (fig. 39, page 50). Therefore, though the two works may have been written for different instruments, both Flötenuhren were large enough to have had at least two independent ranks.

²¹Deutsch, pp. 142-43, 145.

Fig. 39. Mozart's Fantasie in F Minor (K. 608), mm. 20-22

Beethoven likely chose K. 594 as a formal pattern for the Adagio because its form was much simpler than that of K. 608. The latter work is a technical <u>tour de force</u> (fig. 40). Its first B section is a full-blown fugue, complete with episodes and contrapuntal inversion. In the corresponding section of the third part, countersubjects, augmentation, diminution, fragmentation, and stretto are employed to bring the work to a climactic close.

section	measure	thematic material	key
Allegro (Expo?)	1 13	A B (fugal)	f f (modula- tory)
	59	A *	f#-f
Andante (De v ?)	75 91 103 al10 123 al31 143	C A''' C' D C'' E C'''	AD ED AD ED AD ED AD
Tempo I (Recap?)	159 171 200 205	A B' A''' A/B	A ^b f f f

Fig. 40. Formal analysis of Mozart's Fantasie in F Minor (K. 608)

Although the Adagio and K. 594 are formally alike, their principal themes do not appear related (fig. 41). Their subordinate themes, however, might be linked because of their similar contours (fig. 42). The Adagio's principal theme bears some resemblance to the opening theme of K. 608, particularly in its use of the turn (fig. 43).

Fig. 41. Comparison of principal themes of a) Mozart's Adagio and Allegro in F Minor/Major (K. 594) and b) Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1)



Fig. 42. Comparison of subordinate themes of a) Mozart's Adagio and Allegro in F Minor/Major (K. 594) and b) Beethoven's Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1)

a)



Fig. 42 continued





Fig. 43. Opening theme of Mozart's Fantasie in F Minor (K. 608)



<u>Scherzo and Allegro in G Major</u>. There is no apparent relationship between Beethoven's Scherzo and Allegro (WoO 33, nos. 2-3) and Mozart's pieces for mechanical clock. As shown above in figure 37, both the Beethoven works are in compound ternary form, notated on two staves in treble clef, with identical ranges. Although obviously related to each other, the pieces do not show the influence of Mozart's pieces or Beethoven's Adagio.

WoO 33, nos. 4-5

<u>Origin</u>. Thayer, in his <u>Chronologisches Verzeichniss</u> <u>der Werke Ludwig van Beethoven's</u>, was the first to list the Allegro and Allegretto (Minuet) in C Major as possible works for mechanical clock. Although Thayer himself expressed doubt regarding their authenticity,²² Kinsky accepted this listing in compiling his <u>Verzeichnis</u>. Kinsky not only grouped them with the three pieces (WoO 33, nos. 1-3), but erroneously assigned them to the Deym Flötenuhren.²³

Fig. 44. Opening measures of Beethoven's a) Allegro in C Major (WoO 33, no. 4) and b) Allegretto (Minuet) in C Major (WoO 33, no. 5)



²²Thayer's title reads: "Duo (für eine Spieluhr?)." Alexander Wheelock Thayer, <u>Chronologisches Verzeichniss der</u> <u>Werke Ludwig van Beethoven's</u> (Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider, 1865), p. 13.

²³Kinsky-Halm, pp. 474-75.

Actually very little is known regarding these two pieces. Their manuscript bears no title, and all attempts at dating them have been unsuccessful. Furthermore, there is really no evidence that establishes them as Flötenuhr pieces. Simon convincingly discredits any claim they have to the Flötenuhr. He points out that Beethoven's use of alto and tenor clefs, transpositional errors in writing in those clefs, and numerous abbreviations would have been difficult for anyone but a musician to decipher-it would have been impossible for most technicians to set the pieces up on barrels. Simon concludes that they are more likely intended for a keyboard instrument and points out that Georg Schünemann, in his edition of all five Stücke für die Spieluhr,²⁴ had only to change the clefs of the pieces to modern clefs to make them playable on the piano. Much more editing was necessary on the three pieces.²⁵

Hess suggests that the two pieces are likely nothing more than exercises in transposition and writing in clefs.²⁶ Apparently Altman is also convinced that they are not

²⁴Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Stücke für die Spieluhr</u>, ed. Georg Schünemann (Mainz: Schott, 1938; reprint ed., New York: Kalmus, n.d.), pp. 14-19.

²⁵Simon, pp. 83-84.

²⁶Beethoven, <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>, 7:6.

authentic because he omits them in his edition of the Beethoven organ works while including the three pieces.²⁷

<u>Manuscript Artaria 186</u>. Autograph Artaria 186 consists of four sixteen-stave folios written in ink. The Allegro in C Major (WoO 33, no. 4) occupies ff. lr-2r. At the top of f. lr is the inscription "Allegro non piu molto di Beethoven." Notation is in two-stave braces, alto and tenor clefs.

The Allegretto (Minuet) in C Major (WoO 33, no. 5) occupies f. 2v and a fourth of f. 3r. The word "Allegretto" appears at the beginning. Notation is likewise in two-stave braces, alto and tenor clefs. Folios 3v-4v are blank.²⁸

<u>Conclusion</u>. It seems safe to conclude, in view of the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that the two pieces for Flötenuhr (WoO 33, nos. 4-5) are not actually for mechanical organ and are therefore not legitimate organ works.

Grenadiers Marsch for Flötenuhr (Hess 107)

Barrel seven of the badly damaged Flötenuhr no. 2061 in the music instrument museum of the Karl-Marx-Universität in Leipzig is the sole source for a "Grenadirs [sic] Marsch arranchirt von Herrn Ludwig v. Beethoven." The composition is an arrangement of two earlier works, connected by a newly

²⁷Altman, <u>Orgelwerke</u>, pp. 1-15. ²⁸Bartlitz, pp. 31-32.

composed transition. The earlier works are a march by Haydn originally scored for two clarinets, two bassoons, and two horns (Hob. VIII:6) and later for Flötenuhr (Hob. XIX:25), and a march by Beethoven for two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons (WoO 29).

History

Flötenuhr no. 2061

Flötenuhr no. 2061 was constructed in Vienna by Franz Egidius Arzt²⁹ for Prince Joseph Johann zu Schwarzenberg,³⁰ a friend of Beethoven. Standing nearly three meters, the instrument has a mahogany case in Empire style with bronze metal work, alabaster columns, miniature portraits, wedgewood paintings, and a carved vase at the top containing the clock. The clock's face bears the inscription "Franz Egidius Arzt in Vienn aus der Zeit um 1810." The Flötenuhr, which plays every hour, has two ranks comprising seventy-nine flute pipes. The stopped four-foot and the open two-foot registers were employed either separately or together for variety in dynamics.³¹

Although the clock dates from 1810, only the first four barrels, and perhaps the seventh (undated), could have been made by that year. The pieces on barrels five, six and

> ²⁹B. 1759, d. Vienna, 10 March 1812. Simon, p. 33. ³⁰1769-1833. Ibid. ³¹Ibid., p. 32.

eight were not composed until 1812, 1818, and 1819, and therefore must have been added to the instrument at a later date.³²

The Spieluhr was acquired from the estate of the Schwarzenberg family in the late nineteenth century by the Leipzig collector Paul de Wit, who listed it as item 751 in his <u>Katalog des Musikhistorischen Museums</u>.³³ The de Wit collection was purchased by Wilhelm Heyer of Cologne, who in 1906 included it in his three-floor museum at Worringer Strasse 23 in Cologne. Heyer died in 1913, and his massive collection, which included over 2,600 musical instruments, 20,000 music autographs, and 3,500 portraits, was sold during the following thirteen years. The autograph and portrait collection, however, remained intact and was purchased by the German government with the financial aid of Henri Hinrichsen, head of the publishing firm C. F. Peters. The collection was

³²Following are the contents of the eight barrels, with their dates of composition: 1) the duet "Holde Gattin, dir zur Seite," from Haydn's <u>Schöpfung</u> (1799); 2) overture to Gluck's <u>Iphigenie in Aulis</u> (1774); 3) overture to Mozart's <u>Die Zauberflöte</u> (1791); 4) overture to Mozart's <u>Figaros</u> <u>Hochzeit</u> (1786); 5) overture to Boieldieu's <u>Johann von Paris</u> (1812); 6) overture to Rossini's <u>Adelaide von Burgund</u> (1818); 7) "Grenadirs [sic] Marsch arranchirt von Herrn Ludwig v. Beethoven"; and 8) Weber's <u>Aufforderung zum Tanz</u> (1819). Ibid., pp. 32-33.

³³Paul de Wit, <u>Katalog des Musikhistorischen Museums</u> (Leipzig: Paul de Wit, 1903), p. 158. De Wit most likely acquired the instrument sometime after 1886. Paul Rubardt, Führer durch das Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx-<u>Universität Leipzig</u> (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955), p. 5.

given to the Universität Leipzig and housed in the newly constructed Grassi-Museum.³⁴

The museum flourished until 3 December 1943, when a bomb fell on its north wing, destroying or severely damaging much of the collection.³⁵ Of the museum's twenty-four mechanical instruments, eleven were completely destroyed; the remaining thirteen were badly damaged. Nine of those thirteen have since been restored, but the remaining four, including Flötenuhr no. 2061, remain in a warehouse in an unplayable state.³⁶

The piece

There is no record of Beethoven composing the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u>. The piece can be assigned a date, however, by studying the works upon which it is based.

<u>Haydn's march (Hob. VIII:6 and XIX:25</u>). The opening twenty measures of the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> are based on Haydn's March in E-flat Major for two clarinets, two bassoons, and two horns (Hob. VIII:6), later transposed to D major for a Flötenuhr (Hob. XIX:25). The original piece was composed for

³⁴Ibid. The Heyer instrument collection cost RM 800,000; one-fourth of that sum was donated by Hinrichsen. Simon, pp. 19-20.

³⁵Rubardt, p. 6. The bombing occurred in the early hours of 4 December, according to Simon, p. 20.

³⁶Rubardt, p. 69; Simon, p. 39; Beethoven, <u>Supplemente</u> zur Gesamtaus<u>gabe</u>, 7:63.

the Esterházy's Eisenstadt Military Band no later than 1793, because in that year Pater Primitivius Niemicz, librarian for Prince Anton II Esterházy, included the D major version on the 1793 Flötenuhr, the third and last of the Haydn clocks.³⁷

Beethoven's March in B-flat Major (WoO 29). Measures 37-56 of the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> are based on Beethoven's own March in B-flat Major for two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons (WoO 29). Ernst Fritz Schmid suggests that Beethoven wrote the march for the Esterházy Military Band 10-16 September 1807 while visiting Eisenstadt for the first performance of his C Major Mass, op. 86. In Eisenstadt Beethoven may have heard Haydn's march and could have written one similar to it.³⁸

Date of the Grenadiers Marsch. The Grenadiers Marsch cannot be dated earlier than 1807. Hess suggests that it was written no later than 1819—when the work on barrel no. 8 of Flötenuhr no. 2061 was composed.³⁹ If it was composed after 1812, the year Arzt died, then the seventh barrel would have

³⁷Haydn wrote thirty-two pieces for Flötenuhr (Hob. XIX:1-32). The first thirty were played on instruments still extant: the clocks of 1772, 1792, and 1793. The last two pieces are known only in MS. Anthony van Hoboken, Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis, 2 vols. (Mainz: Schott, 1957-71), 1:545.

