A CONDUCTOR'S GUIDE TO INTERPRETING BEETHOVEN'S NINTH SYMPHONY

by

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To my loving family

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my research director, Professor Arthur Fagen, for all the years of guidance, mentorship, and friendship. I still vividly recall the lesson when Maestro Fagen mentioned to me the sketches of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony about the opening recitatives of the *finale*. It was a defining moment, together with my early studies of the piece, that drew me to this universe behind the Ninth Symphony. Also, I would like to thank my remaining committee members for their support, particularly, Professor Samarotto, for introducing the *Schenkerian* world to me. I must also thank the late Jorja Fleezanis, for her suggestions and encouragement about my project. I dedicate this document to her memory. Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues, friends, and family for their continuous support and encouragement throughout this massive undertaking.

Preface

This document aims to present a comprehensive guide for conductors who are preparing for a well-informed and compelling performance of Ludwig van Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. This work is performed very regularly in concert halls around the world; however, the number of performances does not necessarily reflect the progress that was made in understanding this masterpiece. Late in Beethoven's life and artistic output, this period generated masterworks that attract widespread interest among performers, musicologists, music theorists, and philosophers. The Ninth Symphony is of no exception. The phenomenon behind these works of his late period is a commonly agreed sense of greatness married to a deep level of mystery, as Edward Said puts it,

> Beethoven's late works remain unco-opted by a higher synthesis: they do not belong to any scheme and cannot be reconciled or resolved since their irresolution and fragmentariness are constitutive, neither ornamental nor symbolic of something else. The late works are about 'lost totality,' and in this sense, they are catastrophic.[1]

This sense of "lost totality" lies at the core of the work's aesthetics. Interpreters, musicians and listeners need to be constantly aware of it through an act of constant confrontation either through the recreative or listening experience. Indeed, repeated performances have helped listeners and performers alike gain familiarity with the work, which, on the one hand, contributes to its popularity. However, on the other hand, familiarity could also quickly kill freshness and curiosity.

This document aims to cover a comprehensive ground for the needs of a conductor preparing to perform this monumental work. The inconvenient truth with performing this work is the many controversies and debates contributing to its long reception and performance history, which has shifted dramatically from late Romanticism to today's mainstream historically informed practice movement. I contend that a conductor's interpretative choices and approaches can only be coherent and convincing

[1] Edward Said, "Thoughts on Late Style," London Review of Books, August 5, 2004, https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v26/n15/edward-said/thoughts-on-late-style.

through thorough studies of the work's genesis, textual controversies, performance practice, and formal and programmatic readings.

In the first chapter, the genesis of the work will be discussed. The context under which the work is created is extremely important to the performers, as the spirit of the work must be understood well by the conductor and then presented well in the performance so that it transcends from a merely technically accurate rendition. In an ideal circumstance, a conductor should reach for this goal, where his musical ideas are entirely organic and thorough so that the performance bears the impression of "composing at the moment." A summary of Beethoven's personal life, his change of compositional style and other events leading to the premiere will be discussed. In addition, other works written by Beethoven during that period and their interrelationships will be explored. The addition of a chorus in the finale and the well-known *An die Freude* melody bears great significance in understanding the intention of the work and will therefore be also discussed.

The second chapter will discuss the findings from existing sketch studies. The known sketches and their corresponding timelines and contributions to the work will be presented, as they reveal the changes Beethoven made along the way and other ideas that have inspired the composer, albeit not used in the final autograph. There are also some significant findings about the narratives of the recitative from the sketches.

The third chapter deals with textual deviations. First, I will discuss the nature of the three latest scholarly editions, edited by Jonathan Del Mar, Peter Hauschild, and Deate Angelika Kraus. What is the nature of these editions? Are they *Urtext*, critical editions, or even performing editions? Ultimately, the answer guides us to use these scores appropriately, and the differences will be presented. There are a few controversial differences which will be addressed at length.

Then, in chapter four, a critical area that should be discussed is the various retouches on from the *fin-de-siècle* German musical taste and their respective principles. My objective here is to present them as factually as possible; for that, I believe it is essential for conductors to study and examine the various

retouches and their respective rationale, as they will better inform one's interpretation and reasoning, should one find retouches necessary.

What follows in the fifth chapter is a thorough discussion of the tempo. Before addressing the controversial metronome markings of the score, I will first discuss the character of tempo markings that Beethoven put in concerning his other pieces. It will provide a deeper contextual understanding of the character of such markings in the symphony, in addition to the numerical metronome mark. The question of tempo modification will be addressed, as well as various tempo relationships. Finally, two infamous metronome markings, one in the Trio section of the Scherzo and the other in the Turkish March of the finale will be discussed at length.

The sixth chapter is about the understanding of the formal structure of this work and the various programmatic interpretations of the work. Any interpretation, from a performance to a written commentary bears a strong sense of narrative, as it is an attempt to reveal the phenomenon and meaning of any work of art. In this spirit I would like to examine several different structure reading and programmatic interpretations, including Wagner's *Faust* program.

The final chapter summarizes the document, as I provide a practical conducting guide, incorporating other contributions from Markevich, and Norman Del Mar.

This discussion below will be a comprehensive guide to my colleagues, as the findings have proven rich but scattered. In the ideal sense, I hope readers could use it as a springboard for new interpretative ideas and approaches from the multifaceted degree of research put into the work.

Above all, what lies at the intent of performing this work should always be groundbreaking and contemporary, precisely due to the timeless nature of Beethoven's late style. The dichotomy in retaining freshness in the recreative interpretative process while overcoming the sense of absolute certainty is best summarized by Michael Steinberg, who asserted, "The more time we spend in the presence of Beethoven's music, the harder it is truly to hear it."[2] Through this research, I hope to highlight just how

[2] Cook, *Cambridge Music Handbooks: Beethoven: Symphony No. 9*, 105.

many aspects should be considered in preparation for a performance of this work. The fact that we are still searching for a consolidated message through various analyses and readings highlights the necessity of repeated engagements with the work. As Treitler explained, "The critical task is to interpret the text again (and again and again)."[3] In short, as summarized by Rehding,

> It is of paramount importance for Cook, Treitler, and Solomon, three of the most important musicologists on the work of Beethoven, that the Ninth should be heard as a multivalent work that defies definitive pinning down. It is precisely the perpetual, open-ended act of interpretation, of meaning-making, that is designed to shake us out of complacency and make us appreciate afresh the fundamental complexities and the unsettling weirdness that pervades much of the symphony.[4]

Through finding our own approach and ways to understand the work, this document will be a guide to a valuable methodology conductors can apply in interpreting other repertory.

[3] Treitler, "'To Worship That Celestial Sound' Motives for Analysis," 56.
[4] Rehding, *Beethoven's Symphony No. 9*, 21.

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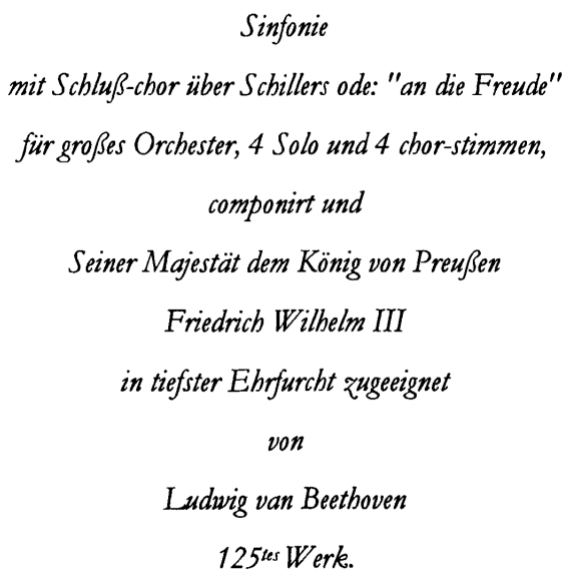
CHAPTER ONE: GENESIS AND BACKGROUND STUDIES

Ludwig van Beethoven completed his final symphony in February 1824. The symphony was titled Symphony No. 9 in D minor op.125 and featured a closing chorus on Schiller's ode "An die Freude" for a large orchestra, four solo voices, and a four-part choir.


Sinfonie

mit Schluß-chor über Schillers ode: "an die Freude"

für großes Orchester, 4 Solo und 4 chor-stimmen,

componirt und

Seiner Majestät dem König von Preußen

Friedrich Wilhelm III

in tiefster Ehrfurcht zugeeignet

von

Ludwig van Beethoven

125tes Werk.

Example 1.1. Dedication page

The dedication is not arbitrary; he is committed to dedicating the symphony to "a great lord"[5]. King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia was selected as a dedicatee amongst others whom Beethoven had previously considered or promised. The possible reasons behind this are multifold: it could have been the composer's desire for recognition after a long period of compositional hiatus, or it could also have been an allusion to the family rumor that King Friedrich Wilhelm III "is the son of the man rumored to be his own father" [6]. To understand why these associations are drawn, we must first understand the autobiographical circumstances leading to the premiere of the Ninth Symphony.

[5] Ludwig van Beethoven, *Letters of Beethoven*, ed. Emily Anderson (W. W. Norton & Company, 1985)., no.1407; (to Schotts Söhne, August 2, 1825)
[6] Solomon, *Beethoven*, 358.

The circumstances of Beethoven's autobiography discussed below correspond to the timeline of the sketches – addressed in detail in chapter two – from which the reader can quickly draw parallels. The long period between initial sketches and the premiere marks the transition from what is commonly labeled as the middle period to the late period of Beethoven's life.

The end of the middle period bears considerable turmoil in his personal life, family, and health. On May 27, 1813, Beethoven wrote in a letter to Rudolph, "A number of unfortunate incidents occurring one after the other have really driven me into a state bordering on mental confusion."[7]

The *"Unsterbliche Geliebte"* (Immortal Beloved) letter revealed his only written letter that expresses an outpouring of love for a woman, one whose name remains a riddle as he addressed her as the "Immortal Beloved". Dated 1812 from Teplice, it was only discovered after his death. Much has been since written by musicologists in his other possible pursuits, and the possible candidate for the Immortal Beloved; however, one thing is sure: from his early Bonn years to this period, his pursuits were always short-lived and never came to fruition into any form of sustained partnership. [8]

Coupled with the death of his brother Casper Carl on November 15th, 1815, he started a long battle with Johanna, Casper's widow, for sole guardianship of his nephew, Karl. Nevertheless, his pursuit is against the codicil that Casper composed to his will, which states,

> "I by no means desire that my son be taken away from his mother…the guardianship of him is to be exercised by her as well as my brother." [9]

A week after Casper's passing, Beethoven insisted on his sole guardianship of Karl, although he was appointed the associate guardian and Johanna was the guardian. On November 28th, Beethoven launched his appeal, beginning a complex and exhausting five-year fight for guardianship. His victory on January 16th the following year was short-lived since Johanna used the incident of Karl's escape from Beethoven to her in December 1818 to justify her guardianship in court. And so, Beethoven lost his

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[7] Theodore Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence: Vol. 1 (1772-1812)* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), no. 169.
[8] Wegeler and Ries, *Remembering Beethoven*, 117.
[9] Ludwig van Beethoven, *Letters of Beethoven*, ed. Emily Anderson (W. W. Norton & Company, 1985)., no.213

guardianship again, and Karl was temporarily returned to his mother. Subsequent protests of Beethoven at court during the year were rejected twice. He filed another petition for appeal in January 1820, and after further efforts, including a lengthy memorandum, it was finally ruled in his favor on 8th April 1820, and Joanna's subsequent appeal was unsuccessful; the case was officially closed on 24th July, in the same year.[10]

While this may seem a hard-fought victory for Beethoven, the effect on his reputation, relationship with Karl, mental state, and artistic output was long-lasting. Rumors about his eccentricity or even mental disorder had intensified throughout the Viennese society, including the Metternich government.[11] His troubled relationship with Karl during these years and his consistent failure in domestic relationships were apparent reflections of his illusional yearning for family and paternal love. His fight with Johanna also brought up accusations of jealousy, cruelty, and immorality. At the end of this period, it was apparent both Karl and Beethoven endured a lot of pain and suffering, as evident from the suicidal attempts from both sides. A desperate wish to escape reality is also apparently documented in his *Tagebuch*,

> "There is no other way to save yourself except to leave here; only through this can you again lift yourself to the heights of your art, whereas here you are submerged in vulgarity. Only a symphony – and then away, away, away." [12]

Meanwhile, his hearing also sharply deteriorated to a state of what we could call today clinically deaf. Also, colds, together with inflammation and fever, forced the composer to spend weeks at a time in bed. By 1818, he could no longer hear and started using conversation books with his visitors. The effects were not only mental and physical pain but also his gradual failure at first the piano and then conducting. His last public performance as a pianist was January 25th, 1815, accompanying a singer in "*Adelaide*". Louis Spohr famously criticized his playing, claiming "there was scarcely anything left of the virtuosity of the artist…In *forte* passages, the poor deaf man pounded on the keys till the strings jangled, and in

[10] Solomon, *Beethoven*, 321.
[11] Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven. (2 Vols.)*, 644.
[12] Maynard Solomon, *Beethovens Tagebuch*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Bonn, Germany: Beethoven-Haus, 1990), no. 119 (1817)

piano he played so softly that whole groups of tones were omitted so that the music was unintelligible." [13] In the rehearsals leading up to the premiere of the Ninth Symphony, it was reported that Beethoven "waved his baton back and forth with violent motions…and threw the singers and orchestra completely off the beat and into the greatest confusion, and no one knew any longer where they were." [14] When informed of his failure, Beethoven, according to Anton Schindler, "never wholly recovered from the effect of this blow." [15]

At the same time, the city of Vienna was undergoing political and economic changes. When Beethoven settled in Vienna in 1792, the secret police force of the Metternich government silenced liberal movements and shared interest with the business classes. As a result, there was little literary and philosophical discussion, and instead a general laxity of morals (with an abundance of dance halls and brothels). Beethoven was known to be very critical of the *laissez-faire* society. During these war times, the city's economy swung between impoverishment and lavishness. The height was during the yearlong Peace Congress in 1814 after the defeat of Napoleon, with a sustained carnival and celebratory atmosphere. But then the end of the Congress saw the return of poverty, with nobilities (including Beethoven's patrons) going into irreversible bankruptcy. At the same time, Beethoven lost several vital patrons, including Kinsky, Lichnowsky, Lobkowitz, and Razumovsky, all within a few years. Beethoven's financial income worsened after 1814, thanks to his lack of productivity and court fees regarding Karl's guardianship.