³⁸Schmid, p. 216.

³⁹Beethoven, Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe, 7:6.

been added to the instrument by Arzt's son Joseph, who inherited his father's business.⁴⁰ Kinsky dates the piece circa 1825.⁴¹

Manuscripts

There are no extant manuscripts for the complete <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u>. There are, however, manuscripts of the two marches on which the arrangement is based.

Haydn's march. The autograph of the original E-flat major version of Haydn's march (Hob. VIII:6) is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds du Conservatoire. It is in oblong format, consisting of a large sheet of ten-stave paper folded in half. The piece is written on ff. lv-2r; ff. lr and 2v are blank. There are no titles or tempo indications on the manuscript. Folio lr bears the seal of Charles Malherbe, from whose estate the library acquired the item.⁴²

There is no known manuscript of the Flötenuhr version (Hob. XIX:25).⁴³

Beethoven's march. The original autograph of Beethoven's March in B-flat (WoO 29) is contained in the last part

⁴²Hoboken, 1:545. ⁴³Ibid., p. 833.

^{40&}lt;sub>Simon</sub>, p. 33.

⁴¹Georg Kinsky, "Beethoven und die Flötenuhr," in Beethoven-Almanach der Deutschen Musikbücherei auf das Jahr <u>1927</u>, ed. Gustav Bosse (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1927), p. 325.
of Manuscript Grasnick 25 in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DDR). The first seven folios of the fifteen-folio manuscript contain Beethoven's Allegretto in C Minor for Piano (WoO 53); ff. 8-11 contain the Adagio in E-flat Major for Mandolin and Cembalo (WoO 43, no. 2).

The march appears on ff. 12r and 15v, both of which are sixteen-stave manuscript paper. At the top of f. 12r are the words "Marcia Vivace"; then follows the march in piano score. Folios 12v-15r are blank. Folio 15v contains the march written in score for the six wind instruments, with a note at the bottom: "due Clarinetti in B, Corni in B, Fagotti." At the top of the page are the words: "in D übe[r]sezt mit trio in der Mitte Kanonen / schluss."⁴⁴

Beethoven's reminder to transpose his march to D major and compose a middle section is probably an indication of how the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> was composed. The Flötenuhr version of Haydn's march was in D major. Beethoven had probably already written his march in the key of B-flat when he realized that Haydn's was in D major and so wrote a reminder at the top of his march to transpose it, then composing the middle section. The D major <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> was later transposed to F major either by Beethoven or by the barrelmaker to better match the range of the Schwarzenberg clock.

44Bartlitz, pp. 38-39.

Printed editions

<u>Grenadiers Marsch</u>. Both editions of the <u>Grenadiers</u> <u>Marsch</u> are based on a transcription completed prior to World War II by J. G. Bach of Troisdorf. His transcription, based aurally and through examination of the barrel itself,⁴⁵ was first published by Kinsky in the <u>Beethoven-Almanach der</u> <u>Deutschen Musikbücherei auf das Jahr 1927</u>.⁴⁶ Hess published the work a second time in volume seven of his <u>Supplemente zur</u> <u>Gesamtausgabe</u>.⁴⁷ When Hess examined Flötenuhr no. 2061 and its barrel no. 7, he found them so badly damaged that it was impossible to check the accuracy of Bach's transcription. His edition is therefore based solely on the Bach version.⁴⁸

<u>Haydn's march</u>. The original E-flat major version of Haydn's march is still unpublished.⁴⁹ The Flötenuhr version is the twenty-fifth piece in Schmid's transcription of Haydn's complete <u>Werke für das Laufwerk (Flötenuhr)</u>.⁵⁰

Beethoven's march (WoO 29). Beethoven's March in E-flat Major for six wind instruments (WoO 29) appears in the

⁴⁵Kinsky, "Beethoven und die Flötenuhr," p. 326.
⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 330-32.
⁴⁷Beethoven, <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>, 7:54-55.
⁴⁸Ibid., p. 63.
⁴⁹Hoboken, 1:545.

⁵⁰Joseph Haydn, <u>Werke für das Laufwerk (Flötenuhr)</u>, ed. Ernst Fritz Schmid (Kassel: Nagel, 1954; New York: R. D. Row, 1965), pp. 36-37. final volume of the <u>Gesamtausgabe</u>.⁵¹ No other editions have been published.

Analysis

Form

As shown in figure 45, the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> is made up of three sections: 1) measures 1-20 are based on Haydn's march; 2) measures 21-36 are a newly composed transition; and 3) measures 37-56 are based on Beethoven's own WoO 29. The first and third major sections are in simple binary form, with repeat signs marking the sub-sections. The transition is in simple ternary form. A modulation occurs only once during the entire piece: the opening part of the Haydn section modulates to the dominant.

Fig. 45. Formal analysis of Beethoven's <u>Grenadiers</u> <u>Marsch</u> (Hess 107)

section theme	8	А : :Ъ:	с	B đ	c'	: d	C : : e :
key mm.	F 1	C F 11	F 21	27	31	F 37	45

Comparison with the original sources of the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u>

Haydn: section one. Haydn's original March in E-flat Major for six wind instruments (Hob. VIII:6) is unpublished. However, a comparison of the incipit from the Hoboken Werkverzeichnis with the corresponding measures of the Schmid

⁵¹Beethoven, <u>Werke</u>, series 25, no. 292.

transcription of the Flötenuhr version reveals several variants. As shown in figure 46, the initial anacrusis of the piece is altered in the Flötenuhr version; the anacrusis to measure 3, present in the original version, is omitted altogether in the Flötenuhr version. In measure 4, instead of jumping down an octave, the melody of the latter version remains on the same note.

Fig. 46. Comparison of opening measures of the two versions of Haydn's march: a) wind ensemble version (Hob. VIII:6) and b) Flötenuhr version (Hob. XIX:25)



A comparison of the above measures with the corresponding measures of the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> seems to indicate it is the Flötenuhr version of Haydn's march that Beethoven used (fig. 47). In the three places where notable differences

Fig. 47. Opening measures of Beethoven's <u>Grenadiers</u> <u>Marsch</u> (Hess 107)



were found between the two Haydn versions, the <u>Grenadiers</u> Marsch more closely matches the Flötenuhr version.

The time signature for Haydn's piece is two-four; Beethoven's arrangement is in common time. The difference is insignificant, however, as both pieces were transcribed aurally in their modern editions. Beethoven would moreover have had no way of knowing the exact meter when (and if) he heard Haydn's march on the Flötenuhr at Eisenstadt.

As shown in appendix 4, the first ten measures of the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> correspond to the first twenty measures of Haydn's piece. Beethoven repeated the first ten measures; Haydn apparently wrote out the repeat because measures 3-4 are varied the second time through.

Beethoven uses Haydn's melody very freely. There are alterations in measures 4, 7-9, 12-16, and 18-20. In measure 11 Beethoven replaces a rhythmically uneven five-note figure with even quintuplets (fig. 48, page 66); in measure 12 a similar seven-note figure is replaced by even sextuplets. In measures 18-19 the melodic contour is drastically altered (fig. 49, page 66).

Though the harmony is unchanged, the spacing and placement of the harmonizing parts are altered in every measure. This is undoubtedly due to the extended lower range of the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u>, which allows more open position in the harmony. The lowest pitch in Haydn's Flötenuhr march is g; in Beethoven's arrangement it is F.

Fig. 48. Comparison of mm. 10-12 of the a) <u>Grenadiers</u> <u>Marsch</u> (Hess 107) with corresponding measures of b) Haydn's March in D Major (Hob. XIX:25)



Fig. 49. Comparison of mm. 18-19 of the a) <u>Grenadiers</u> <u>Marsch</u> (Hess 107) with corresponding measures of b) Haydn's March in D Major (Hob. XIX:25)





ъ)



Beethoven's WoO 29: section three. Beethoven's treatment of material in the third section of the <u>Grenadiers</u> <u>Marsch</u> is similar to that in the first. Although the melodic contour is unaltered, the melodic rhythm is changed in measures 38, 40-42, 44, 46, 48, and 56 (see appendix 4).

The lower voices maintain the original harmony, but are everywhere altered. In measure 51, for instance, an ascending scale passage is introduced into the arrangement (fig. 50). Measures 53-55 contain a pedal point inverted in the original version (fig. 51).

Fig. 50. Comparison of a) <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> (Hess 107), mm. 50-51, and b) Beethoven's March in B-flat Major (WoO 29), mm. 14-15



ъ)

a)



Fig. 51. Comparison of a) <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> (Hess 107), mm. 53-55, and b) Beethoven's March in B-flat Major (WoO 29), mm. 17-19

a)



Fig. 51 continued





The Grenadiers Marsch as an organ work

Although not included in many discussions of Beethoven's organ works, the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> is certainly suited to organ performance. Furthermore, it may be legitimately included in the corpus of Beethoven's work even though a section originally stems from Haydn. Beethoven never claimed the piece as entirely original, only as an arrangement. In that arrangement he introduced enough variation to merit its inclusion as an authentic Beethoven organ work.

Adagio for Mechanical Secretary

A possible Beethoven organ work is to be found on barrel no. 13 of a mahogany secretary with Flötenuhr in the music instrument museum of the Karl-Marx-Universität in Leipzig. The instrument, which dates from the year 1812,⁵² was the joint effort of a Viennese cabinet maker named Christian Seyffert and the famous inventor Johann Nepomuk

⁵²Simon, pp. 30-31. Kinsky gives 1821 as the date for the instrument. Kinsky, "Beethoven und die Flötenuhr," p. 328.

Mälzel. Its two ranks (four- and two-foot) are comprised of eighty-four stopped and open wooden flute pipes. It was first displayed in Mälzel's art collection in Vienna during the winter of 1812-13.⁵³ The instrument was acquired by de Wit in the late nineteenth century and given the number 752.⁵⁴ In the Heyer Museum it was given its present number, 2060. Like Spieluhr no. 2061 it was badly damaged in World War II and has not yet been restored.⁵⁵

Barrel no. 13 bears the following inscription: "Adagio / comp. del Sig. van Beethoven." Simon points out that it actually contains the second and third movements of Beethoven's Sonata in E-flat Major for Violin and Piano, op. 12, no. 3, composed in 1799 (fig. 52, page 70).⁵⁶ During the years 1812-13 Beethoven frequented Mälzel's shop⁵⁷ and perhaps agreed to let the inventor use the sonata in the secretary.

Unfortunately the secretary version is not available in either manuscript or published score and is not likely to become so because the instrument is very badly damaged. The

⁵⁴Wit, pp. 158-59. A photograph of the instrument appears on page 159 of the <u>Katalog</u>.

⁵⁵Simon, p. 39.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 32. Kinsky dates the sonata from 1797-98. Kinsky-Halm, p. 28.

57_{Simon}, p. 93.

⁵³Simon, pp. 30-31.

Fig. 52. Beethoven's Sonata in E-flat Major for Violin and Piano, op. 12, no. 3, opening measures of a) movement 2, b) movement 3



piece cannot therefore be analyzed to determine whether the secretary version should be included in the corpus of Beethoven's organ works.