A common thread can be drawn from these circumstances. In the years leading up to the composition and premiere of his Ninth Symphony, Beethoven grew frustrated and gradually deteriorated from many aspects of his life, including fractured family relationships, unsuccessful domestic partnerships, financial difficulties, diminishing artistic output and reputation, and an aesthetic that he

[13] Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven. (2 Vols.)*, 577–78.
[14] van Beethoven, *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte / Beethovens Konversationshefte: Kritische Ausgabe in 11 Bänden und einem Registerband / Band: 1*, 346.
[15] van Beethoven, *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte / Beethovens Konversationshefte: Kritische Ausgabe in 11 Bänden und einem Registerband / Band: 9*, 168.

despises more than ever. This notion could allude to the question raised at the beginning of this chapter about dedication. In this light, Beethoven is attempting to restore the sense of loss. As we will see in his art, the radical departure, or breakthrough in his later works written in almost torrential speed, reflects an attempt to find solace in another realm.

Beethoven composed works in what Solomon calls the dissolution of heroic style before the transitional period into his late style.[16] In several works, the aesthetics are ideologically confined to patriotism. While there are sublime works such as the third and fifth symphonies and stage music to *Egmont*, there are several works that one can claim to be festive. They are hastily composed topical works, such as *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, *Die Ruinen von Athen*, and *König Stephan* Overtures. Beethoven declared *Wellingtons Sieg* as a work "to be folly" [17], according to Schindler, and "attached no value" to *Der glorreiche Augenblick*.[18] It is not out of coincidence that these were written during the festivities surrounding the Congress of Vienna – a time when festivities substituted morality, the philosophy of Enlightenment, and the Age of Reason with a spirit of disillusionment and superficiality. Beethoven's music gained popularity, most notably in the case of *Fidelio*'s revival. It was a primarily forgotten rescue opera in 1805-1806, with a message about Enlightenment and the triumph of nobility. However, due to the victory of Napoleonic forces and the liberation of Europe, the revival in 1814 attracted immediate association and widespread adulation.

Shortly afterward, Beethoven started to repudiate this writing style and began a period with a sharp decline in productivity. He famously dismissed the new Italian style by declaring to Rossini that "you do not possess sufficient musical knowledge to deal with real drama." [19] He turned to older music, including that of Bach and Handel, Palestrina's church style, and ancient modes. In a rekindled spirit, he began working on critical late works, including that of the Ninth Symphony. It was recalled by Johann

[16] Solomon, *Beethoven*, chap. 17.
[17] Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven. (2 Vols.)*, 565.
[18] Schindler and Moscheles, *The Life of Beethoven, Including His Correspondence with His Friends, Numerous Characteristic... - Scholar's Choice Edition*, 64.
[19] Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven. (2 Vols.)*, 804,956.

Sporschil, a historian and publicist, who described Beethoven of 1822 and 1823, during the critical stages of his composition of the Ninth, as "one of the most active men who ever lived" and "during the deepest midnight found him working". [20]

Beethoven last wrote his Eighth Symphony in 1812, leaving a gap of more than a decade before the public heard his next symphony. Expectations were high: in the concert scene in Vienna, programs featuring symphonies were few and rare in the 1820s. It was full of Rossini-style operas, with concert programs on musical fairy tales, satires, and pantomime; symphonies were never central pieces on the program – not to mention a grand symphony consisting of a large orchestra, chorus, and soloists. Also, *An die Freude* of Schiller embraces Enlightenment ideas and therefore contains sensitive content, possibly causing censorship; after all, the authorities censored Schiller's work frequently. Beethoven thus had to make changes to Schiller's text to avoid censorship. Beethoven played it to his advantage of furthering public expectation by expressing his desire to have the Ninth Symphony premiered in Berlin, an apparent gesture expressing his discontent with the Viennese musical and social life. That led to the famous February petition of 1824, which convinced Beethoven to change his mind and have the symphony premiered in Vienna. This long letter did not just earn the Viennese premiere; it also established Beethoven's output in the long line of history to follow as the foundation of the classical repertory we know today. [21]It is no surprise, therefore, that a notice from Theater-Zeitung on May 1st read:

> "This Academy will occasion celebration among friends of German music and offer recognition of the national master…who is acknowledged to be the supreme composer in the entire world. Anybody who cares for the great and the beautiful will be present this evening." [22]

After Beethoven agreed on the Viennese premiere, vigorous preparations were underway for this event. Kärntnerthor Theater, the most prestigious venue at the time that ironically performed more Rossini than Beethoven, was selected. A large orchestra was assembled, with 24 violins, 10 violas, 12 cellos, and basses, with doubled winds. [23] The recruitment follows the Viennese practice to include both

[20] Kerst, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven, Vol. 2 (Classic Reprint)*, 72.
[21] Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven. (2 Vols.)*, 897–99.
[22] Cook, *Cambridge Music Handbooks: Beethoven: Symphony No. 9*, 21.
[23] Solomon, *Beethoven*, 351.

professionals and amateurs. The rest of the concert program was also determined to be the *Die Weihe des Hauses Ouvertüre* op.124 and the *Kyrie*, *Credo*, and *Agnus Dei* of the *Missa Solemnis* op.123.

Two full rehearsals were only allowed, with additional sectionals for strings and chorus rehearsals. With a work of such ground-breaking scale, difficulty, and technical limitations of the orchestral musicians at the time, time is far from sufficient. The vocal writing in the chorus and soloists had caused great difficulty, as evident in the following accounts. Considering the strong reluctance to alter parts in the face of difficulty, Beethoven most notably provided an alternative for the high note of the opening bass recitative (C sharp instead of E) in the finale – which proved to be insufficient, as he later replaced the bass Joseph Preisinger with Joseph Seipelt. The account of Unger and Sontag's rehearsals with Beethoven also revealed that at one point, he said, "Just learn it! The note will come."[24] As I had the fortune of participating in a chorus for this work, I can attest the challenge in terms of register, text enunciation, and frequently uncomfortable leaps in vocal writing. The difficulties in the orchestral parts are also well documented. It was noted that in the Scherzo, "the reliable ones (violins) had to play more loudly…, compensating for the players who swallowed their notes."[25] Regarding the finale's opening celli and basses recitative, Leopold Sonnleithner from the audience recalled that the double-bassists "had not the faintest idea what they were supposed to do with the recitatives… one heard nothing but a gruff rumbling in the basses."[26]

It was in these circumstances that the premiere took place. It was agreed that Umlauf, the *Kapellmeister* of the theater, conducted with the baton, and Beethoven by his side gave tempo indications at the beginning of each movement. However, Beethoven gestured way beyond the sake of providing tempo, as recounted by Joseph Bohm, "he threw himself back and forth like a madman. At one moment, he stretched to his full height; at the next, he crouched down to the floor…we musicians follow Umlauf's baton only."[27] Also, according to reports from the young chorister Helene Grebuer to Felix Weingartner

[24] Sachs, *Ninth, the: Beethoven and the World in 1824*, 21.
[25] Cook, *Cambridge Music Handbooks: Beethoven: Symphony No. 9*, 23.
[26] Cook, *Cambridge Music Handbooks: Beethoven: Symphony No. 9*, 23.
[27] Robbins Landon, *Beethoven: His Life, Work and World*, 181.

many years later, while Beethoven seems to be following the score, he turned a couple of pages at the end of the movement, raising the concern he was not following well. This echoes the well-known story of Caroline Unger turning the composer around for the applause at the end. This anecdote has captured the hearts of audiences and musicians in the years to come and became so popular that it overshadowed some of the critical responses regarding the work. The repeat performance on 23rd May in the Redoutensaal had different pairings on the program. *Credo* and *Agnus Dei* from the *Missa Solemnis* were replaced by the trio *Tremate* and a Rossini aria(!). Financially, both concerts were below Beethoven's expectations, with the first concert of only 420 florians net profit and the second, a half-filled concert, bearing a net loss underwritten later.

The following table summarizes the composition timeline leading to the Ninth Symphony's premiere. This excludes sketches, which will be discussed in the next Chapter.

Table 1.1. Timeline leading to the premiere of Ninth Symphony

Year	Event
1792	Setting of *An die Freude* as song with piano accompaniment; music lost
1812	Completion of Eighth Symphony
1817 June to July	In response to interest from Ries of Philharmonic Society of London for two (!) symphonies, Beethoven accepted
1818	First recorded evidence for introducing human voices into a symphony
Spring of 1819 to 1823	completed the *Missa solemnis*; the Bagatelles, op. 119; the ''Diabelli'' Variations, op. 120; his final three Piano Sonatas (op.109,110,111); the ''Consecration of the House'' Overture, op.124; and a chorus, WoO 98.
1822	Merging of two symphonies into one: Beethoven wrote to Ferdinand Ries to ask if Philharmonic Society London will be interested in commissioning a grand symphony for its concert series
1822 December	Accepted the financial offer by letter to Ries
1823	Expression of dissatisfaction with Viennese musical life, and thought of premiering in Berlin instead:

	"What is left of appreciation of German vocal music disappeared entirely. From this year dates the deplorable state of all music"
1823 Sept	Beethoven had his nephew Karl explain the liturgical function of the "*Tantum ergo*" to him.
1823 Autumn	Karl writes "Mir freut nur, dass Du das schone Andante hinein gebracht hast" (I am delighted that you brought in the beautiful Andante)
1824	Score ready since the very first draft; February petition
1824 7th May	Kartnerthor Theater Vienna premiere
1824 23rd May	Repeat performance with three movements of *Missa solemnis*
1825 21st Mar	Sir George Smart conducted London Premiere, sung in Italian (!)
1826 Sept	Transcribed by Karl, Beethoven's nephew, the first known metronome markings in the Conversation Book and the Berlin copy of the score.
1826 Oct	Adds metronome marks (penned by Schindler) for the Schott edition.
1826 Dec	Caecilia the music journal published the metronome markings, with a possible error at the beginning of the finale.

It is worth noting that setting Schiller's poem *An die Freude* to music, was a task 30 years in the making. On October 17, 1793, during his Bonn years, Beethoven wrote in a letter to his friend Franz Gerhard Wegeler,

> "Oh, how I would like to have Schiller's *An die Freude* set to music entirely from my heart, and to dedicate it to him as a present. That is my fondest wish."[28]

And so began the long journey for him to set the proper music to this text. He would search for the theme, which echoed in many of his experiments in his other works described below.

The melody that resembles the finale *An die Freude* theme was shown to have first appeared in W.A. Mozart's *Offertorium Misericordias Domini* K.222, dated 1775, in the form of an instrumental counterpoint to the vocal line from measure 23-27.

[28] Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven. (2 Vols.)*, 120–21.

Example 1.2. Mozart Offertorium *Misericordias Domini* K.222.

At the age of 19, Beethoven composed two cantatas in 1790, known as the *Kantate auf den Tod Kaiser Josephs II*, WoO 87 and *Kantate auf die Erhebung Leopold II zur Kaiserwürde*, WoO 105. Written in honor of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II, who died in February 1790, the Joseph Cantata is a choral work with orchestral accompaniment and features a solo soprano, tenor, and bass. The cantata text is a poem by Christoph Kuffner that praises Joseph's virtues and accomplishments. The following text was set in the Soprano and Chorus number, which bears striking similarities to a verse from *An die Freude.* The depiction of humanity being joyously uplifted to a new height of divinity and victory here connects Beethoven and Schiller to their shared Enlightenment ideals and the transcendence philosophy.

Table 1.2. Comparison of the text from Joseph Cantata and Schiller's *An die Freude*

	Text	Translation
No.4 Aria with Chorus from Joseph Cantata	*Die stiegen die Menschen an's Licht,* *da drehte sich glücklicher die Erd'* *um die Sonne,* *und die Sonne wärmte mit Strahlen* *der Gottheit.*	The people climbed to the light, then the earth revolved happier around the sun, and the sun warmed with rays of divinity.
4th Stanza of *An die Freude* of Schiller	*Froh, wie seine Sonnen fliegen* *Durch des Himmels prächt'gen Plan* *Laufet, Brüder, eure Bahn,* *Freudig, wie ein Held zum Siegen.*	Gladly, as His suns fly through the heavens' grand plan Journey, brothers, on your way, Joyful, like a hero to victory.

Months later, Beethoven wrote the Leopold Cantata, a choral work with solo bass, that featured a text by Christian Friedrich Henrici. The cantata praises Leopold's generosity and patronage of the arts. In

the chorus finale, there are similarities to his later treatment of *An die Freude*. In the opening bars of *Allegro Vivace*, we hear the exact wordings of *stürzt nieder, Millionen* (Kneel down, Millions) from Schiller's *An die Freude*, set to a melodic contour that is similar to that at Rehearsal R of the Ninth's Symphony finale – a leap followed by chromatic ascend.

Example 1.3. parallel text settings from Leopold Cantata

This number also features musical expression for jubilant universal rejoicing, set in the same key as the finale of the Ninth Symphony. The prophecy is also apparent in the vocal setting of 'Erschallet Jubelchöre, dass laut die Welt es höre!' (Shout out shouts of joy that the world may hear!) to a repeated soprano high A. An experienced listener could easily allude to the climax of the double fugue of the Hymn and the second theme of the Ninth Symphony's finale at mm. 717-729, featuring the words "der ganzen welt". (The entire world.)

Example 1.4. '*Erschallet Jubelchöre, dass laut die Welt es höre!*'

Example 1.5. Parallel moment at the double fugue of the Ninth Symphony's *finale*

In the genre of "*Gesellschaftslied*" (society song), a type of courtly love song often performed in aristocratic circles, Beethoven curiously wrote "*Mit einem gemalten Band*" (With a Painted Ribbon), op. 83 no.3 in 1790. This simple strophic song tells the story of a lover who gives his beloved a painted ribbon as a token of affection. In the third verse, the theme bears similarity to the *An die Freude* theme.

Example 1.6. '*Mit einem gemalten Band*' op.83, no.3.

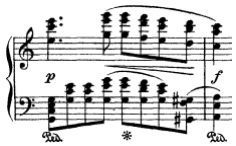
In 1792, Beethoven also set "*An die Freude*" to music as a song with piano accompaniment, which sadly did not survive, possibly due to the Austrian censorship of Schiller's works.

In 1795-96, Beethoven composed *Gegenliebe* (WoO 118), the setting of a poem that explores unrequited love and expresses longing for the affection of someone who does not reciprocate their feelings. He sets the third verse to the following music:

Example 1.7. *Gegenliebe* WoO 118.

It bears a striking similarity to the final melody of *An die Freude* .

The origin of the *An die Freude* can also be traced to his early symphonies. For example, in the introduction to the first movement of the First Symphony, Op. 21, written between 1799 and 1800, there is an allusion to the *"An die Freude"* theme in mm. 9.



Example 1.8. Beethoven Symphony No. 1, op. 21, 1st movement, mm. 9.

A few years later, in 1802, Beethoven wrote his Second Symphony Op. 36 with two seemingly identical premonitions of the Ninth Symphony. First is the Trio theme of the Scherzo movement that is

almost identical to that in the Scherzo of the Ninth – of course, the idea of an ascending major third is derived from the Ode to Joy theme.

Example 1.9. Beethoven Symphony No. 2, op. 36, 3rd movement, mm. 85-92.

Example 1.10. Beethoven Symphony No. 9, op. 127, 2nd movement, mm. 414-421.

In the long introduction to the opening movement, the D minor double-dotted downward arpeggiated figure resembles the first theme of the first movement of the Ninth.