<u>Nellington's Sieg oder die Schlacht bei</u> <u>Vittoria for Panharmonicon (Hess 108</u>)

Origin

One further piece is occasionally included in discussions of Beethoven's works for mechanical instruments. This is his piece celebrating the victory of the English armies commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, over the French forces under Jean-Baptiste Jourdan at a battle near Vitoria, Spain, on 21 June 1813.⁵⁸

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 94.

When word of Wellington's victory reached Vienna on 27 July 1813, Mälzel was eager to take advantage of the victory during his forthcoming tour of England and asked Beethoven to write a work for his panharmonicon. In October 1813 Beethoven, under Mälzel's supervision, completed the score. Unable to transcribe the piece for his instrument, Mälzel returned the score, suggesting that Beethoven expand it into a battle fantasy for orchestra. Beethoven added an eight-measure introduction and string parts to the score, and it became the second section of his Battle Symphony, Wellington's Victory, op. 91.⁵⁹

The work was never performed by the panharmonicon. It was, however, performed in its original version by live musicians on 8 and 12 December 1813 at the University of Vienna for an audience of war invalids.⁶⁰

Manuscript Artaria 181

The original autograph, Artaria 181, is owned by the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DDR). The manuscript consists of thirty folios in oblong format. Folios 1-2 and 17-30 are fourteen-stave manuscript paper; ff. 3-10 are twelve-stave paper; and ff. 11-16 are ten-stave paper. Odd-numbered paginations have been added in pencil. Corrections of the ink manuscript are also in pencil. The title page reads: "Auf

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 94-95. ⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 95-96.

Wellington's Sieg / bej Vittoria. 1813 / geschrieben für Hr: Maelzel von Ludwig van Beethoven."⁶¹

Edition

A first edition of the panharmonicon version, edited by Hess, has recently been published in volume four of the <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>. The piece is scored for the following instruments: piccolo, flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, contrabassoon, horns, trumpets, trombones, timpani, Türkish Teller, snare drum, bass drum, and organ (fig. 53, page 73).⁶²

Wellington's Sieg as an organ work

The panharmonicon version of <u>Wellington's Sieg</u> is inconceivable as an organ work without a substantial reduction of the original score. Even on an organ possessing stops corresponding to Beethoven's instrumentation, the manipulation of stops and rapid manual changes required to perform the work would be difficult, and more probably impossible. Wellington's Sieg is therefore not practical as an organ work.

Conclusion

Of the works for mechanical instruments attributed to Beethoven, only five may be considered legitimate organ works.

⁶¹Bartlitz, p. 30.

⁶²Beethoven, <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>, 4:71-97. The version for full orchestra is found in id., <u>Werke</u>, series 2, no. 10.

Allegro con brio. J = 128 1813 5 Flauto piccolo 4 A É £ Flauti İ. Oboi 4 Clarinetti (in C) Fagotti Contralagotto 9:4 0 Û unis Corni (in C) e. . . . A Clarini (in C) A **H H** Ĥ 9:4 0 1 Tromboni Ð Timpani 0 Í Triangel Türkisch Teller Kleine Tromme Große Trommel . 21 0 Orgelbass

Fig. 53. Beethoven's <u>Wellington's Sieg oder die</u> Schlacht bei Vittoria for Panharmonicon (Hess 108), mm. 1-5

They are: 1) Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1), 2) Scherzo (Allegro No. 2) in G Major (WoO 33, no. 2), 3) Allegro in G Major (WoO 33, no. 3), 4) <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> in F Major (Hess 107), and 5) Adagio for Mechanical Secretary. Only the first four are extant.

The Allegro and Allegretto (Minuet) in C Major (WoO 33, nos. 4-5) are not legitimate organ works, despite their designation as such by Thayer, Schünemann, and Kinsky. The panharmonicon version of <u>Wellington's Sieg oder die</u> <u>Schlacht bei Vittoria</u> is inconceivable as an organ work because the effects cannot be manually achieved on the instrument.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGAN TRIOS

Editions

The organ trios have long been an area of confusion and controversy. There are four trios, published in two groups. The first three trios, in the keys of G minor, E-flat minor, and E minor respectively, were first edited for organ by Charles Tournemire and published in 1938, bearing the title "Pièces en trio de claviers."¹ They have appeared in subsequent editions by H. W. Gray and Le Grand Orgue.²

The fourth trio was first published for organ in 1942 in an edition by Marcel Dupré.³ Despite its title, "Fugue en MI mineur," it is stylistically very similar to the three Tournemire trios. It has also appeared in editions by Le Grand Orgue and Edition Musicus.⁴

¹Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Pièces en trio de claviers</u>, ed. Charles Arnould Tournemire (Paris: Max Eschig, 1938).

²Id., <u>Three Trios for Organ</u>, ed. Robert Leech Bedell (New York: H. W. Gray, n.d.); id., <u>Original Works</u>, ed. Robert Leech Bedell (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Le Grand Orgue, n.d.), pp. 2-13.

³Id., <u>Fugue en MI mineur</u>, ed. Marcel Dupré, Anthologie des maîtres classiques de l'orgue, no. 3 (Paris: Bornemann, 1942).

⁴Id., <u>Original Works</u>, pp. 14-18; Robert Leech Bedell, ed., <u>Bach</u>, <u>Beethoven</u>, <u>Brahms</u>: <u>Original Works for Organ</u> (New York: Edition Musicus, n.d.). The author has been unable to locate page numbers for the latter reference.

Sources Used by Tournemire and Dupré

Tournemire states in his preface that the trios come from pages 5-18 of volume two of a "totally forgotten work" entitled <u>Études de Beethoven</u>, by François Joseph Fétis, published in 1833.⁵ Actually the <u>Études</u> is only a French translation by Fétis of Ignaz von Seyfried's work, <u>Ludwig van</u> <u>Beethoven's Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der</u> <u>Compositions-Lehre</u>, published in Vienna in 1832.⁶ The three trios appear in the original Seyfried publication,⁷ as well as in the French translation. Seyfried lists the trios as "Nachahmungen à tre, mit einer fortlaufenden freyen Stimme."⁸

The fourth trio (edited by Dupré) also appears in the French translation of Seyfried, as well as in the original German version, bearing the title "Fuga à due Violini e Violoncello."⁹ Dupré very likely used the French translation as the source for his Fugue en MI mineur.

⁵Ignaz von Seyfried, <u>Études de Beethoven</u>, trans. François Joseph Fétis, 2 vols. (Paris: Schlesinger, 1833), 2:5-18.

⁶Id., <u>Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien im Generalbasse</u>, <u>Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre</u> (Vienna: Haslinger, 1832).

⁷Ibid., pp. 160-71.

⁸Ibid., p. 160. In French they are entitled "Imitation à trois parties avec le mélange d'une partie libre." Id., <u>Études</u>, 2:5.

⁹Ibid., pp. 47-53; id., <u>Beethoven's Studien</u>, pp. 197-203.

Seyfried's Studien

At the auction of Beethoven's estate in 1827, the Viennese publisher Tobias Haslinger purchased five packages of contrapuntal exercises, listed in the auction catalog as item 149.¹⁰ Haslinger commissioned Seyfried, musical director at Schikaneder's Theatre in Vienna, to compile them. The resulting <u>Studien</u> of 1832 was a sloppily edited publication that became a continuing source of confusion.

Nottebohm, in the final chapter of his <u>Beethoveniana</u> of 1872, was the first to discuss the errors and identify actual sources of the contents of Seyfried's work. Nottebohm pointed out that many of the exercises were not by Beethoven, but by other theorists and composers, including Johann Joseph Fux, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann Philipp Kirnberger, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, and Daniel Gottlob Türk. In addition, Seyfried had introduced numerous alterations not found in Beethoven's original manuscripts.¹¹

Nottebohm identified the exercises contained in the five packages auctioned to Haslinger as the <u>Materialien zum</u> <u>Generalbass</u> prepared by Beethoven during the summer of 1809 to teach composition to the Archduke Rudolph. In the

¹⁰Thayer-Forbes, 2:1066. The MSS now comprise Beethovenautograph 75 in the archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.

¹¹Gustav Nottebohm, <u>Beethoveniana</u> (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1872; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970), pp. 154-203 passim.

<u>Materialien</u> Beethoven included his own exercises as well as examples from the works of earlier composers and theorists mentioned above.¹² He did not intend to plagiarize their works, but wanted to use them as models for the archduke to imitate. He neglected to identify the sources of many of the borrowed examples, a practice common during the period. Therefore, when Seyfried compiled the exercises for his <u>Studien</u>, he mistakenly attributed works by other composers to Beethoven.¹³

The True Identities of the Trios

Trios no. 1 and 2

The first and second organ trios edited by Tournemire come from examples copied in the <u>Materialien</u>. According to Nottebohm:

Die bei Seyfried S. 160-167 abgedruckten Stücke liegen auch in Beethoven's Handschrift vor. Die Stücke sind aber nicht von Beethoven. Beethoven hat nur sie abgeschrieben. Sie sind von Ph. E. Bach und stehen in dessen "Sei Sonate per Cembalo, Op. 2". (Das Stück in G-moll ist der 2. Satz der 4., das in Es-moll der 2. Satz der 5. Sonate.) Zu bemerken ist, dass Beethoven die Stücke nicht, wie Ph. E. Bach, auf zwei, sondern auf drei Linien-Systeme geschrieben hat.¹⁴

Bach's Sei Sonate per Cembalo, op. 2, commonly known as the "Württemberg" Sonatas (Wq. 49), were first published in

12 Ibid.

¹³Warren Kirkendale, <u>Fuge und Fugato in der Kammermusik</u> <u>des Rokoko und der Klassik</u> (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1966), pp. 246-50. See also Thayer-Forbes, 1:467.

¹⁴Nottebohm, <u>Beethoveniana</u>, p. 183.

Nuremberg in 1744.¹⁵ A comparison of the slow movement of the fourth sonata with the first organ trio reveals them to be one and the same piece (fig. 54). The second organ trio is likewise the same as the slow movement of Bach's fifth sonata (fig. 55, page 80).

Fig. 54. Comparison of a) C. P. E. Bach's fourth "Württemberg" Sonata (Wq. 49, no. 4), movement 2, mm. 1-5, and b) Beethoven's Organ Trio No. 1 in G Minor, mm. 1-5









¹⁵The "Württemberg" Sonatas were dedicated to Bach's pupil at the Berlin court, Duke Carl Eugen of

Fig. 55. Comparison of a) C. P. E. Bach's fifth "Württemberg" Sonata (Wq. 49, no. 5), movement 2, mm. 1-5, and b) Beethoven's Organ Trio No. 2 in E-flat Minor, mm. 1-7





Trio no. 3 and Fugue en MI mineur

Manuscripts for the third trio appear three times in Beethoven's hand. The first two, a sketch and a fair copy corrected by Albrechtsberger, are in Beethovenautograph 75 in the archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.

Württemberg. William S. Newman, <u>The Sonata in the Classic</u> <u>Era</u>, 2d ed. (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 416. Published editions of the sonatas are listed in appendix 6.

Fig. 56. Comparison of Beethoven's a) Organ Trio No. 3 in E Minor, mm. 1-3, and b) Prelude in E Minor for String Trio (Hess 29), mm. 1-3; comparison of Beethoven's c) Fugue in E Minor (Dupré), mm. 1-4, and d) Fugue in E Minor for String Trio (Hess 29), mm. 1-4





c)



d)

The third, a final fair copy with yet further alterations, was recently discovered by Hess in Beethovenautograph 78 in Vienna; neither Seyfried nor Nottebohm was aware of the third source.¹⁶

In his book entitled <u>Beethoven's Studien: Beethoven's</u> <u>Unterricht bei J. Haydn, Albrechtsberger und Salieri</u>, Nottebohm observes that in the first fair copy the trio is followed by the words "attacca Fuga." The fugue that follows turns out to be the trio-fugue edited by Dupré. After the fugue are the words "mit einem Presto endigen," suggesting still a third movement. The presto movement is not extant.¹⁷ Included in the manuscript are indications that the piece is for a string trio (two violins and cello).¹⁸

An edition by Hess of the two extant movements has recently been published as a prelude and fugue for string trio.¹⁹ A comparison of the third Tournemire trio and Dupré's trio-fugue with Hess's edition reveals them to be the same pieces (fig. 56, page 82). Yet Hess, in tracing the history of the prelude and fugue in his preface, makes

¹⁸Nottebohm, <u>Beethoven's Studien</u>, p. 70.

¹⁶Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Praeludium und Fuge in E-moll</u> <u>für Streichtrio</u>, ed. Willy Hess (Kassel: Nagel, 1955), foreword.

¹⁷Kirkendale, p. 268, suggests that Beethoven never composed the Presto.

¹⁹Beethoven, <u>Praeludium und Fuge in E-moll</u>; and id., <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>, 6:32-41.

no mention of the organ trios, perhaps because he is unaware of their history?²⁰ This is another example of the obscurity and confusion surrounding the organ trios.

Variants in Published Sources

Trios no. 1 and 2

As observed by Nottebohm, the chief difference between the original C. P. E. Bach version and the later editions attributed to Beethoven is that the later editions were written on three staves, probably due to the large amount of crossing between the upper parts. Other variations primarily concern accidentals, ties, and rhythmic alterations.²¹ Although the most noticeable differences occur between the original Bach and the first edition of Seyfried, there are a few discrepancies between the Fétis version and the Tournemire edition of the organ trios.

The most significant changes occur at the ends of the trios. In the first trio Beethoven expands the final two measures of the Bach version to three (fig. 57, page 84); he follows the same procedure in the second trio (fig. 58). It

²¹A list of variants is found in appendix 5.

²⁰Hess does, however, mention the following: Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Sonata a tre, in Six Movements</u>, ed. Alfred Pochon (New York: Carl Fischer, 1926). The sonata's second movement is the same as the first organ trio; its fourth movement, the second organ trio; its fifth movement, the third organ trio; and its sixth movement, the trio-fugue. See Beethoven, <u>Praeludium und Fuge in E-moll</u>, foreword, and Hess, <u>Verzeichnis</u>, p. 22.

Fig. 57. Comparison of a) C. P. E. Bach's fourth "Württemberg" Sonata (Wq. 49, no. 4), movement 2, mm. 33-35, with cadenza, and b) Beethoven's Organ Trio No. 1 in G Minor, mm. 33-36



Fig. 58. Comparison of a) C. P. E. Bach's fifth "Württemberg" Sonata (Wq. 49, no. 5), movement 2, mm. 50-54, with cadenza, and b) Beethoven's Organ Trio No. 2 in E-flat Minor, mm. 50-55

a)





ъ)



was common for contemporary performers to improvise a cadenza when performing the slow movements of Bach's sonatas. Perhaps it was with this in mind that Beethoven lengthened the cadences.

Trio. no. 3

Variants in the editions of the third trio are by far the most numerous. This is due primarily to the many alterations made by Beethoven himself as he twice reworked the piece. The Hess version is the most authentic because it is the only one based on Beethoven's final manuscript copy, in which entire measures were rewritten. The Tournemire edition is the least authentic edition. It incorporates not only Seyfried's errors, based on Beethoven's earlier versions, but additional errors original to the organ edition.

The most striking example of this occurs at the end of the trio. In the Hess version the piece ends on the dominant and proceeds directly to the fugue (fig. 59a, page 87). Seyfried was unaware of its connection with the fugue and so, realizing that the piece could not end conclusively on the dominant, added six measures to make the piece sound more decisive (fig. 59b).²² Tournemire further altered the original final chord (the dominant located seven measures from the end of the Seyfried version) to something like an incomplete leading-tone seventh chord with b' in the top voice suspended (fig. 59c). All three versions give very differing effects.

Fugue en MI mineur

The fourth trio was the most faithfully transcribed of all the trios. Its most significant variant occurs at the cadence. Seyfried attached an additional measure at the close to make the cadence more conclusive (fig. 60, page 88).

Conclusion

The so-called organ trios seemingly have been ignored by the bulk of Beethoven scholars. Likewise the origin of the trios is unknown to most organists. Some organists, however,

²²Nottebohm, <u>Beethoveniana</u>, p. 182.



(в

Fig. 59. Comparison of editions of Beethoven's third trio (Hess 29): a) Hess edition, for string trio, mm. 61-66; b) Seyfried version, mm. 61-72; and c) Tournemire edition, for organ, mm. 61-72

<u>7</u>8

Fig. 60. Comparison of Beethoven's a) Fugue in E Minor for String Trio (Hess 29), mm. 65-69, and b) Fugue in E Minor (Seyfried), mm. 64-70



seem headed in the right direction. Wilhelm Krumbach, in his recording entitled <u>Ludwig van Beethoven: Music for Organ</u>, properly omitted the first two trios. But he included the third trio and the trio-fugue (Dupré), played as a group: he realized their connection, but ignored or overlooked the fact that they are not organ works.²³

²³Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Music for Organ (Complete)</u>,

Investigation of the so-called organ trios has long since been completed, but being scattered throughout sources of greater or lesser authority, has lacked a synthesis. With a correlation of available sources, it may be stated with certainty that none of the organ trios is an authentic organ work. The first two trios are not by Beethoven, but by C. P. E. Bach, and are intended for harpsichord. The third trio and the trio-fugue are not separate pieces for organ, but are the first two movements (and the only ones extant) of a three-movement composition, prelude-fuguepresto, for string trio.

performed by Wilhelm Krumbach, record jacket notes by Karl Krumbach (Musical Heritage Society MHS 1517), side 1, band 2.

CHAPTER V

OTHER WORKS OF QUESTIONABLE AUTHENTICITY

A few remaining works, not actually published in organ editions. are nevertheless regarded as organ works by some few sources. This chapter will discuss their attribution and seek to clarify their identities.

Works Attributed to the Organ by Karl and Wilhelm Krumbach

In a recording of the Musical Heritage Society entitled Ludwig van Beethoven: Music for Organ, Karl and Wilhelm Krumbach (annotator and performer) include three pieces never before cited as organ works: Fugue Cycle in D Minor on Themes of J. S. Bach (1793), Praludium [sic] in F Minor, WoO 55, and Fugue in C Major (c. 1795).¹

Fugue Cycle in D Minor on Themes of J. S. Bach

In his annotations to the recording, Karl Krumbach states that the Fugue Cycle in D Minor is one of Beethoven's most significant exercises completed while studying under Albrechtsberger in Vienna. The work, completed in 1793, is "based on adaptations of themes from Bach's Art of Fugue." He further states:

¹Ibid., side 1, bands 3-4; side 2, band 2. 90

Like Bach's <u>Art of Fugue</u>, they were not intended for a specific instrument, but only the organ can render them adequately, and the traditional links between organ and fugue provide a further justification.²

The six fugues of the cycle are: 1) Fuga a tre (Hess 237, no. 4), 2) Fuga a 4 (Hess 238, no. 2), 3) Fuga a 4 con c.f. (Hess 239, no. 2), 4) Fuga duplex (Hess 243, no. 4), 5) Fuga a 4 cromatica (Hess 238, no. 4), and 6) Fuga a tre sogetti (Hess 244, no. 1). Their opening measures are given in figure 61.

Fig. 61. Opening measures of the fugues of the Fugue Cycle in D Minor on Themes of J. S. Bach: a) Fuga a tre (Hess 237, no. 4), b) Fuga a 4 (Hess 238, no. 2), c) Fuga a 4 con c.f. (Hess 239, no. 2), d) Fuga duplex (Hess 243, no. 4), e) Fuga a 4 cromatica (Hess 238, no. 4), and f) Fuga a tre sogetti (Hess 244, no. 1)

a)



b)



²Ibid., record jacket notes.

Fig. 61 continued



d)



e)

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<u>Published sources</u>. Seyfried includes the first, fourth, and sixth fugues in <u>Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien</u> <u>im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre</u>.³ He also lists the subjects of the second and fifth fugues;⁴ the third fugue is omitted altogether. All but the first fugue are included in Nottebohm's <u>Beethoven's Studien</u>.⁵

<u>Manuscript sources</u>. The pieces of the so-called fugue cycle are part of the large Beethovenautograph in the archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.⁶ The first fugue is written on twelve-stave manuscript paper; the others are on sixteen-stave paper. Each voice is assigned to a separate staff. All but the first fugue have four-stave braces; the first uses three-stave braces.⁷

The Fugue Cycle in D Minor as an organ work. There is no evidence that Beethoven ever intended the six fugues to be grouped as a cycle. After examining Beethovenautograph 75,

³Seyfried, pp. 192-93, 283-88, 313-19.

⁴Ibid., pp. 205-6. See also Nottebohm, <u>Beethoven's</u> <u>Studien</u>, p. 72.

⁵Ibid., pp. 100-102, 120-24, 172-75, 106-8, 180-84 respectively.

⁶Cf. n. 10, p. 77.

¹Microfilms for the six fugues of the fugue cycle were made available by Dr. Hedwig Mitringer of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, who searched them out from among the exercises of Beethovenautograph 75. Dr. Mitringer supplied no folio references.

Dr. Hedwig Mitringer of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde wrote that the six fugues are not grouped together in the autograph and that there are no visible indications to suggest that the fugues were intended as a cycle.⁸ Neither Seyfried, Nottebohm, nor Hess mention any D minor fugue cycle in their treatments of Beethoven's fugues completed under Albrechtsberger. Instead they group the fugues of the so-called cycle with fugues in other keys, according to number of voices or techniques involved.⁹

It therefore seems certain that Beethoven did not intend the fugues of the Fugue Cycle in D Minor as a group. They are instead separate exercises, grouped together for organ by Karl and Wilhelm Krumbach because of their common tonal centers.

Fugue in C Major (Hess 64)

The Fugue in C Major, composed in 1794 while Beethoven was studying with Albrechtsberger, has recently experienced a degree of notice through its discussion in articles by Alan Edgar Frederic Dickinson and in John V. Cockshoot's book entitled The Fugue in Beethoven's Piano Music. Both Dickinson

⁸Dr. Hedwig Mitringer, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, letter to the author, Vienna, 2 March 1976.

⁹Seyfried, pp. 181-325; Nottebohm, <u>Beethoven's Studien</u>, pp. 70-190; Hess, <u>Verzeichnis</u>, pp. 66-67.