Example 1.11. Beethoven Symphony No. 2, op. 36, 1st movement, mm. 23-24.

Later in 1808, when Beethoven wrote the Choral Fantasy, op.80, a work that he described in a letter to B Schott's Sohne,

"Intended to form, as it were, the prelude to the Ninth Symphony, which I have just completed."[29]

His study of form, particularly that of first presenting the Ode to Joy theme as purely instrumental music, and the use of recitatives with motivic and narrative functions before finally presenting the theme with the additional choral forces, is essential for his composition of the finale of the Ninth Symphony

[29] Theodore Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence: Vol. 1 (1772-1812)* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

more than a decade later. Interestingly, the theme is reminiscent of *Gegenliebe* (WoO 118), on which he put on a new collection of several short texts celebrating the joys of art and nature.

Example 1.12. *Gegenliebe* WoO 118.

Beethoven's only opera, *Fidelio* Op.72, composed during 1805-1814 (with revisions over the years), was connected to the Ninth Symphony in terms of Enlightenment philosophy. *Fidelio* is a rescue opera by Ludwig van Beethoven that tells the story of Leonore, a woman who disguises herself as a man named Fidelio to rescue her husband Florestan from political imprisonment. In the last scene of Second Act, when Leonora rescues Florestan out from prision and reunites, the minister Don Fernando sings the following phrase, "Es sucht der Bruder seiner Brüder; Und kann er helfen, hilft er gern." (A brother seeks his brother, and if he can help, he helps gladly.). It echoes the ideal of brotherhood expressed in Schiller's *An die Freude* famous phrase "Alle Menschen werden Brüder" (All men become brothers).

Example 1.13. Excerpt from Fidelio op. 72.

Let's compare the 2nd strophe of *An die Freude* to this scene, at the moment the chorus sings in jubilation, "Wer ein holdes Weib errungen" (He who has obtained a dear wife). It is not only the exact wording from *An die Freude* but also the setting to music is closely connected to the ascending major third contour and quarter note and dotted rhythms of *An die Freude* theme.

Example 1.14. Excerpt from Fidelio op. 72.

etc.

Example 1.15. Beethoven Symphony No. 9, op. 127, 4th movement, mm. 269-276.

In the Overture to King Stephen Op. 117, written in 1811, Beethoven experimented with some ideas he would later employ in the Ninth Symphony. In the first theme of the *Presto* section, the martial theme is treated with a syncopated rhythm that resembles the Turkish music in the finale of the Ninth.

Example 1.16. Excerpt from Overture to King Stephen Op. 117.

Example 1.17. Beethoven Symphony No. 9, op. 127, 4th movement, mm. 343-350.

In the Second theme, not only does the top line correspond to the Ode to Joy theme, but it is also set to counterpoint with a theme made up of fourths, very much like the treatment of the theme "*Seid umschlungen, Millionen!*" (be embraced, millions) as a counterpoint to "*Freude, schöner Götterfunken*" (Joy, beautiful spark of Divinity) in the finale.

Example 1.18. Overture to King Stephen Op. 117.

Example 1.19. Beethoven Symphony No. 9, op. 127, 4th movement, mm. 655-658.

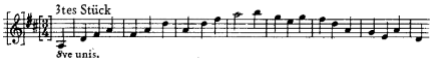
From 1822 onwards, from the final stages of composing the Ninth Symphony to the end of his life, Beethoven composed *Missa Solemnis* - as his religious pledge to the divinity - and several instrumental works, including the late string quartets (op.127, op. 130, op.131, op. 132 and op. 135), the *Grosse Fuge* Op.133, his last two piano sonatas op. 110 and op. 111, the *Diabelli* Variations op.120 and Bagatelles op.119, op.126. Occasionally, he would write canons as a gift to his visitors.

CHAPTER TWO: SKETCH STUDIES

As we have established in the previous chapter, the Ninth Symphony resulted from almost thirty years of thoughts, sketches, and experiments. The evolution from this long and exhausting process provides us, as interpreters, a clue to the *affect*, musical topics, and narrative impulse behind the notes. Also, one shall see the number of ideas he pondered, rejected, and incorporated from his other project ideas that never came to life. I shall present below the most complete survey of sketches and provide commentary on how that contributed to the final work and other possible correlations. In this spirit, this is not a musicological process but rather an artistic process in which the interpreter attempts to understand the score from first-hand sources. Based on my research[30], 72 known entries of sketches are presented below.

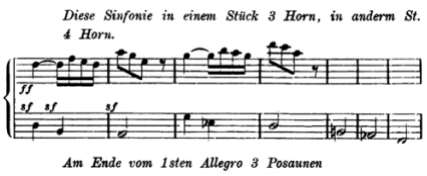
Table 2.1. Sketch entries related to the Ninth Symphony

[30] Goldschmidt, *Zu Beethoven: Aufsätze und Dokumente*, 88–129. Van Nottebohm Gustav Beethoven, *Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven aus dem Jahre 1803 Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven aus dem Jahre 1803*, 158–92.

Entry	Year	Sketchbook, Pocket or sheets	Sketch	Note
Preliminary Sketches (1799-1815)				
1	1799	Grasnick), fol.)5r (from Winter, p. 178)		Sketch of the verse *Muß ein lieber Vater wohnen*. Shows intention to set Schiller's *An die Freude* to music.
2	1801	Moldenhauer leaf		later modified in Boldrini sketchbook (Entry no.21).
3	1804	Nottebohm transcription		Resemblance to chorus double fugue based ''*Freude*'' and ''*Seid umschlungen*'' tunes.
4	Early 1804	Landsberg 6:177	 Source: *Eroica* Sketchbook, 177, st. 9.	Sketch for *Sinfonia in D moll* - written a few months after early drafts completed for *Eroica* and *Waldstein*. The arpeggio idea later was used in the first theme of 1st movement.
5	1815-16	Scheide, p.41		Contra theme used in finale mm. 895
6	1815-16	Scheide, p.43		Sketch for the cello sonata op.102 no.2 later modified in Entry no.20 and made its way into the *Scherzo*. According to Brandenburg, the next page turned to the idea of an opera about an ancient subject.
Early sketches (1815-1822)				
7	1815-16	Scheide, p.51	 Bottom of page: ***Sinfonie erster Anfang in bloss 4 Stimmen 2 Viol. Viola Basso dazwischen forte mit andern Stimmen u. wenn möglich jedes andere Instrument nach u. nach eintreten lassen —***	A four bar subject marked *Fuga* (fugue). Bottom of page reads '*Symphony at the beginning only 4 voices 2 Vi[oli]n, Vio[la], Bass amongst them forte with other voices and if possible bring in all*

				the other instruments one by one'
8	Early 1816	Weimar sheet		First trace of opening bars of the Symphony.
9	Early 1816	Weimar sheet		A fugue tune resembling the *Scherzo* subject; it could possibly be a sketch for string quintet, or a same sketch for both works.
10	24 Jan 1816	Weimar sheet		Final version of a canon *Das Schweigen*
11	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)		Beethoven wrote '*Zur Sinfonie in D*'(*for Symphony in D*). Similar to mm.63-69 of 1st movement
12	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)		Almost identical to mm.469 - also becomes 3rd and 4th bar of 1st theme of 1st movement (in major mode)
13	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed		Almost identical to D pedal of mm. 15, the rest of it resembled mm. 15 onwards of the finished 1st movement.

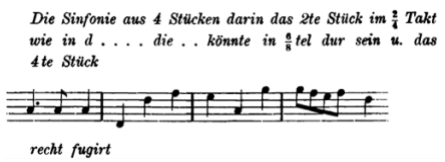
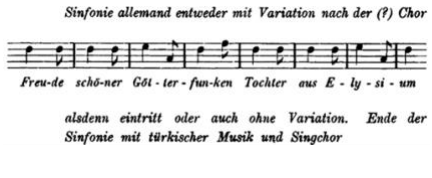
		by Nottebohm)		
14	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)		A 3/8 passage that bears similarities to the *cantus firmus* to the fugue subject at mm.431 of the finale.
15	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)		Uncertainty over using triplets or sextuplets in the beginning of 1st movement. Also, a figure of 2 sixteenth notes A and an eighth on D were incorporated into the figure in mm.19-20 of 1st movement. This becomes a sketched Timpani figure, which made its way into mm. 237 of 1st movement's final development section. A *portamento* version of the principal theme was also sketched.
16	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)		Bears similarity to mm.139 of the 3rd movement, in the horn and timpani parts. Marked *hoch Corni* - high horns.
17	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)		Like 1815-16 Fugue sketch (Entry no.7). Only difference is in the fourth measure.
18	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)	(modified from Entry no.6 - Scheide p.43 - sketch for Cello Sonata op.102 no.2)	A new motif of the scherzo that enters the final score of mm.127 of second movement. Several versions are sketched. Also, the trio and the closing of the 2nd movement was sketched. Later in the entry Beethoven noted '*Hier muss es scheinen als wolle man das Trio in D machen jedoch geht es hernach*

				*überraschend in B*' (Here it must seem as if one wants to do the trio in D, but afterwards it goes surprisingly in B-flat)
19	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)		
20	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)	10th entry: 	
21	1817-1818	Boldrini, p.92-109 (lost, transcribed by Nottebohm)	11th entry: 	

22	1816-1817/1818	Mainz,Schott sketch part of Autograph 11/1, according to Brandenburg		
23	1817	Sketch now lost, transcribed by Nottebohm		undetermined, Nottebohm claimed on 1817, but may be later than the Boldrini sketchbook.
24	Around March/April 1818 (Or April May 1818 Cook?)	Back of a sketch for the *Hammerklavier* Sonata	Memorandum translated by Thayer: Adagio cantique Pious song in a symphony in ancient modes - Lord God we praise Thee - alleluia – either alone or as introduction to a fugue. The whole 2nd sinfonie might be characterized in this way case the vocal parts would enter in the last movement or already in the Adagio. The violins, etc., of the orchestra to be increased tenfold in the last movement, in which case the vocal parts would enter gradually - in the text of the Adagio Greek myth, *Cantique Ecclesiasitique* – in the Allegro, feast of Bacchus [sic].	vocal finale on a second symphony planned at the time. Still the London plans of two separate symphonies.

25	End of August/September 1818	Mendelssohn 2, p.67 (Beethoven Mendelssohn-Stiftung 2 located in Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Krakow)		shows little progress made in 1818.
26	End of August/September 1818	Mendelssohn 2 p.94 (Beethoven Mendelssohn-Stiftung 2 located in Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Krakow)		shows little progress made in 1818.
27	1819/1820	BSK1= Wittgenstein sketchbook, Gransnick 20b, fol. 20		Fol. 2r contains drafts for the song WoO 150 "*Abendlied unterm gestirnten Himmel*" Quotations from Funeral March of Handel's oratorio *Saul.* Beethoven planned for a *Todten March* in C major which after an instrumental part comes "at last singing voices". According to Beethoven Conversation books, Beethoven felt stimulated to write this composition following Vienna reports in March 1820 that funeral rites in England associated with the death of King George III being accompanied by *Saul* March and a funeral cantata by Handel. He contemplated on writing a set of variations on Handel's ''Funeral March'' in which voices would appear towards

				the end, saying “these variations must also receive different suits (Klagen)”. The composition was not continued and realized afterwards.
	April 6 - November 15 -20 December 1822	Letter correspondence	Beethoven inquired about financial offer by letter to Ries. Beethoven accepted the offer reluctantly: My dear Ries! I have been overwhelmingly occupied, and only now find time to answer your letter of November 7. —I accept with pleasure the offer to write a new symphony for the Philharmonic Society, even if the honorarium from England cannot bear comparison with those of other nations. If only I were not that poor Beethoven, I would compose for Europe’s greatest artists for free. If only I were in London, I would compose everything for the Philharmonic Society! But even if nothing else in the world is granted him, Beethoven can, thank God, compose. If God were to restore my health, which at least has improved a little bit, I can then make good on the offers from all parts of Europe, indeed even from North America, and thus acquire yet another laurel wreath.	
28	Oct 1822-1823 (according to Brandenburg)	Artaria 201 p.111,116-123		
29	Oct 1822-1823	Artaria 201 p.111,116-123		

	(according to Brandenburg)			
30	Oct 1822-1823 (according to Brandenburg)	Artaria 201 p.111,116-123		
31	Oct 1822-1823 (according to Brandenburg)	Artaria 201 p.111,116-123		
32	Oct 1822-1823 (according to Brandenburg)	Artaria 201 p.111		The reading after *4te Stücke* is challenged by Cook, who believed should be followed by the *Freude* theme.
33	Oct 1822-1823 (according to Brandenburg)	Artaria 201 p.116		
34	Oct 1822-1823 (according to Brandenburg)	Artaria 201 p.119		*"Sinfonie allemand"* implies the idea of another symphony, possibly intended for England, according to Nottebohm and Brandenburg.

35	Oct 1822-1823 (according to Brandenburg)	Artaria 201 p.111,116-123	 between the entries: *auch statt einer neuen Sinfonie eine neue Overture auf Bach sehr fugirt mit 3* (Posaunen? Subjekten?)	
36	1822 autumn	Beethovenhaus, Bsk 20, fol. 1		
37	1822-23	Artaria 201 p.124-125		Regarding sketches to another symphony: According to Brandenburg, Central idea of the unfinished work was a complex movement in which two contradicting musical characters face each other - an expressive, *cantabile Andante* (or *Adagio*) in E flat major, ¾ time, and a big gesture, then Storming *Allegro* in C minor, 6/8 time. *Andante* not only as introduction but recurring as a kind a guiding principle after the *Allegro*. Form was either three parts or five parts
38	1822-23	Double sheet BSk 20		Sketches for the *Andante* on BSk 20 noted by Beethoven, "kom - kom - / nim mich ab zur Verklärung". If that is correct, then Allegro can be suspected of a contrary program, which is associated with the term despair. Beethoven later characterized the first movement with despair as well. With a brief introduction to G minor, 2/4 time, followed by a fugue in B flat.

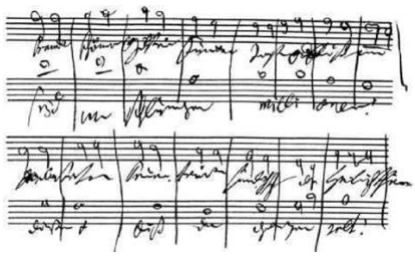
39	1822-23	Artaria 201 p.124-125 and Doublesheet BSk 20		Then the final movement comes, containing a self-quotation of *Allegretto* for Orchestra "Gratulations minuet" WoO3, published posthumously in 1832. The *Andante* is quoted at the end again. Double sheet BSk20, used at the same time as the last pages of the sketchbook Artaria 201, also contains a few drafts for the first movement of op.125. This perhaps indicates the return to D minor symphony which began earlier. (Reconstruction of sketch of Beethoven's Tenth Symphony by Barry Cooper is published.)
Advanced Sketches (1822-1824)				
40	March/April 1823	Engelmann 9.13-14		
41	March/April1823	Landsberg 8, bundle 1		

42	March/April1823	Landsberg 8, bundle 1		
43	March/April1823	Landsberg 8, bundle 1		
44	March/April1823	Landsberg 8, bundle 1		
45	April 1823	Landsberg 8, bundle 2, p. 38		Unsettling piece of sketch, as this has the third movement sketches and the scherzo theme both resembling an earlier 10th symphony sketch and the scherzo from the 9th. According to Cook, this shows that after completing the first movement, Beethoven is still undecided upon how many movements he will write for the Ninth, and the number of symphonies he was composing.