Fig. 62. Opening measures of Beethoven's Fugue in C Major (Hess 64)



and Cockshoot identify the fugue as a piano work.¹⁰ Only the Krumbachs include it as an organ work.

Editions. The Fugue in C Major has been published in at least five editions, the most recent of which is in volume two of Joseph Kerman's <u>Ludwig van Beethoven: Autograph Miscel-</u> <u>lany from Circa 1786 to 1799.¹¹</u> Dickinson has published an edition in two periodicals, and Jack Werner has edited a piano edition.¹² The work is also included in volume nine of Hess's <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe.¹³</u>

<u>Manuscript</u>. The piece is found on f. 158r of British Museum <u>Additional</u> 29801; ff. 39-162 of the manuscript comprise

11 Kerman, 2:130.

¹²Dickinson, "Beethoven's Early Fugal Style," pp. 78-79; id., "Eine vergessene Fuge Beethovens," pp. 101-2; Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Fugue in C</u>, ed. Jack Werner (London: Joseph Williams, 1956).

¹³Beethoven, <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>, 9:15-16.

¹⁰Dickinson, pp. 76-79; id., "Eine vergessene Fuge Beethovens," trans. K. H. Wörner, <u>Neue Zeitschrift für Musik</u> 116 (November 1955): 101-3; John V. Cockshoot, <u>The Fugue in</u> <u>Beethoven's Piano Music</u> (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959), pp. 28-37.

the "Kafka" Sketchbook, the earliest extant collection of Beethoven's sketches.¹⁴ The fugue's four voices are written on two-stave braces, occupying the first twelve lines of the sixteen-line page in oblong format. The remainder of f. 158r contains fragments of the Sonatina in C Major for Mandolin and Piano (WoO 44a).¹⁵ Folio 158v consists of sketch fragments of what Kerman identifies as variations on Mozart's "Là ci darem la mano" for violoncello and piano and a Symphony in C, Introduction-Allegro.¹⁶ In the upper lefthand corner of f. 158r is the word "Fuge." Beneath line 12 are the words "ma Chi tutti può far que etc."¹⁷

<u>Medium</u>. All sources agree that the Fugue in C Major is intended for keyboard. Beethoven himself, however, gives no indications regarding its actual keyboard medium. While Kerman identifies it simply as a keyboard piece, Werner and

¹⁵Kerman, 2:83.
¹⁶Ibid., 1:xxxv.
¹⁷London, British Museum, <u>Additional</u> 29801, f. 158.

¹⁴The "Kafka" Sketchbook is named after Johann Nepomuk Kafka (1819-86), who sold it to the British Museum on 12 June 1875. Kafka purchased the sketches from Artaria & Co. of Vienna. Domenico Artaria likely acquired it in 1827 when Beethoven's library was sold. According to Pamela J. Willets, <u>Beethoven and England: An Account of Sources in the British Museum</u> (London: British Museum, 1970), p. 5, and Kerman, 1:xxii, xxiv, fifty-six additional leaves of the sketchbook are found in Autograph 28 in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DDR). Autograph 28 is not listed in Bartlitz. According to Hans Schmidt, "Verzeichnis der Skizzen Beethovens," <u>Beethoven-Jahrbuch</u>, neue Folge, zweite Reihe, 6 (1965-68): 28-30, the manuscript is now owned by the Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (ERD).
Cockshoot specifically label it a piano piece.¹⁸ Dickinson concedes that it is a piano piece, but adds that it would be effective on the organ.¹⁹

An examination of the piece shows that it is playable on either piano or organ. There are, however, passages that would be awkward on either instrument. As shown in figure 63, measure 36 requires a hand capable of spanning a tenth if performed on the piano; on the organ, with the aid of the pedals, the measure would be much simpler.



Fig. 63. Beethoven's Fugue in C Major (Hess 64), mm. 33-38

The reiteration of the dominant pedal point at the beginning of each measure in bars 33-36 (fig. 63) suggests piano performance; on the organ it would be more characteristic to tie the notes.

¹⁸Kerman, 2:130; Werner, p. 1; Cockshoot, p. 28.
¹⁹Dickinson, "Beethoven's Early Fugal Style," p. 77.

<u>Conclusion</u>. Although it is impossible to establish the medium of the Fugue in C Major (Hess 64) with absolute certainty, the current concensus favors the piano. At the time he wrote the piece, Beethoven had forsaken the organ as a performing instrument and had begun to focus on the piano. It is therefore likely that the Fugue in C Major is intended for piano solo.

Prelude in F Minor (WoO 55)

The Prelude in F Minor (WoO 55) was first published in Vienna in January 1805. The title page of the first edition begins: "PRÉLUDE / pour le / —Pianoforte— / composé / par / LOUIS VAN BEETHOVEN"²⁰ In his <u>Thematisches</u> <u>Verzeichniss der im Druck erschienenen Werke von Ludwig van</u> <u>Beethoven</u>, Nottebohm observes that a copy of the first edition bears the inscription "à l'âge de 15 ans" in a strange hand.²¹ If that inscription is correct, the piece would date from about 1785 or 1787.²²

Only the Krumbachs claim the work for organ. All other sources acknowledge it as a piece for piano, as recorded on the title page of the first edition. Cockshoot

²⁰Kinsky-Halm, p. 501. The piece is found in Beethoven, <u>Werke</u>, series 18, no. 195.

²¹Gustav Nottebohm, <u>Thematisches Verzeichniss der im</u> <u>Druck erschienenen Werke von Ludwig van Beethoven</u>, 2d ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1868), p. 149.

²²See n. 9, p. 3.

Fig. 64. Opening measures of Beethoven's Prelude in F Minor (WoO 55)

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concedes, however, that

This short piece, though for pianoforte, appears more suitable for the organ (manuals only), and seems a conscious imitation of J. S. Bach's organ works, some of which Beethoven may have known as a result of his teacher Neefe's being then the court organist at Bonn.²³

Cockshoot's observation is valid: the prelude does seem better suited to organ performance. But there is no supporting documentation to indicate that it was intended as an organ work.

It is possible that Beethoven did write the prelude for organ while in Bonn; perhaps he even performed it on the organ in the electoral chapel. All such hypotheses are, however, purely conjectural. It may be concluded, therefore, that the Prelude in F Minor (WoO 55) is not a legitimate organ work.

Praeludium für Orgel, C-dur (Hess 310)

In his <u>Verzeichnis</u>, Hess lists a Praeludium für Orgel, C-dur under the index number 310. Concerning the piece he

²³Cockshoot, p. 145.

writes: "Ein solches soll sich in einem Bande '87 kleine Praeludien,' herausgegeben von Paul Honegger, befinden." No further bibliographic information is given.²⁴ An extensive search of bibliographic tools for English, French, and German publications has uncovered no such edition.

Regarding the pieces indexed under numbers 310-12, Hess writes: "Auf folgende drei Nummern hat mich Fritz Kaiser aufmerksam gemacht, ohne weitere Details nennen zu können."²⁵ Hess has included the prelude on second-hand information, and Kaiser has apparently confused the work with some other.

Orgel Variationen

On f. 123 of British Museum <u>Additional</u> 29801 (the "Kafka" Sketchbook)²⁶ are what at first glance appear to be sketches of some organ variations. Beethoven's inscription in the upper right-hand corner of f. 123v reads: "Orgel Variationen."²⁷ Until 1959 their true identity remained unknown. In that year Cockshoot identified them as sketches for the Variations on "Venni amore" (by Vincenzo Righini) for

> ²⁴Hess, <u>Verzeichnis</u>, p. 81. ²⁵Ibid. ²⁶See n. 14, p. 96.

²⁷See Augustus Hughes-Hughes, <u>Catalogue of Manuscript</u> <u>Music in the British Museum</u>, vol. 3: <u>Instrumental Music</u>, <u>Treatises, etc.</u> (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1909), p. 96.

Piano (WoO 65).²⁸ Composed in 1790, the variations were first published in Mannheim in 1791.²⁹

Concerning the manuscript Cockshoot writes:

In the top right-hand corner of one leaf Beethoven has written <u>Orgel Variationen</u>, but the sketches that follow seem to have no connexion with the organ and sometimes • • • exceed the lower range of a manual. It is possible that Beethoven had originally intended to devote the page to some organ variations but used it for these piano variations instead.³⁰

Kerman, on the other hand, speculates that Beethoven may have added the inscription at a later date.³¹ Cockshoot's thesis seems more probable. Beethoven would presumably not have indicated that the pieces were for organ after they had already been published for piano.

It may therefore be concluded that the legend "Orgel Variationen" does not indicate an organ work and is not connected with the sketches for Beethoven's Variations on "Venni amore (by Vincenzo Righini) for Piano (WoO 65).

Conclusion

Of the five pieces or sketches discussed in this chapter, only one---the Fugue in C Major---has any claim as a legitimate organ work. The Fugue Cycle in D Minor, the Prelude in F Minor (WoO 55), the Praeludium für Orgel, C-dur

²⁸Cockshoot, p. 146.

²⁹Kinsky-Halm, pp. 512-13. Beethoven, <u>Werke</u>, series 17, no. 178.

³⁰Cockshoot, p. 146. ³¹Kerman, 2:283.

(Hess 310), and the Orgel Variationen are not part of the corpus of Beethoven's organ works.

APPENDIX 1

BEETHOVEN'S ORGANS

Information regarding the organs Beethoven played is incomplete. Details about the organ at the Church of the Franciscans are not available. Little is known about the organ at the electoral chapel except that after 1777 it was a small chamber organ; in that year a fire in the chapel destroyed the earlier organ.¹ Following the fire the elector temporarily used the Church of the Franciscans for court services. Even after the electoral chapel was repaired and the small organ installed, the Church of the Franciscans was used for court services on important occasions.²

The organ at the Minorite Church was probably the largest instrument Beethoven regularly used while in Bonn. Its console had three manuals and a 27-note pedalboard. The stop knobs were arranged in three horizontal rows above the music stand, out of reach of the seated organist. The central row of stops had somewhat larger knobs than the other two. To the right of the top manual was an additional knob, possibly a coupler or ventil. The specifications (fig. 65, page 104) account for two manuals and the pedal. William Leslie Summer

¹Thayer-Forbes, 1:68. ²Ibid., p. 74.

Top row ("Pedal")	Middle row ("Manual")	Lowest row ("Positiv")
Top row ("Pedal") Trompete 4' Trompete 8' Posaune 16' Oktavbass 4' Floete 8' Oktavbass 8' Prinzipal 16'	Floete 4' Trompete 4' Trompete 8' Viola da Gamba 8' Cimpel 1/2' Mixtur 2/3' Terze 1 3/4' Quinte 5 1/3' Cornet Disc. 4' Oktave 2' Floete 8' Tintinabula Disc. 4' (only Tintina is legible) Gedackt 8'	Lowest row ("Positiv") Trompete Disc. 8' Krummhorn Dics. 8' Krummhornbass 8' Mixtur 1' Quinte 1 1/3' Oktave 2' Gedackt 4' Prinzipal Disc. 8' Gedackt 8' Oktave 4'
	Oktave 4' Bourdon 8' Prinzipal 8'	

Fig. 65. Specifications of the Minorite Church organ³

gives two possible explanations for the third manual: 1) it may have controlled a single rank of pipes—a flute rank for vocal accompaniment or a solo reed rank; or 2) it may have controlled a Rückpositiv, with the stop knobs on the case in back of the organist.⁴

The original Minorite organ remained in use until 1904, when the Bonn organ builder Johannes Klais erected a new instrument, retaining only the original oak case.⁵ In 1905 the minister of St. Remigius Church (the former Minorite Church) donated the original console to the Beethovenhaus in

³Altman, <u>Orgelwerke</u>, foreword. ⁴Sumner, p. 323.