46	May to July 1823 (According to Nottebohm)	Landsberg 8 bundle 2 (based on the date of Nottebohm)		
47	May to July 1823 (According to Nottebohm)	Landsberg 8 bundle 2 (based on the date of Nottebohm)		
48	May to July 1823 (According to Nottebohm)	Landsberg 8 bundle 2 (based on the date of Nottebohm)		
49	May to July 1823 (According to Nottebohm)	Landsberg 8 bundle 2 (based on the date of Nottebohm)		

50	May to July 1823 (Accordi ng to Notteboh m)	Landsberg 8 bundle 2 (based on the date of Nottebohm)		
51	May 1823 onwards (unclear)	Landsberg 8 bundle 2,		

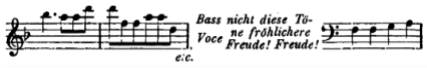
52	May 1823 onwards(unclear)	Landsberg 8 bundle 2,		
53	May 1823 onwards (exact date unclear)	Landsberg 8 bundle 2,		Nottebohm: another beginning was tried in autumn 1823: Nephew writes "*Mir freut nur, dass Du das schone Andante hinein gebracht hast*" (I am delighted that you brought in the beautiful *Andante*)
54	July 1823	Landsberg 8, bundle 2, p.77	One of the first drafts of the opening of third movement: 	

55	July 1823	Landsberg 8, bundle 2, p.77		A recognizable version of the Adagio from the Ninth Symphony, retaining the same opening ideas of the possible Tenth Symphony sketches.
56	Following July 1823 possibly Sept/Oct 1823	Unknown; most likely Landsberg 8 or Rolland.		
57	Following July 1823 - possibly Sept/Oct 1823	Unknown; most likely Landsberg 8 or Rolland.		Reprise
58	Following July 1823 - possibly Sept/Oct 1823	Unknown; most likely Landsberg 8 or Rolland.		Sketch about the end of movement, including timpani part:
59	October to December 1823	Autograph 8/1		Beethoven exploring the contrapuntal compatibility. of the ‘‘*Freude*’’ and ‘‘*Seid umschlungen*’’ tunes. Levy

60	Dec 1823-Jan/Feb 1824 According to Brandenburg	Autograph 8, bundle 2		Nottebohm linked with Beethoven's doubts about the appropriateness of the vocal closing movement.
61	Dec 1823-Jan/Feb 1824 According to Brandenburg	Autograph 8, bundle 2	Later evolves to: 	
62	Dec 1823-Jan/Feb 1824 According to Brandenburg	Autograph 8, bundle 2	Later becomes: 	
63	Oct to Dec 1823 (According to Brandenberg)	Autograph 8, bundle 1		
64	Oct to Dec 1823 (According to Brandenberg)	Autograph 8, bundle 1		

65	Oct to Dec 1823 (According to Brandenberg)	Autograph 8, bundle 1		Assigned to instruments.
66	Oct to Dec 1823 (According to Brandenberg)	Autograph 8, bundle 1		Later sketch, near the final stage (unclear when and where), transcribed by Nottebohm.
67	Possibly Dec 1823 – Jan/Feb 1824 (Brandenburg)	Possibly Autograph 8 /2		
68	Unknown, before Oct 1823	Unknown, could be transcribed by Nottebohm		Nottebohm “cumbersome attempts to find the right words and to justify the choir's entry in the first place.”

69	Earliest end of Oct 1823, Nottebohm	Landsberg 8 bundle 2		
70	Earliest end of Oct 1823, Nottebohm	Landsberg 8 bundle 2		
71	Earliest end of Oct 1823, Nottebohm	Landsberg 8 bundle 2		Schindler says (Biogr. II, 55): “When the fourth sentence was worked out, a seldom noticed struggle began. It was a matter of finding a clever way of introducing Schiller's ode. One day, stepping into the room, he called out to me: "I've got it, I've got it!" With that he held the sketchbook in front of me, where it was noted: "Let's sing the song of the immortal Schiller," etc.

72	Earliest end of Oct 1823, Nottebohm	Landsberg 8 bundle 2		*Schreckensfanfare*

Although the autograph was completed within two years, from the fall of 1822 to February 1824, Beethoven's work could be traced back to his sketchbooks, a practice he started in 1798. I follow Levy in categorizing the sketches into three significant periods.[31] Firstly, the preliminary sketches contained all initial sketches until 1815. Afterward the second period came, which saw much more detailed sketches of the second movement. This period ends with a confusing piece of sketch surrounding an Andante theme, which we will discuss its controversy below. The last period sees the most advanced and detailed sketch, perhaps because Beethoven was close to completing *Diabelli* Variations, *Missa Solemnis*, and his last three piano sonatas. Amongst them was the final birth of the slow movement theme, including the second theme, and the recitative sketches in the finale. Regarding the second theme of the slow movement (entry no. 53), Karl famously writes in his diary, "*Mir freut nur, dass Du das schone Andante hinein gebracht hast*" (I am delighted that you brought in the beautiful Andante) during the autumn of 1823. The recitative sketches are of utmost importance for the study of interpreters in search of its narrative and character.

For several reasons, it is difficult to define and determine the exact chronological order of all the entries listed above. Beethoven's entries were plentiful and scattered across his sketchbooks; certain leaves cannot be dated. In the case of some Nottebohm transcriptions the sketches are lost. The difficulty of reading Beethoven's handwriting, correlating sketches to works, and the fact that some surviving sketches are incomplete, lead to the possibility of a subjective intent in transcribing partial sketches. The precise dates of entries, especially of those leaves, are also subjective matters that attract different

[31] Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony*, 23–24.

readings. It is hard to pinpoint precisely when a particular sketch entry was created, as it was understood Beethoven kept sketchbooks with himself for a long time and generally wrote sketches from the outer pages to the inner pages. I, therefore, structure my order above based on an intuitive understanding of his compositional logic.

The Ninth Symphony in the form we know it today is a combination of two initially separated projects. The first is a symphony in D minor in response to the Philharmonic Society of London's interest in his new symphonies, and the second is music set to "*An die Freude*". This was the plan around June 1817, when he received and accepted the request from Ries, representing the London Philharmonic Society, to compose two symphonies.

The question related to a possible Tenth Symphony is a complicated one. There are a few sketches and jottings from Beethoven showing his intention to complete the work. The letter correspondence above shows the invitation from Ries and Beethoven's acceptance to compose two symphonies. The sketches near the end of the second period, named no.36-39 in my entries, do show a concrete compositional plan: one could infer a movement in which two contrasting musical characters face each other – an expressive cantabile *Andante* (or *Adagio*) in E flat major, ¾ time, and a storming allegro in C minor, 6/8 time. Beethoven intended to requote the *Andante* theme at the end of the finale movement, implying a cyclical conception. This has led the British musicologist Barry Cooper to reconstruct the Tenth Symphony based on his studies of the standard method of composition of the master. However, the head motif of the sketch does bear melodic similarities to the slow movement of the eventual Ninth Symphony. The cyclical feature of recalling themes discussed above could also be found in the opening moments of the Ninth's finale, in which the previous principal themes were recalled (including the slow movement). As Brandenberg inferred, these two separate endeavors share a programmatic parallel.[32] Levy also inferred that 'it is difficult to identify with certainty the exact piece

[32] Goldschmidt, *Zu Beethoven: Aufsätze und Dokumente*, 114.

for which a concept sketch was intended'.[33] This ambiguity informs my decision to keep the entries in the presentation, as they have a specific influence on the final product of the Ninth.

Another commonl misconception is that Beethoven originally planned two symphonies, one with an instrumental finale and the other with a vocal finale. Cook challenges this view as he found the three reasons backing such belief questionable. Firstly, in the memorandum about the '*Sinfonie allemand*' (entry no. 34), it reads,

Sinfonie allemande either with variation, after which the chorus Freud schoner Gotterfunken… enters, or without variation. End of symphony with Turkish music and vocal chorus.

Nottebohm assumed that the term implies a different symphony from that of the English commission (in d minor). He backed this assumption with the following new sketch (entry no. 36), which implies a possible different work. Cook argued that this assumption is weak on its foot as the new sketch does not necessarily point towards a choral conclusion, and thereby the connection with the '*Sinfonie allemand'* is more wishful thinking. Cook also pointed out that the '*Sinfonie allemand*' is not yet a final plan, as there is on the same page another entry (entry no. 35) that says 'instead of a new symphony, a new overture on Bach, very fugato with three trombones'.[34] The opposite page also finds a memorandum of a quintet in C minor.

Secondly, Rochlitz's letter dated 1822 described his meeting with Beethoven, during which he told him about the two symphonies. However, research has indicated they were in different cities when this meeting was supposed to have happened.[35]

Thirdly, Nottebohm's transcription of p.111 of Artaria 201 (entry no.32) is challenged by Cook. He challenged his misreading of a VIDE marking, leading Cook to believe Beethoven's intention was that of a choral finale instead of an instrumental finale based on the first subject of the Scherzo.

[33] Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony*, 32.
[34] Cook, *Cambridge Music Handbooks: Beethoven: Symphony No. 9*, 14.
[35] Cook, *Cambridge Music Handbooks: Beethoven: Symphony No. 9*, 16.

We could observe in the preliminary sketches that Beethoven was already exploring several crucial aspects of the work — two concerns about the finale based on *An die Freude*. Firstly, the verse "*Muss ein lieber Vater wonnen*" was already set to music. Although the musical line does not bear resemblance to its final form in the symphony, one could deduce the importance of such verse to Beethoven, who later set it in the symphony with two iterations– one in the context of a Gregorian Chant style (mm.615-618, finale), the other in the context of ascending theme suggesting the higher realm (mm.754-762, finale). Secondly, the premonition of the double fugue (mm. 655-729, finale) based on the *Freude* and *Seid umschlungen* themes has already been sketched out. Compared with entry no.59, which is commonly regarded as the first and only sketch regarding such counterpoint treatment, it does seem Beethoven already had this in mind almost two decades earlier. Thirdly, three critical cells of the first theme of the first movement already emerged: the arpeggiation, the use of the third in the theme, and the descending scale. Finally, entry no.5 resembles what becomes the notorious leaps in the chorus (mm. 895-901, finale).

In the early sketches, the themes from the first two movements are being worked out in detail. How the first theme of the first movement evolves tells us the way Beethoven composed – for example, from entry no.8 to entry no.22 – Beethoven first worked out the larger framework of the theme and then differentiated the individual sections. In the Weimar sketch (Entry no.8), a developmental idea of the first theme (mm. 179-187) has already emerged in the second system. Allowing such an extensive framework in the early sketches, Beethoven showed his unusual length of thematic design: a wide-reaching arc under which quite heterogeneous individual elements unite, given the theme's inner diversity. Elements are only to be developed later, as in the Beethovenian motivic compositional style. One could observe how these sketches are echoed throughout the composition: the dotted French-overture rhythm dominates the whole movement, most intensely in the coda build-up. Beethoven could expand the range between the thematic poles and achieve registral grandeur and melodic continuity through the arpeggiated theme. As

an interpreter, it is therefore important to articulate this weightiness of the context of the theme's construction to underline its importance while maintaining a sense of continuity.

The second movement's fugato theme was also worked out. Entry no.7 shows the precise plan to start the Scherzo with a fugato-style theme. The four-measure sketched theme underwent a register, rhythmic, and melodic expansion process before Beethoven rejected all experimentations as he returned to his most simple original sketch (entry no. 7 being the closest to the final version). Entry no. 9 shows the fugato theme being elaborated with more expansive, comprehensive, and melismatic decorations aimed at increasing rhythmic activity, and the staff suggests a possible sketch for both a string quintet and the symphony. Beethoven's rejection of melismatic decorations gave the important *ostinato* quality to this movement. If we compare entries 17 and 18, the fugato subjects are very similar to those of no. 7 and 9 respectively – the only similarity is the fourth measure's melisma. Therefore, it seems that both versions are still being considered. Beethoven also moved ahead with sketching the materials for the end of the 2nd theme (mm.127) and the basic frame of the trio theme (first five notes of the sketch starting with B flat major.). He also wrote about the surprise change to B-flat major, which came in the final score at the end of the exposition. Beethoven has expanded the structure of Scherzo to be in sonata form, and the sequence leading to B flat major at the end of the exposition was also extended at the end to the Neapolitan sixth. At Entry no. 20, the countersubject in the fugato has already been sketched out and resembles the final version. At entry no. 32, the fugato subject is sketched again, identical to entry no. 18. A closer inspection of this subject will see that Beethoven added the passing tones between the thirds of each measure to smoothen the contour, then inserted the octave displacement in the beginning measure to create the final product. Adding the passing tone creates a smooth melodic contour and introduces the cell of the trio (both the ascending and descending third-degree cells are present). Lastly, entry no. 30 is curiously in D flat major; however, it bears the same trio theme from the second symphony. This supports the idea that the Ninth Symphony already germinated in the themes of the Second Symphony. Beethoven only needed to add the passing tone to smoothen the melodic contour and change the rhythmic profile later to form the trio theme of the Ninth Symphony.

Interestingly, the first sketch of the slow movement is entry no.16 concerning the high horns and timpani at mm.139. Again, this is the cell of the ascending and descending thirds. The primary motivic cell through which Beethoven establishes thematic unity at this composition stage. The essence of all thematic materials he wrote later is based on this three-note ascending/descending motif. Entry no. 24 is an essential memorandum about the slow movement. Based on our earlier discussion, we have established that one cannot rule out its relationship with the Ninth Symphony, regardless of whether the intention could have also been for the other (Tenth) Symphony. Regarding the genre of this movement, Beethoven inscribed "pious song in ancient modes" and Adagio Greek myth, *Cantique Ecclesiasitique* (church song). This is reflected in using Phrygian mode (only in crucial moments) and the overarching simplicity of the harmony and the two themes. Entry no.33 also shows an essential element of the slow movement – raising a half step of the dominant pedal point and creating a strong sense of harmonic tension. It is evident already in the second bar of the slow movement with the G-flat, and we can trace this idea back to this sketch of the second system. The four-bar sketch also resembles the final opening theme in its outer contour. Although entry no. 36 could be easily dismissed as a sketch for the Tenth Symphony, closer examination again yields similarities to the theme and particularly the misterioso passage at letter B. One can deduce similar melodic patterns in its intervallic construction, and the two instances of chromaticized passing tone suggest a harmonic treatment like letter B. At entry no.37, the opening bars of the theme, commonly regarded as the Tenth Symphony, are again rewritten. Beethoven seemed to be obstinate on the theme, for it has not changed in all sketches. A closer look will reveal its inner connection to the opening theme of the Ninth's Adagio. The first three notes were written with a stepwise downward motion followed by a fourth leap. In the Ninth' Adagio, these pitches are reversed in their retrograde form. Then, if one transposes the second and third bar down the fourth, the result is the exact notes in the opening theme of the Adagio. The second system again shows a degree of similarity to the construction of the transition bars from 1st theme to 2nd theme from mm. 21-24, where a rhythmic ritardando brings the atmosphere to a standstill for the required half-step harmonic change. The only

sketch about the finale at this point is entry no.34, where the verse "*Freude, schöner Götterfunken Tochter aus Elysium*" was set interestingly not to the *Freude* theme, but to an ostinato figure evoking the genre of Turkish music.

In the advanced sketches, one sees the final stages of his work toward the final score. Concerning the first movements, with most of the themes sketched, he attempted to draw out larger sections. At entry no.40, for example, he sketched out the entire 1st theme until mm. 36. This is a remarkably detailed sketch with most details almost identical to that in the final score. Another important piece of the sketch is entry no.44, with the cell that becomes the 'expressive *intermezzo*', first appearing at around letter F, and becoming more active and through development leads into the reprise. Note that the 16th note figure in the bass becomes a dramaturgical ostinato figure in the brass as if an imminent threat to the protagonist.

As for the second movement, much work has been done to plan out the structural layout of the fugato, including the modulations and the sequences. This is evident from entry no. 46 to 48. The second system of entry no. 47 shows the horn figure already being planned for Figure F. It is interesting to note that at entry no. 48, the "*Ritmo di tre battute*" in the development section has already been sketched. However, we have not found traces of the second theme yet. Entry no. 50 sees the first sentence of the Trio being sketched out - with the *acciaccatura* notes that will be removed later – and its *cantus firmus*.

Entries no. 51, 52, and 53 show the very first sketches of the second theme of the Adagio. Beethoven's nephew Karl wrote, "Mir freut nur, dass du das schöne Andante hinein gebracht hast" (I am delighted that you brought in the beautiful Andante). Curiously, at entry no.52, a marking *alla menuetto* was printed above the theme. This informs the interpreter searching for the right sound and character for this theme. Given the character of the pious song discussed earlier about the first theme, it would be absurd to have the second theme sound light in a baroque style which is unfortunately very often heard today due to the historically informed practice movement; on the other hand, the tradition of playing the theme with such profound and heavy sound is also an exaggeration. The task of a good conductor is to align these elements in finding a lighter sound, yet very expressive and a flowing feeling that does justice

to the remarks by Beethoven. It is also astonishing to find out the second half of the sketches from entry no. 51 and 52, detailed as they were, did not enter the final score in any form. Perhaps a possible explanation is that Beethoven has not found a way to incorporate these two themes together into the Adagio, as he worked to elaborate on each theme rather than connecting them at this stage. Entry no. 54-59 represent more sketches regarding the first theme of the Adagio. Again, we can observe a process of melismatic and rhythmic distillation taking place. Interestingly, at entry no. 56, Beethoven wrote out a literal repeat on each closing phrase of the theme, paving the scoring for woodwinds in the final version. Entry no. 58 revealed a sketch of the ending of the movement. The rhythmic figure of the timpani was later assigned to the strings with an increased rhythmic activity, while the last two measures in the sketches show the framework on which he later expanded, dynamically, melodically, and spatially.

Entry no. 59 is an important first piece of sketch of the finale in this period. Beethoven sketched out the basic contrapuntal framework for what is to become the double fugue of the "*Freude*" and "*Seid umschlungen*" themes. Entry nos. 60-62 are some sketches concerning a same intended passage named "*finale instrumentale*", leading Nottebohm to suggest these as proofs of Beethoven's own doubts of the closing the work with a vocal finale, a view which is commonly held but as we have established highly debatable. A closer look will see some possible connections with the finale's orchestra fugato at letter K. They are both similar at its meter and affect. There is an ostinato rhythm as its foundation in both the sketch and the countersubject of the fugato. In the second part of entry no. 61, there is a clear modulatory sequence which echoes in that of the fugato. The next theme where Beethoven worked a lot on is the "*Freude*" theme. This is from entry nos. 63-66. This is a process of refining the theme, especially at the closing of phrases. Entry no. 67 shows the sketches for a basic outline following the text of "*Ihr stürzt nieder, Millionen? Ahnest du den Schöpfer, Welt? Such' ihn über'm Sternenzelt! Über Sternen muß ein lieber Vater wohnen.*" The chromatic idea is already clearly written, followed by the soaring high vocal setting of the verse "*Über Sternen muß ein lieber Vater wohnen*". He even sketched the music of m. 763 in the finale tightly following the verse.

The last sketches are of utmost importance to the conductor. It concerns the opening 6 recitatives in the opening of the finale. In his conversation books, Beethoven made the following remark:

> To play it in strict time would not be difficult, but to play it in singing fashion will cost great pains in rehearsal…if need be, I will set down words underneath, so that they learn to sing![36]

In these sketches, we can find those words from Entry no. 68-70. Entry no. 68 shows the rough framework of the first recitative, the recall of the first theme of the first movement, and then the appearance of the "*Freude*" theme - in other words, an overall design of the musical structure leading to the theme and then the voice. Entry no. 69 shows his further detailed work, with an almost complete third recitative (mm. 38). On top it bears the words "*Nein diese… erinnern an unsre Verzweifl*" (No, this reminds us of our despair). This recitative, at the very least from mm.38 to 43, should be executed with a dramaturgical intention of rejection and despair. The next sketch, entry no. 70, shows a more complete picture with five of six recitatives present (the second recitative missing). The first sentence can be loosely assigned with the first recitative – *Heute ist ein feierlicher Tag… dieser sei gefeiert mit Gesang und…* (Today is a solemn day, this was celebrated with song and…). The key to these two recitatives, then, is to convey a sense of solemnity, and then shortly before the sentence is finished, it is interrupted by the fanfare. Very often, the feeling of pulse is too rushed, and the fanfare does not really proceed immediately. Beethoven assigned the second sentence of this sketch to what is to be the third recitative, with the following additional words (keeping in mind entry no. 69 has already inscribed a line to this recitative) - *oh nein, dieses nicht, etwas anderes gefälliges ist es was ich fordere.* (oh no, not this one, something else pleasing is what I am asking for). The fourth recitative happens after the quotation from the fugato theme of the second movement – *auch diese nicht, ist nicht besser, sondern nur etwas heiterer* (And this is not, is not better, but only something cheerful). Here the word *heiterer* is the key, as the coming third quotation would be again a rejection for a reason explained in the next sentence, i.e. the 5th recitative. This recitative follows the quotation from the first theme of the Adagio – *auch diese es ist zu*

[36] *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte / Beethovens Konversationshefte: Kritische Ausgabe in 11 Bänden Und Einem Registerband / Band: 5*, 249.

zärtl, etwas aufgewecktes muss man suchen wie die… ich werde sehn dass ich selbst euch etwas vorsinge was der stimm…mir nach (Also, this is too tender. One must find something like being awakened…I will see that myself some singing that matches later.). What follows is the appearance is a fragment of the Freude theme, being interrupted by the 6th recitative – *Ha, dieses ist es. Es ist nun gefunden. Freude….* (Yes, this is it. It is now found, Joy!). According to Schindler, 'a seldom noticed struggle began during this point of composition. It was a matter of finding a clever way of introducing Schiller's Ode. One day, stepping into the room, he called out to me: I have got it!' The very last sketch, entry no. 72, concerns the opening fanfare and the famous line of *Nicht diese Töne* (Not these tones). These sketches clearly show the words Beethoven would have put in into the music for the performers if he needed. One should follow these words as a guideline to find the recitative's proper expression and character.

CHAPTER THREE: TEXTUAL DEVIATIONS AMONG EXISTING EDITIONS: URTEXT OR PERFORMING EDITION?

Today, performing musicians are faced with the choices of the three most up-to-date editions of the work. They are the Bärenreiter edition edited by Jonathan Del Mar, the Breitkopf and Hartel edition by Peter Hauschild (different from the old Breitkopf edition, which precedes that of Del Mar), and the Henle Verlag München edited by Beate Angelika Kraus. Most professional orchestras have updated their sets to that of Del Mar, given his edition's popularity; thus, from a practical point of view, I am discussing the deviations of readings using Del Mar's version as a basis. I shall discuss those which demand a decision from the interpreter and including my reasoning, as well as other editorial differences that are worth noting by interpreters.

While practical musicians do not need to know all the intricacies of the different sources of the text and how a decision was made by the editor to best represent the composer's intentions, musicologists, in producing an urtext edition face the difficulty in deriving the ultimately intended marking of the composer; in the case of the Ninth Symphony, there are simply so many conflicting sources that makes final decisions much more controversial as they could quickly become subjective, as some argue against Jonathan Del Mar's edition. In this spirit, the author would like to compare the three editions, and by noting their different readings, the reader could actively make an informed choice rather than taking Jonathan Del Mar's text at face value.

Concerning the first movement, the most controversial difference lies in the second bar of the first presentation of the second theme, mm. 81, whether the last note of Flute and Oboe should be B-flat or D natural. Henle and Bärenreiter both decide on D, with Breitkopf stating B-flat. Musical intuition would guide our first instinct in checking the interval in the same passage in the reprise, mm. 276 and the fourth section of development, during which the second theme is heard again (mm.276, 280). Among these utterances of the theme, Beethoven has consistently kept an interval of the fourth for two measures and an interval of fifth for the other two measures. Based on the principle of consistency of a musical theme,

there is one more important piece of argument: why would Beethoven, on the sixth bar of the theme when he decorates with the neighbor tone (mm. 85), use the tone B-flat if we are to believe four measures earlier the note should be D instead? I, therefore, am inclined to believe that the note should be B-flat, even if musicological evidence points to a D.

Among the variation editions, the treatment of repeated *sforzandi* and minor woodwind and brass notes constitute the primary source of difference. In Breitkopf, a *fortissimo* was marked over the timpani and trumpets at mm. 29, which is curiously different than the forte marked two measures earlier (Bärenreiter and Henle do not have this marking). Is the warlike dotted figure supposed to come closer to us, theatrically speaking? In the same measure, the fourth horn is a third above with concert pitch A in Breitkopf and Henle editions. At mm. 53, Henle marked the second Oboe up an octave. At mm. 60-61, Breitkopf adds *sf* on the downbeats of Timpani and Trumpet. At mm.95, Henle and Breitkopf both had the second 8th note of the bar in the Horns as rest. However, overall, the forces will become unbalanced in the two *sforzandi* chords, and thus it is not desirable. In mm. 111 the last two notes of the cello read B-natural in both Henle and Bärenreiter, however in Breitkopf it is an A-sharp, following again the principle of consistency of the ongoing pattern. It is exactly this chromatic ostinato cell that creates tension amongst the rather sustained harmony on the high strings, and so it is essential to play A sharp. Breitkopf has 3rd horn playing an octave higher at mm. 135, and at the end of bar 137 3rd and 4th horns taking an octave below, but there is no concrete reason to do so. Measure 146-149 sees different use of sf and f in various editions. In the beginning two measures, concerning the woodwind and 3rd and 4th Horns first three dynamics are *f, sf, f* in Henle and *f, sf, sf* in Breitkopf, and three consecutives *forte* in Bärenreiter. In the subsequent 4 dynamic markings for the strings, Breitkopf has *f, sf, sf, sf*; Henle and Bärenreiter has *sf, f, f, f*. These repeated *f* or *sf*s must be well interpreted. From a practical point of view in realizing this passage, these different signs should be *forte* with a strong accent. As interpreters it is important to do this passage in a single *forte*, and then giving a *subito ff* at mm. 147 and 149. Due to the denser orchestration with the strings entry at mm. 148 with pick up, it is important to realize just a single *forte*

tutti – meaning the ww must be also marked down to *f*. The problem of different *sf* and *f* markings are again evident from mm. 150-157. Breitkopf has for the sake of consistency changed the forte markings on the Bärenreiter edition to all *sf*. I personally do not believe in making any difference with *f* and *sf* – what is important is the dynamic context in which the *sf* happen. Strangely, Bärenreiter and Henle has the sf missing in the brass and timpani parts 4 bars before F and 4 bars before G. Breitkopf has intervened and reinstated the sf immediately after each 32nd note, which is recommended. In mm. 206 second eighth note of bassoons, contrabassoon, cello and basses, Breitkopf has introduced *sf*. At bar 217, all editions state the same chord. There is an intervention from Toscanini changing this string chord to c minor in 1937 in a note sent to the British Museum. However, if one compares with mm. 215, its downbeat has the same string chord. How can one explain the E-flat tone then? I believe this will creates a clash between A-flat triad with the Dominant seventh of c minor, which generates stronger harmonic tension, in addition to the *crescendo* that leads to the beginning of the *fugato* section.

In the fugato section, there are inconsistencies in the printing of *sf* or *f* again. From mm. 218 to 220, the first violin's second counter subject's three *sforzandis* are not in the doubling of the flute. The same goes for bassoons and brass in mm.224-226, brass and cellos in mm.232-234, 3rd and 4th horn, oboes and second violin from mm.236-239. These *sf*s are added by Breitkopf while Bärenreiter and Henle do not have them, as they had *forte* printed at the start of the second countersubject. At mm. 244, Breitkopf and Henle had different notes with 3rd and 4th horns and 1st oboe, compared with Bärenreiter edition. In the oboe part, the second beat is a F-natural 8th note and then a high D on the third beat (last note stays the same). At the same time, the 3rd and 4th horn have the downbeat note as a tied-over quarter note on D. The syncopated F is only in the Bärenreiter score. This measure bears the same diminished harmony as the prior measure. The advantage of adopting the two changes of Breitkopf and Henle is the D-natural of the fugato subject played by the first violins, flutes and bassoons will be well heard. Doubling the F natural in the oboe and 3rd and 4th Horn may obscure this note, as in most recordings with the Bärenreiter edition. At mm. 252, Breitkopf and Henle have the 1st trumpet staying at the same pitch without dropping down an octave, and at mm. 274 bringing the 1st trumpet up an octave instead, compared with the

Bärenreiter edition. From mm. 323-325 all printed *forte*s on the Bärenreiter score are *sforzandis* and every trumpet note has *s*f printed over in the Breitkopf and Henle version. In mm. 325, Breikopf has the first note of the violas to be unison B flat. Then in the following two measures, both Henle and Breitkopf have a different 3rd and 4th horn part:

Example 3.1. Breitkopf edition showing 1st movement horn parts mm. 326-327

The difference here lies in the function of these two horns, whether they are to articulate the change of harmony from G minor to E flat major triad or to stay with the woodwind *sf* gesture. The syncopated D natural on mm. 327 is also a question whether the sf B-flat in the violas needs to be reinforced, and if so, whether an octave D in the horns will help. I believe the reason why such syncopation is written out in the violas is because of the need to strengthen the C sharps in the cellos and basses. For this reason, I would follow the Henle and Breitkopf horn parts and consider changing the placement of the *sf* on the downbeat of violas instead. Again, at mm. 329, 331, 333, 335, 337, Breitkopf suggested that the *forte*s printed in the brass should be all *sf*. Breitkopf and Henle have printed sf in the Horns 2nd and 4th beat at mm. 362, and Breitkopf has addition sf marks in the respective trumpets and timpani parts. Based on the principle of consistency discussed above, at mm.378 the last note of the cello should be corrected to D natural, as it was printed in the Breitkopf and Henle editions. Between mm. 415-418, the question of *sf* and *f* are identical to mm. 146-149. Between mm. 420 and 426 Breitkopf again has all *forte*s printed in the Bärenreiter edition printed sf instead. Another intervention from Breitkopf is curious – at mm.423, the last two notes of the oboes are taken an octave higher to avoid the gigantic leap. It seems to be a practical adjustment without harming any intentions of orchestration and should be therefore recommended. In the coda, mm 515, 517 and 519 Breitkopf and Henle has the bassoons playing the high D, a suggestion that practically is a delight for a better *legato con misterioso* character from the chromatic writing. The lower D is heard clearly in the double basses as well, so even with the change, the register is

complete. At mm. 545 Breitkopf has ff in trumpets and timpani, again based on the principal of consistency.