⁵Austin, "Beethoven and the Organ," p. 526. Austin includes a picture of the oak case.

Bonn, where it now stands. The pipe work of the original instrument is not preserved.⁶

⁶Altman, <u>Orgelwerke</u>, foreword. Altman includes a picture of the original console.

APPENDIX 2

COUNT JOSEPH DEYM VON STŘITETŽ AND HIS MÜLLERISCHE KUNSTCABINET

Count Joseph Deym von Střitetž was born in Bohemia in 1750. He joined the army, and after an unlucky duel in which he thought he had killed his opponent he fled to Holland and became a wax sculptor under the pseudonym Müller.¹ He soon went to Italy. where he set about making plaster copies of statues, busts, and vases in Naples, Rome, and Florence.² At Naples, Queen Carolina even permitted him to make copies of Sir William Hamilton's collection. A wealthy man, Müller settled in Vienna in about 1780 and opened his first Müllerische Kunstcabinet in the Stock-im-Eisen-Platz near St. Stephen's Cathedral, where he exhibited about one hundred copied items.³ By charging entrance fees Müller soon expanded his collection to include original bronze and ivory statuaries, life-like wax figures of numerous eminent contemporaries, costly vases, paintings, drawings, Spieluhren, automatons, and all manner of fabulous art works.4

> ¹Deutsch, p. 140. ²Simon, p. 74. ³Deutsch, p. 140. ⁴Simon. p. 74.

Mozart composed several pieces for Mtiller's Spieluhren. The first, his Adagio and Allegro in F Minor/Major (K. 594), was begun in October 1790 while on a journey to Frankfurt and completed in December 1790.⁵ The eight-minute work was heard hourly in the fabulous Laudon Mausoleum erected in honor of Emperor Joseph II and Field Marshal Gideon Ernst von Laudon.⁶ Mozart's second piece, the Fantasie in F Minor (K. 608), is dated 3 March 1791.⁷ There is no record of any instrument performing this piece.⁸ The Andante in F Major (K. 616) was completed 4 May 1791.⁹ Otto Erich Deutsch writes that the third piece was probably performed by

a lady <u>en négligée</u> [sic]¹⁰ and modelled life-size, seated at the pianoforte, on which lies the apparatus required for playing; she touches the keys with her fingers, and one is frequently deceived with the more certainty when the adjoining magnificent clock, which is in a well-gilt case, announces the quarterhours with its chimes, but the hours with the pianoforte itself.¹¹

⁵Kinsky, "Beethoven und die Flötenuhr," p. 323.

⁶According to Simon, p. 74, the mausoleum was first announced in the <u>Wiener Zeitung</u> on 23 March 1791 as a building separate from the Kunstcabinet. Deutsch, p. 143, however, quotes a description of the mausoleum from the 17 August 1791 issue of the <u>Zeitung</u> that indicates that the enormous mausoleum was constructed inside the Kunstcabinet.

⁷Kinsky, "Beethoven und die Flötenuhr," p. 323. ⁸Simon, p. 78, states that it too may have been performed in the Laudon Mausoleum.

⁹Kinsky, "Beethoven und die Flötenuhr," p. 323.
¹⁰Brackets Deutsch's.
¹¹Deutsch, pp. 142, 144-45.

Alfred Einstein suggests that a fourth piece by Mozart, a mechanical version of the first movement of the Adagio and Rondo for Glass Harmonica, Flute, Oboe, Viola, and Cello (K. 617), composed 23 May 1791, may have been used in another display, the "Bedroom of the Graces."¹²

As Müller's art collection continued to expand he moved to a new building in the Kohlmarkt near the Imperial Palace in 1795.¹³ In that same year he received the title of Imperial and Royal Moulder and Sculptor, and later that of chamberlain.¹⁴ In 1797 Müller began construction of a still larger building, the palatial "Müller'sche Gebäude" near Rotenturntor on the Danube, and went very much in dept. He moved his collection to the new building in 1798.¹⁵

In May 1799 the Countess Anna Elisabeth Brunsvik brought her two daughters Therese and Josephine from their home in Martonvászár (near Buda) to Vienna to introduce them into society. During the first day of their eighteen-day stay in Vienna, the Brunsviks visited the Müllerische Kunstcabinet and received a personal tour from Müller, who immediately fell in love with Josephine. Just prior to the

¹³Ibid., p. 140.
¹⁴Ibid., p. 141.
¹⁵Simon, p. 82. See also Deutsch, p. 141.

¹²Ibid., p. 144. An 1801 description of the "Bedroom of the Graces": "A glorious flute music, as though inspired by the breath of love, resounds, without its being possible to tell whence the magic notes come. It is an Adagio by the unforgettable Mozart." Ibid.

Brunsviks' return to Martonvászár, Müller proposed to Josephine.¹⁶ Müller reassumed his original name and title,¹⁷ and the two were married in Martonvászár on 29 June 1799. They returned to live in Vienna.¹⁸ It was during that year that Beethoven gave Deym three pieces for mechanical clock (WoO 33, nos. 1-3).¹⁹

Deym died 27 January 1804, before the birth of his fourth child, and left Josephine to handle the affairs of the deeply indebted enterprise. Josephine remarried 13 February 1810-to the Baron Christoph Stackelberg-and had three more children. Stackelberg left Vienna in 1812 for a lengthy trip through Germany. He returned some time later, only to take his three small daughters first to Bohemia and then to Estonia. He never returned. Josephine died 31 March 1821 leaving the gallery to her four children, who by 1823 had sold the entire collection.²⁰ None of the Flötenuhren survives.²¹

¹⁶Simon, p. 82. ¹⁷Deutsch, p. 141. ¹⁸Simon, p. 82. ¹⁹See pp. 35-36.

²⁰Simon, p. 83. Deutsch, pp. 141-42, writes that the gallery was "partly disposed of and partly destroyed."

²¹Deutsch, p. 142.

APPENDIX 3

COMPARISON OF THE HESS, SCHÜNEMANN, AND

ALTMAN EDITIONS OF BEETHOVEN'S ADAGIO

IN F MAJOR (WoO 33, no. 1)

On the following pages, the upper four-stave brace is the version based on MS Grasnick 23 in Hess's <u>Supplemente zur</u> <u>Gesamtausgabe</u>; the center two-stave brace is <u>Schünemann's</u> piano version; the lower three-stave brace is <u>Altman's</u> organ version.¹ Engraving errors have been corrected as follows:

edition	measure	staff	beat	error	correction
Hess ²	31 32 53 61	top top top bottom	3 3 1 2	8th note 8th note quarter note quarter note	changed to 16th changed to 16th changed to 8th changed to 8th
Schünemann	n 30	bottom	1	8th note	unchanged (should be 16th [?])
	77	top (lower voice)	3	8th note	changed to loth
	78	top (lower voice)	1	8th note	changed to 16th
Altman	72 72 72 72 72 76 79	middle middle bottom bottom middle all	2.25	16th rest 16th rest 32d rest 32d rest 32d rest b-natural quarter rest	changed to 32d changed to 32d changed to 16th changed to 16th changed to 16th unchanged (should be b-flat) omitted

¹Beethoven, <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>, 7:45-50; id., <u>Stücke für die Spieluhr</u>, pp. 3-7; Altman, <u>Orgelwerke</u>, pp. 1-8.

²Corrections of engraving errors in the Hess edition have been made according to MS Grasnick 23.





















































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APPENDIX 4

COMPARISON OF BEETHOVEN'S GRENADIERS MARSCH

WITH ITS ORIGINAL SOURCES

Appendix 4 compares measures 1-20 of the <u>Grenadiers</u> <u>Marsch</u> (Hess 107) with Haydn's March in D Major for Flötenuhr (Hob. XIX:25); it also compares measures 37-56 of the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> with Beethoven's March in B-flat Major for two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons (WoO 29).¹ The <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> is on the upper two-stave brace (key signature: one flat) throughout the comparison. Measures 21-36 of the <u>Grenadiers Marsch</u> (Beethoven's newly-composed transition) are also included.

The repeat at measure 10/20 of Haydn's March in D Major has been added to facilitate comparison; in the original the repeat is written out. The two measures Haydn varies in the repeat (measures 13-14) are indicated here as variants of measures 3-4.

The instrumentation of Beethoven's March in B-flat Major (WoO 29) is: top staff, two B-flat clarinets; center staff, two B-flat horns; and lower staff, two bassoons. Engraving errors have been corrected as follows:

work	measure	staff	beat	error	correction
Grenadiers Marsch	40	bottom	before beat 4	bass clef	clef placed before beat 3
Haydn, Hob XIX:25	21 22 26 29	bottom bottom top top	1 1 1 2.75	l6th note l6th note 8th note l6th rest	changed to 8th changed to 8th changed to 16th changed to 32d

¹Beethoven, <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>, 7:54-55; Haydn, <u>Werke für das Laufwerk</u>, pp. 36-37; Beethoven, <u>Werke</u>, series 25, no. 292.





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APPENDIX 5

TABLE OF VARIANTS IN EDITIONS OF THE TRIOS

Location ¹	C. P. E. Bach ²	Seyfried ³	Tournemire ⁴
Trio #1 (Bach Würt. Son. 4:II)			
m. 1, b. 4.5 to m. 2, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 5, b. 2, top voice	rhythm:	rhythm:	rhythm:
m. 6, b. 2-4	f#' etc in top voice; mid voice rests	f#' etc in mid voice; top voice rests	f#' etc in mid voice; top voice rests
m. 9, b. 2.75, mid woice	£#'	f!	f'
m. 14, b. 2, mid voice	rhythm: Y	rhythm:	rhythm: #
m. 16, b. 4.5 to m. 17, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 17, b. 1.5, top voice	d''	f'''	f''
m. 17, b. 2 mid voice	rhythm:	rhythm:	rhythm:

Abbreviations: m.=measure, b.=beat, mid=middle, bot= bottom, Würt.=Württemberg, Son.=Sonata.

²Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, <u>The Württemberg Sonatas</u> <u>Nos. 4-6</u> (New York: Kalmus, n.d.), <u>pp. 6-7</u>, 15-16. ³Seyfried, <u>Beethoven's Studien</u>, pp. 160-71, 197-203.

⁴Beethoven, <u>Pièces en trio de claviers</u>.