In the second movement, Henle edition bears a different tempo indication from the others: *Allegro Molto vivace*. From letter A to B, and N to O, in Breitkopf all *forte* markings on the Bärenreiter are changed to *sf*. In mm. 101,105, 631, and 635, Breitkopf editions have the woodwinds slur from 2nd beat to the next downbeat *staccato*. This adjustment is made with the intention of staying consistent with the equivalent passage at mm. 338 and mm. 342. It is therefore up to the interpreter to decide on the articulation, whether to be *come scritto* or intervene for the sake of consistency. A major difference comes with the timpani part beginning three bars after letter E, and three bars after letter Q. These four 'Amsterdam' rhythmic cell bears an accent on the first note in Bärenreiter and Breitkopf, however in Henle it is interpreted as *diminuendo* over the entire bar. Concerning the last cell in the row at mm. 208 and mm. 738, Breitkopf has a *diminuendo* printed over, however this is questionable as the diminuendo is intended for a long period so that the ensemble reaches *pp* by mm 225. Inserting the diminuendo to the timpani will certain hamper the *poco a poco diminuendo* intention of Beethoven. At mm. 347, 351, 876, and 880 both Breitkopf and Henle have the 2nd flute's first note played an octave lower. An alternative reading is proposed by Breitkopf for the timpani part at mm. 352,353, 882 and 883, which reads below:

mm.352-353  mm. 882-883 

Example 3.2. Breitkopf edition showing 2nd movement timpani part mm. 352-353, 882-883

At mm. 390b, both Breitkopf and Henle have the first note of the timpani marked an octave higher. In the trio, mm. 414 and at the Trio's 'flashback' moment at the end, the third trombone bears a ff marking in Breitkopf. At mm. 497-499, in Breitkopf the three Ds of the 2nd horn are tied together. At mm. 503-506, and mm. 515- 522, Breitkopf and Henle share the same reading as Bärenreiter with two tied half notes per measure – they mark a whole note but it's practically the same. This is obviously a different articulation than the rest of the orchestra with *marcato* half notes. Is this music foreshadowing the calls of *Brüder* in the finale, and if so, shouldn't the violins do the same here as opposed to the whole note? Or should the

violins evoke more of a sense of idyllic nature of idealism by connecting the half notes as legato? This is another controversial spot with many conductors intervening the text. At mm. 786, Henle has a F-natural on the second flute part, a third higher than the printed note on Bärenreiter and Henle.

There are not many major differences in the slow movement. At mm. 15, Breikopf has a *legato* slur printed over the first horn, which is probably self-understood. At mm. 28 and 29, the last note of bassoon should be tied over to the downbeat, as rightly corrected by Henle. At mm. 58, the last beat of the 4th Horn has repeated F natural (concert pitch) 8th notes instead of the quarter note in Henle. Based on the principal of consistency with the next bar, one should follow this correction. At mm. 101-103, Breitkopf added the swell from the melody of the first violins to the *pizzicato* strings – again this indication is not necessary as it is clearly implied. The last major difference lies in mm. 137, with Breitkopf and Henle differing on the interpretation of the cello and bass line. It is corrected below:

Example 3.3. Breitkopf edition showing third movement mm. 137

In the finale, at mm.120 Breitkopf and Henle have the first bassoon play D natural as a half note, and then E and F sharp as 8th notes on the last beat. Henle at mm. 147 has removed the *keile* marking at the F-sharp in the middle of the measure. At upbeat to mm. 193, Breitkopf has the first flute, first oboe, first clarinet and first bassoon slurring the note over to the next bar to the F-sharp eighth note. In the Bärenreiter edition the sequence of motifs is not identically articulated, as in mm. 194 the oboes have *legato* slur from the pick-up. It is advisable to clear up the inconsistency of the slurs. In mm. 195, Henle and Breitkopf both have in the second flute the same starting note but as a quarter note, and the second beat has the E-natural quarter note down an octave. Mm. 197 and 198, Breitklpf and Henle has the first two horns play all notes as printed D naturals. In mm. 238 and 240, Henle has the contrabassoons play A naturals just like the cello. There is a very curious difference in Henle and Breitkopf concerning mm. 330

– both based their edition on the 1824 Vienna premiere instrumental parts which have all instruments diminuendo to *piano*, except the chorus. I found it very unconvincing to employ such big diminuendo at this highpoint. At mm. 445 Breitkopf and Henle both have G natural as the first note of the flutes, at mm. 475 second flute playing an octave lower for C flat and F natural, mm. 497 second eighth note in the flutes G natural. The famous restored horn ties at mm. 532,533,538 and 540 are consistent in the Breitkopf and Henle scores. At mm. 624 Henle and Breikopf have the second note of the Violas printed as G natural below middle C. At mm. 685, Breitkopf and Henle have the 10^{th} and 11^{th} note of viola printed as A and D-natural respectively. At the downbeat of Q, Breitkopf and Henle have the first note of bassoons, cello and basses a B natural instead of a D. At mm. 738 Breitkopf and Henle do not have a2 in the clarinets and bassoons, meaning the second clarinet and bassoon do not play until mm.741. At mm. 753, 810, 811, 833, 834 and 841 Henle and Breitkopf interpret the accent on the Bärenreiter edition as *diminuendo*. It is curious that no edition comments on the apparent clash on mm. 758, the C# in the strings and chorus with the C naturals in the woodwinds. I believe interpreters must resolve this clash – for example Fritz Reiner changed the woodwind note to C#. Henle and Breitkopf have *Prestissimo* instead of *Presto* printed at mm. 851. In mm. 857, Henle corrected the contrabassoon part to match the bassoon part, but I do not think this correction is necessary due to the cello bass figure. From mm. 889 to 894, 928 to 931 Breitkopf has all dynamic markings printed as *sforzandi*.

CHAPTER FOUR: RETOUCHES

So far, we have discussed the textual details and their differences amongst various existing editions – the solutions to which shape the interpreter's architectural, expressive, and stylistic vision. However, in the context of this work, which historically marks the beginning of the phenomenon of conductor-interpreter, any discussion on the parameters for a high level of performance must not evade the quintessential challenge of reading and realizing the musical text. The opening remark of Moscheles before the start of an orchestral rehearsal in 1845 seemed to have planted the seeds for future generations:

> 'May I try to convey to you all the inspirations I feel when I hear the works of the great masters? Thus, we may achieve excellence.'[37]

Such a statement seems like a different approach to today's age of objectivity and popularity of historically informed practice. Retouch in the view of purists is a taboo, one that alludes to heavy interference with the text and, more importantly, evokes associations with the influence of Wagner. However, I firmly believe studying performance history and tradition objectively is a crucial process in understanding the evolution of interpretation, and in this chapter, I will focus on the grounding principles and history of retouches, and examining how that interacts with our discourse on different lines of interpretations.

A study on retouches, particularly with a work so complicated in its unprecedented scale in orchestration, narrative, and musical language, is important for several reasons. First, each retouch by nature elicits a desire to further articulate certain aspects of the text. It is also a chance for the interpreter to further examine and, if one hasn't thought of so, to be confronted with a proposed issue. Second, interpreters will be able to prepare his work more comprehensively, as one must decide and judge whether the problems presented to be retouched are valid, and if so, examine the solution being proposed and prepare solutions in advance of rehearsals – as we shall see, all the historical conductors arrive at different solutions. Then one can judge at the moment during rehearsal whether such intervention is

[37] Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century: Size, Proportions, and Seating*, 74.

necessary, because instrumental balance is not just a theoretical subject but also a practical one. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, examining the grounds of retouches will help the interpreter gain insight into the aesthetic ideas or intentions of the master interpreters, and in the best cases, interpreters can use every means at their disposal and try to achieve the same artistic result.

It must be said that it is a fine line between retouches and arbitrary interpretation. However, retouching is interpretation. According to Eichhorn, retouching can be defined as,

> "An act of interference with the actual text that does not change the overarching structure and form of a piece, but rather its instrumental and tonal structure… by acoustically emphasizing or weakening details of the orchestral writing, the interpreter clarifies moments of the motivic-thematic structure. Retouching can change the tonal stylistics of a work, if they use additional instruments or individual ways of playing that were not available to the composer, that were uncommon at the time the work was created. Pitch, timbre (instrumentation), dynamics and tempo could be modified. The overall aim of retouching is to ensure that "the tonal shape of retouched texture becomes simpler and conflict-free, making the original clearer."[38]

A distinction between clarity and distinctiveness should be made here – this distinction is necessary in our following discussion because clarity of the original intention, either architecturally or balance-wise speaking, can be achieved with indistinctiveness of some of the smaller units. However, if all elements are to become distinct, overall clarity will not be achieved. Thus, retouching must be judiciously evaluated in each case, as clarity of intention can easily be undermined by distinctiveness of several elements.

Two stylistic questions, however, must be addressed regarding the principle of retouching. Wagner articulated his need to modify Beethoven's orchestration because of his deafness and the instrumental limitation at the time. The former argument could be easily disputed because one cannot simply dismiss the master's orchestration based on his malfunction of the physical ear. The inner ear is as strong as his musical intention, and perhaps of this reason, it has been commonly understood that the musical language of his late style is very much different than that of his other compositional periods. Thus, one must be careful with the idea of "over-retouching", for instance, the arbitrary addition of extra instruments. Regarding the instrumental limitation, this is a question of delicacy. Valved instruments

[38] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 169.

and modernized instruments today can certainly enhance several aspects of the realization of the score. Filling in the "missing" brass notes could be seen on one hand as changing the orchestral sonority Beethoven envisioned, on the other hand could be seen as a full realization of Beethoven's vision without the instrumental limitation of his time. There are of course very distinguished stances amongst the interpreters, but there are also some that are ambivalent on this issue and try to judge it case by case. I happen to be the latter, and only try to retouch bass notes only at the last resort, for fundamental reasons such as thematic audibility. As a former teacher said, "changing the text is the composer's business, not ours."[39]

A brief survey of important interpreters informs us how each of them has expressed and articulated their artistic aims. Before Wagner, there are already clear evidence of retouches. In a letter to Schumann, Mendelssohn described the need to retouch the beginning of the second theme of the Scherzo and impose dynamic retouches in the Adagio, presumably to bring out the woodwind theme from the violin variations. Henry John Gauntlettt has written about the practice of muting brass, particularly horns, and convert some short notes to longer ones for the sake of balance.[40] He also suggested two problems of instrumental balance: timpani covering the rest of the orchestra in the 1st movement recapitulation, and the inaudibility of F natural in the opening chord of the finale. A.W.Ambros, in addition, expressed the problem of balance between the strings and the woodwinds in mm.477 of 1st movement.[41] It has also been suggested that dynamic corrections in brass and timpani and dampening of strings in *Scherzo* are established typical retouches at the time.

The commonly held view that Wagner caused all the retouches, including some of the extreme ones we know of today, is not true. Wagner did not leave any score and orchestra materials with his retouches, including the famous Dresden and Bayreuth performances. What he did, though, is to lay down the artistic arguments and aims through his 1873 "On the performance of Beethoven's Ninth

[39] From the late Bernard Haitink. It should be noted, of course, that Mahler held completely opposite view on this.
[40] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 93.
[41] Ambros, A.W. (1860) *Culturhistorische Bilder aus dem musikleben der gegenwart*. Leipzig: Verlag von Heinrich Matthes, 252.

Symphony". Also, there is a need to distinguish those Wagner tried out and those he suggested. The practical realization or adaptation of such differs among the following interpreters, most likely because of their approaches, as shown in the discussion below.

Mahler viewed his retouches as an attempt to "mediate between the structure of the works, the composer's intentions and the changed performance conditions of late 19th century". The influence of Wagner's thoroughly enthusiastic writings and aesthetic ideas seemed to become an extremely rational realization in Mahler's hands. Although there is no reliable chronology of the various number of retouches Mahler made during his performances of the Ninth, his earlier Hamburg score and Vienna score exist. While Hamburg is more of a working score and Vienna more extensive, the earlier Hamburg score contains more additions: the latter score was studied by various interpreters including Mengelberg, Gabrilovitch, Schoenberg and Zemlinsky. His score made in 1920 contains not only retouches but also tempo design. The Vienna score details show Mahler's rational approach compared to Wagner's enthusiastic comments.[42]

Mengelberg seemed to continue the line of the Mahlerian approach in retouches. His precise metronome markings reflect the flexibility of his tempo design, which is not to be confused with an overly romanticized style. When the information density is increased, very often with Mengelberg, a slight deceleration will occur; this corresponds to classicist aesthetics by Crelle,

> 'What is significant and powerful does not rush …the effect is greater if before it stretched, when pronouncing a word is pronounced strongly and meaningfully, the breath precedes it.'[43]

His instrumentation retouch, on the other hand, is more reserved than Mahler. His retouched parts are independent of Mahler, and there is no extension of instrumentation.

Schoenberg is also against a rigid, emotionless, unnatural conception of tempo. Most of his contributions to retouches seem to concentrate on the use of tempo to accentuate the end of phrases,

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[42] News on Mahler Research, *Internationalen Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft*, No. 5 June 1979, 12.
[43] Crelle, *Einiges Über Musikalischen Ausdruck Und Vortrag. Für Fortepiano-Spieler, Zum Theil Auch Fur Andere Ausübende Musiker*, 26,46.

formal breaks, and musical-declamatory emphasis – a tradition that dates back to Wagner. Toscanini also tends to follow a lot of retouches from Wagner instead of Mahler.