Location	C. P. E. Bach	Seyfried	Tournemire
m. 20, b. 4.75, top voice	d#'''	d''	d''
m. 24, b. 4.5 to m. 25, b. 1, mid voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 26, b. 4.5 to m. 27, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 31, b. 1.75 & 2, mid voice	dp.	d'	d'
m. 31, b. 2.25 & 2.5, top voice	a ^b	a ^b ı	a'
m. 32, b. 4.5 to m. 33, b. 1, bot voice	no tie	tied	tied
end of piece	mm. 34-35 end the mvmt	mm. 34-36 end the trio (different from Bach)	mm. 34-36 end the trio (different from Bach)
m. 34, b. 2 & 4, bot voice		rhythm:	rhythm: # F] =
m. 34		2d note of above rhythmic figure: o#	2d note of
Trio #2 (Bach Würt. Son. 5:II)			
m. 13, b. 2, top voice	e ^{bb} ''	e ^b ''	e ^b ''
m. 13, b. 3.5, top voice	bb'' e	e ^b ''	e ^b ''
m. 19	mid voice rests on b. 2 & 3	e ^b ; on b. 1.5 & a ^b ; on b. 2 not in Bach; top voice rests last 1.5 b. of m.; mid voice has no rests	same as Seyfried

Location	C. P. E. Bach	Seyfried	Tournemire
m. 23, b. 2.25, mid voice	c ^b	c ^b '	b a
m. 25, b. 1.75, mid voice	f ^b '	f'	f'
m. 25, b. 3.25, mid voice	b _{pp} ,	b ^b '	b ^b '
m. 27, b. 1.75, mid voice	g ^b '	g'	g'
m. 31, b. 1.5, top voice	a'	a'	a ^b '
m. 31, b. 3.5, mid voice	f	f	ຮ
m. 32, b. 1.5, top voice	b _p ,	b _p ,	c^b''
m. 37, b. 1.5, mid voice	b ^b '	b ^b '	c ^b ''
m. 39, b. 3.5, top voice	2 ornament	no ornament	no ornament
m. 43, b. 2, top voice	e ^b ''	e ^{bb} ''	e ^{bb} ''
end of piece	mm. 53-54 end the mvmt	mm. 53-55 end the trio (different from Bach)	mm. 53-55 end the trio (different from Bach)
Location	Hess ⁵	Seyfried	
<u>Trio #3</u>			
m. 1, b. 3.5 to m. 2, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 3, b. 3.5 to m. 4, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 4, b. 3.5 to m. 5, b. 1, mid voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 5, b. 3.5, top voice	<i>s</i> #'	<i>s</i> #'	g'
5			

⁵Id., <u>Praeludium und Fuge in E-moll</u>.

Location	Hess	Seyfried	Tournemire
m. 5, b. 3.75, top voice	a#1	a#1	at
m. 6, b. 1, top voice	b' 8th note	f#º dotted 8th note	f#' dotted 8th note
m. 6, b. 1.5, top voice	f#º 16th note	last 3d of above	last 3d of above
m. 6, b. 3.5 to m. 7, b. 1, mid voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 7, b. 3.5 to m. 8, b. 1, bot voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 8, b. 3.5, mid voice	C ¹¹	b''	b''
m. 12, b. 3, top voice	2 8th notes	2 8th notes	quarter note
m. 12, b. 3.5 to m. 13, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 12, b. 2.5 & 3.5, bot voice	g	G	G
m. 12, b. 3, bot voice	Ъ	В	В
m. 13, b. 1, bot voice	d'	đ	d
m. 13, b. 2, bot voice	đ	D	D
<pre>m. 13, b. 3.5 to m. 14, b. 1, top voice</pre>	no tie	tied	tied
<pre>m. 14, b. 3.5 to m. 15, b. 1, top & bot voices</pre>	no tie	tied	tied
<pre>m. 15, b. 3.5 to m. 16, b. 1, top voice</pre>	no tie	tied	tied
m. 18, b. 3.5 to m. 19, b. 1, mid voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 20, b. 2.5, mid voice	C ¹¹	C11	o#''

Location		Hess	Seyfried	Tournemire
m. 20, b. bot voice	1.5,	o#'	C'	c#'
m. 20, b. bot voice	2,	o#	C	o#
m. 20, b. bot voice	3.5,	a#	A#	A#
m. 21, b. bot voice	1,	8th note b	quarter note B	quarter note B
m. 21, b. bot voice	1.5,	quarter note f#	last half of above	last half of above
m. 21, b. bot voice	2,	last half of above	quarter rest	quarter rest
m. 21, b. bot voice	2.5,	8th note d tied to 16th	last half of above	last half of above
m. 21, b. bot voice	3,	end of above	16th rest	16th rest
m. 21, b. m. 22, b. voice		no tie	tied	tied
m. 22, b. bot voice	3.5,	G	G#	G#
m. 22, b. m. 23, b. voice		no tie	tied	tied
m. 24, b. bot voice	1,	8th note e	quarter note e	quarter note e
m. 24, b. bot voice	1.5,	quarter note b	last half of above	last half of above
m. 24, b. bot voice	2,	last half of above	quarter rest	quarter rest
m. 24, b. bot voice	2.5,	8th note g tied to 16th	last half of abo v e	last half of above
m. 24, b. bot voice	3,	end of above	16th rest	l6th rest
m. 24, b. m. 25, b. voice		no tie	tied	tied
m. 27, b. mid voice	3.5,	double stop: e' & b'	e 1	e t

Location	Hess	Seyfried	Tournemire
m. 32, b. 2.75, bot voice	l6th note c'	end of 8th note a	end of 8th note a
m. 33, b. 1 & 1.5, top voice	8th notes f' & e'	quarter note e'	quarter note e'
m. 33, b. 1 & 1.5, mid voice	8th notes d' & c'	quarter note c'	quarter note c'
m. 33, b. l, bot voice	8th rest	8th note c'	8th note c'
m. 33, b. 3.5 to m. 34, b. 1, bot voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 34, b. 2.5, bot voice	d'	Ъ	ხ
m. 34, b. 3.5 to m. 35, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 35, b. 3, bot voice	e#	G#	G#
m. 35, b. 3.5 to m. 36, b. 1, mid voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 36, b. 3.5 to m. 37, b. 1, top & mid voices	no tie	tied	tied
m. 38, top voice	Hess completely Tournemire	different from	Seyfried &
m. 39, mid voice	Hess completely Tournemire	different from	Seyfried &
m. 40, bot voice	Hess completely Tournemire	different from	Seyfried &
m. 40, b. 3.5 to m. 41, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 41, bot voice	dotted half note e	half note e & quarter note E	half note e & quarter note E
m. 44, bot voice	Hess completely Tournemire	different from	Seyfried &
m. 49, bot voice	Hess completely Tournemire	different from	Seyfried &
m. 50, b. l, bot voice	£	Е	Е

Location	Hess	Seyfried	Tournemire
m. 50, b. 3.75 to m. 51, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 51, b. 3, bot voice	В	Ъ	Ъ
m. 52, b. 2.5, 3, & 3.5, top voice	g''	e''	e'''
m. 52, b. 2.5, 3, & 3.5, mid voice	Hess completely Tournemire	different from	Seyfried &
m. 52, b. 3.5 to m. 53, b. 1, bot voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 53, b. 2 to 3.5, top voice	4 8th notes	4 8th notes	half notes
m. 53, bot voice	Hess completely Tournemire	different from	Seyfried &
m. 54, b. 2 to 3.5, mid voice	<pre>#' 8th, g#' 16th, a' 16th, b' 16th, a' 16th, g#' 8th</pre>	4 8th notes	half note
m. 54, bot voice	Hess completely Tournemire	different from	Seyfried &
m. 54, b. 3.5 to m. 55, b. 1, top voice	no tie	tied	tied
m. 55, mid voice	rhythm:].])	rhythm:	rhythm:
m. 56, bot voice	3 quarter notes	6 8th notes	dotted half note
m. 58, b. 2, bot voice	e	e	f#
m. 64, b. l, bot voice	В	В	Ъ
m. 66, bot voice	В	В	c
mm. 67-72	Added by Seyfric	ed (not in Hess)	
<pre>m. 71, b. 3.5 to m. 72, b. 1, bot voice</pre>		no tie	tied

Location	Hess	Seyfried	Dupré
Trio-fugue			
m. 26, b. 1 to 2, bot voice	rhythm:].	rhythm:	rhythm:
m. 45, b. 1, 2 & 2.5, mid voice	<i>e</i> #1	<i>e</i> #'	g'
m. 53, b. 4.5, mid voice	f#'	f'	f'
m. 55, b. 2.75, top voice	£#''	f''	f''
end of piece	ends m. 69	ends m. 70 (additional m. not in Hess)	ends m. 70 (additional m. not in Hess)

⁶Id., <u>Fugue en MI mineur</u>.

APPENDIX 6

INDEX TO PUBLISHED SCORES

Symbols used below are explained at the end of the index. Page numbers are included where available or applicable.

Fugue in D Major (WoO 31)

BeeGA, series 25, no. 309; BeeOW; BeeOWA, pp. 27-28; NotBS, pp. 10-11 (final 11 mm. omitted).

Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 1

BedBBB; BeeDP1; BeeDP2; BeeDP3; BeeDP4; BeeGA, series 18, no. 184; BeeOW; BeeOWA, pp. 16-23; BeeOWB, pp. 19-22; BeePC1; BeeTP; BeeVPK, vol. 2; BeeVPW, pp. 22-25; BeeZP.

Prelude through the Major Keys, op. 39, no. 2

BedBBB; BeeDP1; BeeDP2; BeeDP3; BeeDP4; BeeGA, series 18, no. 184; BeeOW; BeeOWA, pp. 24-26; BeeOWB, pp. 22-23; BeePC2; BeeTP; BeeVPK, vol. 2; BeeVPW, pp. 25-26; BeeZP; BirCOW, pp. 26-28.

Adagio in F Major (WoO 33, no. 1)

BeeAdB, BeeAdF; BeeAdH; BeeAdL; BeeAdN; BeeOWA, pp. 1-8; BeeSGA, 7:45-50; BeeSSS, pp. 3-7; KopUAB, supplement.¹

¹Hess, <u>Verzeichnis</u>, pp. 34-35, includes incomplete references to two further editions of the Adagio, both by Victor Patrik Vretblad: 1) a piano version published in the Stockholm periodical <u>Damernas Musikblad</u> in 1902, and 2) a version for violin and piano published "zwischen 1906-1910 in Dahlströms Orgel- u. Pianomagasin Stockholm." The writer has been unable to locate copies of the Swedish periodicals or any additional references to the Vretblad editions.

Scherzo (Allegro No. 2) in G Major (WoO 33, no. 2)

BecSBP, pp. 165-66; BeeDC; BeeOWA, pp. 9-11; BeeSGA, 7:53-54; BeeSSS, pp. 8-9; SimMMZ, p. 117.²

Allegro in G Major (WoO 33, no. 3)

BeeDC; BeeOWA, pp. 12-15; BeeSGA, 7:51-52; BeeSSS, pp. 10-13; ChaBCB, pp. 67-69; HesBS, pp. 228-29; SimMMZ, pp. 115-16.

Allegro in C Major (WoO 33, no. 4)

BeeSGA, 7:56-59; BeeSSS, pp. 14-17.

Allegretto in C Major (WoO 33, no. 5)

BeeSGA, 7:59-60; BeeSSS, pp. 18-19.

Grenadiers Marsch (Hess 107)

BeeSGA, 7:54-55; KinBF, pp. 330-32. Compare with BeeGA, series 25, no. 292; HayWLS, pp. 36-37.