Several vital passages are commonly retouched. In the first movement of mm.138-149 and mm.407-418, a question of tonal ambivalence emerges, as the textural writing could point to two interpretative solutions: the polyphony of the voices or a singular melodic lead. Leveling out polyphonic progression in favor of melody is a Wagnerian interpretative approach – later becoming his concept of *melos* – to eliminate ambiguity. This approach achieves two goals: first, the independence of the flute will be limited, and second, the imaginary melodic progression will be reconstructed. Under this approach, the four woodwind parts, whose small components of the melody were given the richest development into the expansion of one single melodic line; the militant dotted rhythmic figure of the brass and strings will then shatter its continuity. The counter argument sees the flute as an independent, leading melody. Its individual expressivity of the motivic third step was justified perhaps by the same *espressivo* marking of Beethoven that one first sees in the Oboe part. This rendition articulates a deliberate lack of melodic unity, furthering the inner logic of the motivic unit as well as the register and timbral exchange. Musically speaking, a sense of unity is only achieved in mm. 146 or later at mm. 415 when the woodwinds play the same appoggiatura figure.

Wagner and Weingartner have introduced a further change of 1st oboe and 1st flute to further its melodic continuity, as shown below:

1st oboe, mm. 139: 

1st flute, mm. 143: 

Example 4.1. Weingartner retouches on 1st flute and 1st oboe[44]

[44] Weingartner, *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies*, 135.

Weingartner, Markevich, Mahler and Toscanini adhere to Wagner. Mahler, interestingly, assigned dynamic difference between the head motif instruments and the others. Mengelberg went further to eliminate the interplay between Oboe and Flute, combining into a unison two-measure melody. However, Liszt and Schumann in their piano reduction shows their adherence to the original score. On the other hand, Furtwangler, Walter, Stokowski, and Swarowsky have not imposed these retouches. Finally, the tempo advice from Wagner to take these two passages slower, was taken by Mengelberg, Toscanini, Koussevitzky, Weingartner and Reiner.

The famous reprise in the first movement, from mm. 310-338, is well known historically from Wilhelm Furtwangler's 1942 Bayreuth rendition of loudest kettledrums on record, creating a *Schreckensmoment (horror moment)* that completely overshadows the theme, which is already by nature designed by Beethoven to be broken down into individual motivic parts. (Beethoven originally wrote a dotted rhythmic ostinato for cellos and double basses instead of today's 32nd figure in the autograph[45]). Three practical challenges are posed to the interpreters: First, obtaining a continuous sustained fortissimo of such magnitude is previously unknown in the symphonic literature – an effort must be made to structure the passage to ensure the effect is audible. Second, the interpreter has to achieve the transparency of motive-thematic content by utilizing dynamic balance between winds and brass, timpani, and strings. Finally, the interpreter must structure the main theme's arrival – the actual start of the reprise – at mm. 315.

The suggestions by Felix Weingartner regarding the execution of this passage are, by principle, widely taken by later conductors. Because a diminution in sound will be inevitable if a group of players sustain a fortissimo for such a long period - the result of which will then be a feeble *mezzo forte* that is against Beethoven's intentions – he suggested three dynamic layers to be instilled amongst woodwinds and brass, strings and timpani, as shown below:

[45] Markevitch, *Die Sinfonien von Ludwig van Beethoven: Historische, Analytische Und Praktische Studien*, 508–9.

*) The notes marked by an ↗ are altered from the original.

Example 4.2. Weingartner retouches from mm. 301-336 of 1st movement.[46]

A differentiated fortissimo will help both give the impression of a constant dynamic and make all motifs constantly perceptible. Mahler's dynamic structure is essentially the same. However, he doubled the woodwind parts in the entire passage, added trombone and tuba doubling bass line from mm. 315, and added a 4th pair of horns amplifying the cello part from mm. 319-338. Mengelberg, in addition, indicated his tempo modifications concerning mm. 315-316. He suggested a slight refrain getting into the second measure and practically playing the 32nd note on the downbeat with a *caesura* of the timpani. Meanwhile, Walter marked *Stürmisch bewegt* in his score, reflecting his suggestion not to lose tempi throughout. Stokowski introduced a gradual diminuendo in the timpani to articulate the section from mm. 315-327 (being the climax), but this also comes at the expense of softening the dynamic contrast between the first and second theme – there should be only two bars of decrescendo between mm.337-338.

The scoring of the second theme in the Scherzo, both instances at mm. 93-109 and mm. 330-339, has caused broad debate and different retouches. The passage is a development-like episode, where the

[46] Weingartner, *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies*, 144–46.

second subject is scored for the woodwinds, with the horns (and trumpets timpani in the second instance) filling the pedal point pitches and strings playing the head motif of the fugato from the beginning of the movement. This passage has troubled many interpreters, with Schenker blaming that 'the size of string orchestra has grown too much', and Schoenberg asserting that 'even doubling will not come through, as the instrumentation was incorrect!'[47]. Emerging from these extreme and sometimes acrimonious comments is the desired equal importance of thematic and head motif groups. Since taking down the dynamic of the strings is against the musical expressivity of the *fortissimo* marking from Beethoven, Wagner (together with Porges) recommended a doubling of the theme in the brass, including that in the trumpets of mm. 330-339, which he calls "a meaningless moderation" (*charakterlose Mäßigung*)[48]. This has influenced a lot of later conductors, who went to different modifications adhering to the same principle outlined by Wagner.

Toscanini follows Wagner's practical recommendation completely, including that of an additional trumpet line. Weingartner added trumpets, too, but disagreed with Wagner's voicing of the first and second horns from mm.93-96, 101-104. He advocated playing the line starting from C natural instead of E proposed by Wagner – this essentially leaves all horns in unison from mm. 93-96, 101-104, leaving a danger, as Eichhorn pointed out, being "over horn-heavy"[49]. Mahler's Hamburg score follows Weingartner's suggestion while adding two trumpets in the first iteration of the second theme (C major). Later conductors, including Koussevitzky, Mengelberg, and Stokowski, did not follow suit with Mahler's inclusion of trumpets in the first iteration. His Vienna score later had the brass section revoiced, switching from parallel 6ths to 3rds in the voicing, to better reflect Beethoven's original scoring. He did so by introducing a third pair of horns (5th and 6th horns) and having the lower horns and 2nd trumpet play in parallel sixths; the rest plays the "correct" (Weingartner) upper voice. In addition, the first flute is amplified with the introduction of piccolo and E-flat Clarinet, and the clarinets and bassoons are brought

[47] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 152.
[48] Weingartner, *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies*, 312.
[49] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 152.

up an octave for tonal clarity. In other words, Mahler's retouch goes beyond Wagner's melodic clarity through an amplification approach but a tonal retouch that strengthens the overall sonority of the primary material.

Later retouches attempt to clarify the phrase structure of these two iterations of the second theme. Hausegger was the first to attempt; he alternates the two pairs of horns (in the correct voicing first introduced by Weingartner) every four bars to articulate this passage's four-bar structure. Strauss later followed suit, only differing from Hausegger in the voicing – A combination of original parts from Beethoven as well as specific doubling about the structural interpretation, as seen below:

Example 4.3. Strauss retouch mm. 93-110, 2nd movement[50]

Aside from the historically informed practice (HIP) movement, other conductors from this school are changing the text in order to achieve a structural reading. Bruno Walter applied a dynamic retouch to the string *ostinato*, only accentuating every first of four bars with the rest being played in mf. On the other hand, Schenker suggested that the string *ostinato* starts *mf* every first of four bars, with a crescendo in the remaining three. Late in his life, Michael Gielen came to form the opinion that 'the string *ostinato* cannot be played *mf*, as it is not the character'. His treatment, without retouching the instrumentation, is to double the woodwinds and reduce the string counts playing this passage.[51] This echoes Walter's outspoken rejection of Wagner's retouching, as he believed his change in instrumentation "increased the sonority significantly but changed the timbre in an un-Beethovenian sense." He thinks the original instrumentation "preserves the cutting sound and wild drive that Beethoven had planned for the theme"[52].

[50] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 158.
[51] Gielen and Fiebig, *Beethoven Im Gespräch: Die Neun Sinfonien*, 132.
[52] Walter, *Von Der Musik Und Vom Musizieren*, 164.

The famous two iterations of *Schreckensfanfare* (Horror fanfare) at the beginning of the finale (mm.1-7, 16-25) have been heavily retouched by Wagner during the 1872 Bayreuth rehearsals, to realize his aesthetic reach of the sublime as detailed in the Beethoven essay: 'an awakening caused by the deepest need in that remarkable leap from instrumental into vocal music…this leap causes us to feel that there was a certain excess, a violent necessity for a discharge outwards, entirely comparable to the impulse to be awakened from a deeply disquieting dream'[53]. Porges was quoted reporting, 'the essence of which was that the entire eight-bar period should appear as an upbeat rushing towards the last note with increasing power.'[54] Wagner thus changed the trumpet parts to eliminate the bar accentuation and create a sense of rhythmic chaos. In the first fanfare, Wagner assigned the woodwind figuration to the trumpets from mm.2-4 but left the original trumpet and horn parts untouched from mm. 5-7. In the following fanfare, Wagner changed the trumpet line to fill the woodwind melody from mm. 18-24. The core of the debate here is whether Beethoven intended a motivic antiphonal chaotic effect on stage (thereby, as some say, accentuating the metric structure) in these iterations of the *Schreckensfanfare* (horror fanfare). What Wagner seems to have suggested through his retouches, apart from a music-dramatical aesthetic point of view, is an implication that Beethoven could not have possibly written out a continuous melodic line for the brass, given the limitations of the natural instruments. What one reads in the parts is the maximum number of notes the instruments can double from the woodwind melodic material – and this is the reason Wagner abolishes the notion of metrical structure.

Weingartner and Mahler made further retouches. Weingartner sees two further retouches to address sonority balances. First, he takes the first three notes of the clarinets up an octave to address the B-flat/A tonal balance. Second, he adjusts the scoring of the chromatic lines from mm. 5-6, which he believes is obscured by the over-scored D naturals in the brass and the first flute. Firstly, he changed the first flute's repeated Ds to the chromatic line of the second flute (up an octave). Secondly, he had the trumpets double the rising chromatic line in the woodwinds. Lastly, he had the 3rd and 4th horns double

[53] Richard Wagner, *Beethoven: (1880)*, 1st ed. (Europäischer Hochschulverlag, 2011).
[54] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 136.

the bassoon descending chromatic line from mm. 5-6. Mahler did not follow Weingartner on these retouches but addressed the problem of tonal imbalance by introducing two additional pairs of horns to play the chromatic line. In this way, the difference between the first and third iterations of the fanfare was retained (i.e., the change in the flute parts), and Mahler thus retains Beethoven's intentions better than Weingartner. Mahler also addressed the B-flat/A tonal balance by bringing up an octave the B-flat in the 2nd flute, 1st oboe, 1st and 2nd clarinet. Finally, a last retouch addressed Henry John Gaunlett's remark: "It requires the greatest attention to pull out the F, as the drum has always destroyed the effect."[55] Mahler doubled that with 3rd trombone and tuba, while Schoenberg had the F-natural played by Cello and Double basses. Later conductors who adopted retouches were mainly divided between Wagnerian and Weingartner-ian camps.

The last passage that received major retouches, surprisingly not mentioned by Wagner, is mm. 187-201 of the finale. This is a series of the truncated theme "*An die Freude*" heard in the woodwinds in an ascending harmonic sequence leading to the point of ecstasy, before the third iteration of the *Schreckensfanfare* (horror fanfare). The advocates of retouches here identify the lack of tonal support from the brass, as their natural instruments did not have the notes at the time. Weingartner and Mahler (based on his Vienna score) made the earliest known attempts to retouch this passage. The former advocates doubling woodwinds (by triple scoring the first parts) and not further doubling the horns. He believed that Beethoven's intention was not compromised by the lack of natural notes in the brass, but rather, the melody was transferred to the woodwinds. On the other hand, Mahler changed the texture dramatically through the involvement of brass. First, in mm. 172, an extra pair of horns was introduced in the second part of the "*An die Freude*" melody to prepare the later addition of forces sonically. Second, from mm. 180-187, a second pair of extra horns, an additional pair of trumpets, and woodwind doubling instruments are all introduced, all with a marked *piano* entrance and *poco crescendo* to make the filling up of overall sonority smoother. Third, from mm. 187-191, woodwinds are marked *forte*, Horns

[55] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 93.

fortissimo, and strings *fortississimo*. Additional trumpets and 7th and 8th horns are dropped. Fourth, from mm. 191-194, strings start at *piano* and *crescendo* to *fortissimo*, woodwinds doubling come in *forte* with *poco crescendo*, and the 3rd-6th horns double the woodwind melody. Finally, from mm. 195-197, the woodwind doubling stops, with the original woodwinds starting at *piano* and *crescendo* to *fortissimo*. The 3rd-6th horns and the extra pair of trumpets continue the doubling with a crescendo from *forte* to *fortissimo*. The principle of Mahler's retouch is to emphasize the melodic lead with a seamless connection while creating individual waves of increase to articulate the harmonic structure. A clear sacrifice is that the truncation of the "*An die Freude*" melody reflected by the original instrumentation will become lost.

In Mengelberg's score, possibly dated from the 1920s, many similarities can be drawn with Mahler's retouches. However, from mm. 189-191, he lets half of the first violins play the flute melodic line, and from mm. 192-198, he lets all the first violins play the first flute part. Markevitch followed mostly his retouches, except he let half of the first violins play the first flute part from mm. 189-198. Toscanini adopts a different strategy by deleting the second flute, second oboe, and second Clarinet from mm. 192-200 and asking these players to play the first parts. He adds a pair of horns and trumpets to double the woodwind melody from mm. 194 onwards. Other conductors, such as Walter and Stokowski, do not adopt instrumental retouches but use dynamics to achieve tonal clarity.

CHAPTER FIVE: TEMPO CONSIDERATIONS

Most interpretative differences emerging throughout the work's performance history are heavily grounded on the matter of tempi. From the various sources of early correspondences surrounding the premiere to the long phase of Wagnerian influence and, most recently, the rise of historically informed performance practice, the issue of tempi lies at the core of these aesthetic debates. Regardless of these various interpretative approaches, the ambiguity and errors related to certain metronome marks and their structural relationship with other passages of the Ninth have left significant decisions to the interpreter. It is, therefore, not an understatement that the phenomenon of conductors as interpreters is heavily influenced by the change of perspectives from Wagner's advocacy to today's new objectivity.

As shown below, the conductor's task is a constant need in evaluating one's interpretation of Beethoven's true intentions because even insisting on absolute objectivity - *come scritto* - is a style of interpretation. Taruskin has pointed out that the influence of historically informed practice is a newly created style based chiefly on historical evidence. Initially enthusiastic about such a movement, he later criticized the interpretative approach as merely another new style, as the historical evidence is generally ambiguous, and composers' intentions are only partially knowable. He concluded that the ever-ongoing debates on Beethoven's true intentions reflect the perpetual need for interpretative guesswork.[56]

And so, what exactly is the 'interpretative guesswork' that conductors go through in their tempo decision-making, in the case of the Ninth? I believe there are several guiding factors.