Adagio for Mechanical Secretary

No scores.

Wellington's Sieg for Panharmonicon (Hess 108)

BeeSGA, 4:71-97. Compare with BeeGA, series 2, no. 10.

²According to Hess, <u>Verzeichnis</u>, p. 35, a piano version of the Scherzo and Allegro in G Major (WoO 33, nos. 2-3) appears in the <u>Sudetendeutschen Monatsheft</u>, Folge 6, June 1936. The author has been unable to obtain further bibliographic information. Another publication, Ludwig van Beethoven, <u>Scherzo and Minuet</u>, ed. Georg Schünemann and Alfred Mirovitch (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Elkan-Vogel, n.d.), likely includes WoO 33, no. 2, and either WoO 33, no. 3 or WoO 33, no. 5.

Trio No. 1 in G Minor

BacSS; BacWK, pp. 6-7; BacWS; BeeOWB, pp. 2-4; BeePT, pp. 1-3; BeeSTP, mvmt. 2; BeeTTB, pp. 1-3; SeyBS1, pp. 160-63; SeyBS2, pp. 144-47; SeyBS3, pp. 144-47; SeyEB, 2:5-9.

Trio No. 2 in E-flat Minor

BacSS; BacWK, pp. 15-16; BacWS; BeeOWB, pp. 5-8; BeePT, pp. 4-7; BeeSTP, mvmt. 4; BeeTTB, pp. 4-7; SeyBS1, pp. 163-67; SeyBS2, pp. 147-51; SeyBS3, pp. 147-51; SeyEB, 2:9-13.

Trio No. 3 in E Minor (Hess 29)

BeeOWB, pp. 9-13; BeePFH, pp. 4-6; BeePT, pp. 8-12; BeeSGA, 6:32-37; BeeSTP, mvmt. 5; BeeTTB, pp. 8-12; NotBS, pp. 63-68; SeyBS1, pp. 167-71; SeyBS2, pp. 151-55; SeyBS3, pp. 151-55; SeyEB, 2:13-18.

Fugue in E Minor (Hess 29)

BedBBB; BeeFD; BeeOWB, pp. 14-18; BeePFH, pp. 6-8; BeeSGA, 6:38-41; BeeSTP, mvmt. 6; SeyBS1, pp. 197-203; SeyBS2, pp. 179-85; SeyBS3, pp. 179-85; SeyEB, 2:47-53.

Fugue Cycle in D Minor

Fuga a tre (Hess 237, no. 4). SeyBS1, pp. 192-93; SeyBS2, pp. 175-76; SeyBS3, pp. 175-76; SeyEB, 2:41-42.

Fuga a 4 (Hess 238, no. 2). NotBS, pp. 100-102.

<u>Fuga a 4 con c.f. (Hess 239, no. 2)</u>. NotBS, pp. 120-24.

Fuga duplex (Hess 243, no. 4). NotBS, pp. 172-75; SeyBS1, pp. 283-88; SeyBS2, pp. 260-65; SeyBS3, pp. 260-65; SeyEB, 2:139-44.

Fuga a 4 cromatica (Hess 238, no. 4). NotBS, pp. 106-8.

Fuga a tre sogetti (Hess 244, no. 1). NotBS, pp. 180-84; SeyBS1, pp. 313-19; SeyBS2, pp. 290-96, SeyBS3, pp. 290-96; SeyEB, 2:172-79.

- BeeAdL <u>Adagio für Violoncello und Pianoforte zum</u> <u>Konzertgebrauch</u>. Edited by Jacques van Lier. Leipzig: Steingraber, 1903.
- BeeAdN <u>Adagio für die Spieluhr</u>. Arranged for piano by Otto Neitzel. Leipzig: Steingraber, 1903.
- BeeDC <u>Deux airs pour boîte à musique</u>. Edited by Jean Chantovoine. Paris: Heugel, 1902.
- BeeDPl <u>Deux préludes par tous les 12 tons majeurs</u> <u>pour le fortepiano, ou l'orgue</u>. Leipzig: Hoffmeister & Kühnel, 1803.
- BeeDP2 . Deux préludes par tous les 12 tons majeurs pour le fortepiano, ou l'orgue. Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1814.
- BeeDP3 <u>Deux préludes par tous les 12 tons majeurs</u> <u>pour le fortepiano, ou l'orgue</u>. Vienna: Cappi & Co., 1816.
- BeeDP4 <u>Deux préludes par tous les l2 tons majeurs</u> <u>pour le fortepiano, ou l'orgue</u>. Frankfurt: Dunst, 1830.
- BeeFD . Fugue en MI mineur. Edited by Marcel Dupré. Anthologie des maîtres classiques de l'orgue, no. 3. Paris: Bornemann, 1942.
- BeeFW . Fugue in C. Edited by Jack Werner. London: Joseph Williams, 1956.
- BeeGA . Werke. 25 vols. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1862-88; reprint ed., Ann Arbor: Edwards, 1949.
- BeeOW Organ Works. Masterpieces of Organ Music, supplement. New York: Liturgical Music Press, 1947; Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Theodore Presser, n.d.
- BeeOWA Orgelwerke. Edited by Ludwig Altman. London: Hinrichsen, 1962.
- BeeOWB Original Works. Edited by Robert Leech Bedell. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Le Grand Orgue, n.d.
- BeePCl . <u>Prélude circulaire</u>, op. 39, no. 1. Edited by Marcel Dupré. Anthologie des maîtres classiques de l'orgue, no. 4. Paris: Bornemann, 1942.

- BeePC2 . <u>Prélude circulaire</u>, op. 39, no. 2. Edited by Marcel Dupré. Anthologie des maîtres classiques de l'orgue, no. 5. Paris: Bornemann, 1942.
- BeePPP . Prélude pour le pianoforte. Vienna: Bureau d'arts et d'industrie, 1805.
- BeePT . <u>Pièces en trio de claviers</u>. Edited by Charles Arnould Tournemire. Paris: Max Eschig, 1938.
- BeePFH . Praeludium und Fuge in E-moll für Streichtrio. Edited by Willy Hess. Kassel: Nagel, 1955.
- BeeSGA <u>Supplemente zur Gesamtausgabe</u>. Edited by Willy Hess. 14 vols. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1959-71.
- BeeSSS <u>Schünemann. Mainz: Schott, 1940; reprint ed., New</u> York: Kalmus, n.d.
- BeeSTP . Sonata a tre in Six Movements. Edited by Alfred Pochon. New York: Carl Fischer, 1926.
- BeeTP . <u>Two Preludes in All Major Keys</u>, op. 39. Vienna: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag, n.d.
- BeeTTB . Three Trios for Organ. Edited by Robert Leech Bedell. New York: H. W. Gray, n.d.
- BeeVPW _____. Various Piano Works. New York: Kalmus, n.d.
- BeeZP <u>Zwei Präludien durch alle Dur-Tonarten für</u> das Pianoforte oder die Orgel. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.
- BirCOW Birkby, Arthur. "The Complete Organ Works of Beethoven." <u>Clavier</u> 9 (January 1970): 26-29.
- ChaBDB Chantavoine, Jean. "Beethoven compositeur pour 'boîte à musique." Revue musicale 3 (1903): 66-69.
- HayWLS Haydn, Joseph. <u>Werke für das Laufwerk (Flötenuhr)</u>. Edited by Ernst Fritz Schmid. Kassel: Nagel, 1954; New York: R. D. Row, 1965.

- HesBS Hess, Willy. "Beethoven e lo Spieluhr." <u>Ricordiana</u>, n.s., 3 (1957): 226-29.
- KerAM Kerman, Joseph, ed. Ludwig van Beethoven: Autograph Miscellany from Circa 1786-1799: British Museum Additional Manuscript 29801, ff. 39-162 (the "Kafka Sketchbook"). 2 vols. London: British Museum, 1970.
- KinBF Kinsky, Georg. "Beethoven und die Flötenuhr." In Beethoven-Almanach der Deutschen Musikbücherei auf das Jahr 1927, pp. 320-32. Edited by Gustav Bosse. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1927.
- KopUAB Kopfermann, Albert. "Ein unbekanntes Adagio von Beethoven." Die Musik 1 (1901-2): 1059-61, 1193.
- NotBS Nottebohm, Gustav. <u>Beethoven's Studien: Beethoven's</u> <u>Unterricht bei J. Haydn, Albrechtsberger und Salieri</u>. Leipzig: Rieter-Biedermann, 1873; reprint ed., Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1971.
- SeyBS1 Seyfried, Ignaz von. <u>Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien</u> <u>im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-</u> <u>Lehre. Vienna: Haslinger, 1832.</u>
- SeyBS2 <u>Ludwig van Beethovens Studien im General-</u> <u>bass, Contrapuncte und in der Compositionslehre</u>. Edited by Henry Hugh Pierson. 2d ed. Leipzig: Schuberth, 1853; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967.
- SeyBS3 <u>Louis van Beethoven's Studies in Thorough-</u> bass, Counterpoint and the Art of Scientific <u>Composition</u>. Translated and edited by Henry Hugh Pierson. Leipzig: Schuberth, 1853.
- SeyEB <u>Études de Beethoven</u>. Translated by François Joseph Fétis. 2 vols. Paris: Schlesinger, 1833.
- SimMMZ Simon, Ernst. <u>Mechanische Musikinstrumente früherer</u> Zeiten und ihre Musik. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1960.

Fugue in C Major (Hess 64)

BeeFW; BeeSGA, 9:15-16; DicBEF, pp. 78-79; DicVFB, pp. 101-2; KerAM, 2:130.

Prelude in F Minor (WoO 55)

BeeGA, series 18, no. 195; BeePPP; BeeVPW, pp. 100-101.

Praeludium für Orgel, C-dur (Hess 310)

No scores.

Orgel Variationen

KerAM, 2:85-86.

Symbols

- BacSS Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. <u>Sei Sonate per cembalo</u>. Nuremberg: Haffner, 1744.
- BacWK . The Württemberg Sonatas Nos. 4-6. New York: Kalmus, n.d.
- BacWS . <u>Die Württembergischen Sonaten für Klavier</u> <u>Nr. 4-6</u>. Edited by Rudolph Steglich. Kassel: Nagel, 1928.
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- BeeAdF <u>Adagio for a Mechanical Clock</u>. Arranged for violin and piano by Sam Franko. N.p., 1926.
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BEETHOVEN'S ORGAN WORKS

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ABSTRACT

From the three organ pieces published in the Beethoven Gesamtausgabe, the corpus of his organ works has grown to include some twenty compositions. Many of them have not previously been considered in studies devoted to Beethoven's organ works. This thesis discusses all compositions in some way related to the organ and Beethoven himself as organist.

The works are divided into four categories: three Bonn organ works, eight mechanical organ works (including the Adagio for Mechanical Secretary and <u>Wellington's Sieg</u> for Panharmonicon), four organ trios, and five miscellaneous works. Evaluations of the legitimacy of these as organ works are based on analyses of available primary and secondary material.

Eight works are established as legitimate; two of the trios are found to be by an earlier composer (C. P. E. Bach); one work (Prelude in C Major, Hess 310) does not apparently exist; and the remaining nine works, though composed by Beethoven, are not for organ.

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