The first guiding factor is the sources of the metronome marks of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. There are six existing sources regarding the metronome marks:

Table 5.1. 6 sources of metronome marks

Year	Nature	Indications

[56] Noorduin, "The Metronome Marks for Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Context," 129.

1823-1824	Autograph score	I: Allegro ma non troppo e un poco Maestoso '108 oder 120 Maelzel' IV: penultimate Prestissimo 'Maelzel 132'
1824-1826	Engraver's copy (may have been used in the first performance)	II: 'Metron 108'
27th September 1826	Conservation book of Karl van Beethoven	Note: Without note values I: Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso 88 II: Molto vivace 116 Presto 116 III: Adagio molto e cantabile 60 Andante moderato 63 IV: Presto 66 Allegro ma non troppo 88 Allegro assai 80 Alla marcia 84 Andante maestoso 72 Adagio ma non troppo ma divoto 60 Allegro energico e sempre ben marcato 84 Allegro ma non tanto 120 Prestissimo 132 Maestoso 60 Prestissimo 88?

13th October 1826	Letter to Schott, full metronome list written by Karl and signed by Beethoven	Note: With note values I: Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso 88 II: Molto vivace Half note = 116 Presto Half note = 116 III: Adagio molto e cantabile 60 Andante moderato 63 IV: Presto 66 Allegro ma non troppo 88 Allegro assai 80 Alla marcia Dotted quarter: 84 Andante maestoso 72 Adagio ma non troppo ma divoto 60 Allegro energico e sempre ben marcato 84 Allegro ma non tanto 120 Prestissimo 132 Maestoso 60 Prestissimo /
1827	Full metronome list published in Caecilia: Eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt (A magazine for the musical world) by Schott.	Note: With note values I: Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso 88 II: Molto vivace Half note = 116 Presto Half note = 116 III: Adagio molto e cantabile 60 Andante moderato 63 IV: Presto 96 Allegro ma non troppo 88

		Allegro assai 80 Alla marcia Dotted quarter: 84 Andante maestoso 72 Adagio ma non troppo ma divoto 60 Allegro energico e sempre ben marcato 84 Allegro ma non tanto 120 Prestissimo 132 Maestoso 60 Prestissimo /
18th March 1827	Letter with full list sent by Anton Schindler to Ignaz Moscheles in London	Note: With note values I: Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso 88 II: Molto vivace Dotted half note = 116 Presto Half note = 116 III: Adagio molto e cantabile 60 Andante moderato 63 IV: Presto 96 Allegro ma non troppo 88 Allegro assai 80 Alla marcia Dotted quarter: 84 Andante maestoso 72 Adagio ma non troppo ma divoto 60 Allegro energico e sempre ben marcato 84 Allegro ma non tanto 120 Prestissimo 132 Maestoso 60

		Prestissimo /

What is striking from these six sources are several inconsistencies, all of which form the ground for ongoing discussions on their authenticity and their respective authority.

The first inconsistency came from Beethoven regarding the opening tempo of the 1st movement and that of the second movement. He originally conceived the opening movement to be quicker, at a metronome of quarter note = 108/120, but later changed it to quarter note = 88 after initial rehearsals. The second movement was conceived slower at dotted half note = 108, later increased to 116. It reflects a change of tempi in Beethoven from the compositional process to the period of rehearsals and premiere, during which the composer was present.

The second inconsistency lies in the opening Presto tempo of the finale. Karl's letter to Schott, on behalf of Beethoven, reads dotted half note = 66, but the subsequent metronome list sent to *Caecelia* for publication reflects a different reading: dotted half note = 96.

The third inconsistency is the opening metronome for the second movement, *Molto Vivace*. In the Schott letter and the list sent to *Caecelia*, the note value is a half note, but in the letter from Schindler to Moschele, there was a different reading, with a dotted half note.

The fourth inconsistency is more of a speculation. It originates from the marking of '88' at the end of the metronome list in Karl's conversation book, leading Norman Del Mar to believe that was the intended metronome for the final Prestissimo of the symphony. It never appeared in any other source and is the same as the opening metronome mark. This contradicts the seemingly logical conclusion from these sources that the final Prestissimo should bear the same metronome as the penultimate one. A check with the autograph complicates the matter, as the penultimate '*prestissimo*' was printed '*presto*' instead. Later, we will discuss other readings of this '88' marking.

However, it is worth noting that the two most debated metronome marks are consistent throughout these sources. The *Presto* of the second movement's Trio appears consistent here at half note = 116, and the Alla marcia (Turkish march) in the *finale* are all marked at dotted half note = 84. These

will be further discussed as these two markings have since been the focal point of debates as their authenticities are later questioned.

The second guiding factor is historical evidence surrounding the correspondence of Beethoven regarding the tempi of the Ninth and other first-hand evidence regarding the early performance history. Beethoven's idea of the tempi was unknown during the 1825 London premiere. Later in the same year, Ries and Smart approached and asked Beethoven about tempi before the 1825 Aachen and 1828 London performances, respectively. Beethoven played the subjects on the pianoforte for Smart to demonstrate the speed; however, with Ries, Beethoven, in his reply, showed an ambivalent attitude, according to Eichorn:

> Now to your wishes! It will be my pleasure to show you the tempi of Christ on the Mount of Olives with the metronome, no matter how shaky the timing is. As far as the symphony is concerned, I'll make you a more general suggestion.[57]

His reluctance to give specific metronome indications did change, susceptibly after his 1824 rehearsals, which caused a lot of annoyance on the question of tempi. According to Schindler, Beethoven was finally forced to allow slower tempi during the rehearsals for the premiere.[58] A word of caution, as with his many other writings, Schindler tends to advocate slower tempi through these writings.

Then, in 1826, Beethoven wrote to Schott shortly before sending the metronome list over with the following remarks:

> In our century, such indications are certainly necessary. Moreover, I have received letters from Berlin informing me that the symphony's first performance was received with enthusiastic applause, which I ascribe largely to the metronome markings. We can scarcely have *tempi ordinari* any longer since one must fall into line with the ideas of unfettered genius.[59]

What exactly does his view on *tempi ordinari* mean? Does it mean those tempi chosen by the conductors of his days were so distant from his intended tempo? Or does that mean that Beethoven was exasperated with the limitation of the instruments and their practical abilities - which resulted in *tempi ordinari* - leading him to inscribe metronome marks? One thing is sure: Beethoven seemed to have been

[57] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 24.
[58] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 24.
[59] van Beethoven, *Letters of Beethoven*, 1314–15.

constantly bothered by the issue of tempi, from his early ambivalence to his insistence on adhering to his metronome markings.

That, however, does not mean the markings should be taken as an absolute constant value. Regarding the very beginning of the symphony leading to the first fortissimo presentation of the first theme, Beethoven had written '17 bars/after that/faster'. Eichhorn pointed out the two possible interpretations: first is an allowance of Beethoven to start the symphony slower, only to modify the tempo to be faster when arriving at the first theme; second is an indication to those who slow down reaching the first theme, a frequent practice of the Wagnerian tradition, to regain tempo just as the beginning.[60] What is consistent, though, is that Beethoven does allow tempo modification. Another piece of evidence from entries by Schindler and Umlauf in the conversation books shows that the *Adagio* tempo at the beginning of the third movement in relation to that of the 12/8 section caused problems.[61] While there is no recorded verdict from Beethoven, the logical implication is the inability to find the exact tempo that works for both passages, leading to another instance of tempo modification. Lastly, it is worth noting that even as late as 1852, Schindler was still asked in Frankfurt about the exact metronome of Beethoven, demonstrating the metronome was still little known at the time. Thereby, the early performances very likely differ in tempo and constitute a rather diverse range compared to today's distinctive pursuit of objectively accurate tempo thanks to the historically informed practice movement.

Schindler's highly possible intervention in stating Beethoven preferred slower tempi - including suggesting taking down the "*An die Freude*" section in the finale from half note = 80 to half note = 69 - may have been a result of his opposition to Mendelssohn's interpretation, which he had sharply attached in the Kölnische Zeitung after the Niederrheinisches Musikfest in 1836 at which Mendelssohn conducted the Ninth.

The review of the first symphony performance described the second movement's Trio as a 'brilliant march', laying a basis for our further discussion on its tempo and character. The report of the

[60] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 24.
[61] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 24.

premiere rendition of the recitatives from Leopold Sonnleithner is also telling, as he said that the recitatives were played 'at a rapid pace, not in the sense of *Presto*, but neither as an *Andante*.'[62]

The third guiding factor is an evaluation of the potential errors of some specific metronomes and the various solutions that have been proposed.

The first potential error is the opening metronome mark for the finale being dotted half note = 96 instead of 66 (the second inconsistency pointed out earlier). Baensch, in his 1925 theory, proposed that the 96 in *Caecelia* was a typesetting mistake, which led Schindler to transmit this mistake in his 1827 letter to Moschseles.[63] This view was left unchallenged until Noorduin's 2021 argument, which proposed the possibility of Karl mistakenly giving the metronome mark 66 due to his misunderstanding of the syncopated beginning of *Schreckensfanfare*, in addition to his argument through his analysis of Beethoven's tempo principles (to be summarized later below).[64]

The second potential error was the 1826 letter of Schott's note value, omitting the dot after the half note. Schindler corrected this in his 1827 to Moscheles, and since then, rightly so, it has been concluded to be an error.

The third potential error is the metronome marking for the Trio of the Scherzo being whole note = 116 instead of half note = 116. Evidence-wise, the fact that half note = 116 has been consistent in all sources has left this argument standing on a weak foot. It has been counterargued that the argument for whole note = 116 resulted from an incorrect reading of a late printing of the 1827 Schott edition, where the stem of the half note of the metronome mark on the top of the page was almost worn out; subsequently, it was incorrectly carried over to the 1863 Breitkopf & Hartel edition. The early proposition by Stadlen could only be based on an argument that the note value was incorrect in the first place, transcribed by Karl from Beethoven.[65] But that remains a proposition. Other arguments include

[62] Leopold Sonnleithner, "Ad vocem: Contrabass-Recitative der 9. Symphonie von Beethoven," Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, n.s., 2 (April 6, 1864): col. 245, trans. Max Rudolf in Beethoven Newsletter 4 (1989): 57.
[63] O. Baensch, 'Zur neunten Symphonie: einige Feststellungen', Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch, ii (1925), 137–66, 145–49.
[64] Noorduin, "The Metronome Marks for Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Context."
[65] P. Stadlen, 'Beethoven and the metronome', Music & Letters, xlviii (1967), 330–57.

that the *stringendo* from the main section must mean a resulting faster speed and not a slower speed (which Mackerras was quoted to reply, "Why not?") and that *Prestissimo* did appear in pencil on the autograph of the trio. I shall explain the arguments for half note = 116 and half note = approximately 160 below.

The fourth potential error is the *Alla Marcia* (Turkish March) metronome marking dotted quarter = 84 in the *finale.* It is a possible mistake from Karl, as unlike other metronome marks he made in the Conversation Book, he did not include the note value in this instance, only noting "84. 6/8", thereby making a mistake on the note value in the letter to Schott. Beck proposes another reason for potential error that dotted half note = 84 is more consistent with the other variations of the '*Freude*' theme's (1st variation at mm.241; 2nd variation at mm. 269; 3rd variation at mm. 297) basic pulse, which is marked at half note = 80.[66]

The fifth potential error is Beethoven's Italian tempo indication at mm. 851 of the *finale.* In chapter two, we discussed the different readings among the existing editions: Prestissimo from Henle and Breitkopf & Hertel, and *Presto* from Barenreiter. Del Mar derived *Presto* from the Berlin autograph score, which sees Beethoven crossing out *Prestissimo* and putting *Presto* instead; he suspected the change occurred during rehearsals. Although the metronome mark at 132 received no different readings, one suspects how the tempo relationship between the passage at mm. 851 is compared with that at mm. 920, which has not been given a metronome mark and notated *Prestissimo* at all sources. The matter is further complicated by the fact that the final *Prestissimo* at mm. 920 has not been given any metronome marking at all sources (except the 88 jotting by Karl as a possibility), and so whether conductors should do the two passages at the same or different tempo is an entirely interpretative matter. We will explore the various approaches near the end of this chapter.

The fourth guiding factor is Beethoven's general principle of tempo design, through a method originated by Kolisch to establish whether the various solutions regarding tempi could be justified by

[66] H. Beck, 'Bemerkungen zu Beethoven's Tempi', Beethoven Jahrbuch, 3rd ser., ii (1955–6), 24–54

comparing with other works of Beethoven and another finding based on his tempo principle outlined by recent research of Noorduin.

Rudolf Kolisch was the first to theorize that, disregarding the instrumentation and genre, Beethoven indicates the same speed throughout his oeuvre through a particular combination of note values, meter, and tempo indication. Also, Noorduin, in his study of Beethoven's Lied 'Klage', established that an increase of smaller note values means a decrease in speed.[67] This comes as no surprise as Beethoven was known to have studied Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* (1776), a musical treatise that articulates a similar proposition. Although reservations on absolute consistency do exist, given several instances where inconsistent combinations happen and his reliance on metronome marks in his late periods, it has been generally agreed that Kolisch's method could be used to validate Beethoven's metronome marks.

The following table summarizes the other works in Beethoven's oeuvre (using known metronome marks[68]) that were compared with the speed indicated in the Ninth Symphony, including the different readings that Kolisch and Noorduin have discussed, and my personal inclusion of *Missa Solemnis* markings, which bear remarkable similarity in tempo indications and meter to some of the indications in the Ninth. Although there are no existing metronome markings for *Missa Solemnis*, the meter and tempo indications are similar in quite several instances, and since both works are practically composed simultaneously, one can certainly draw parallels. (Please note that the italics in the first column are the variations in readings of Beethoven's speed indications)

Table 5.2. Tempo comparison

Speed indications, op. 127	Work	Tempo indication, meter, smallest rhythmic value

[67] Noorduin, "The Metronome Marks for Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Context."133.
[68] The metronome marks are based on: Marten Noorduin, "Re-Examining Czerny's and Moscheles's Metronome Marks for Beethoven's Piano Sonatas," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 15, no. 2 (2018): 209–35, https://doi.org/10.1017/s1479409817000027.

I: Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso; 2/4; quarter=88	Piano Sonata, op. 90/II	*Nicht zu geschwind und sehr singbar vorgetragen (Not too fast and very singable)*; 2/4; 16th notes; quarter note = 88/92/96
	Violin Sonata, op. 96/IV	Poco Allegretto; 2/4; 16th notes; quarter note =100/116/120
	Piano trio, op. 97/IV	Allegro moderato; 2/4; 32nd notes; quarter = 88/104
	String quartet, op. 135/I	Allegretto; 2/4; 32nd notes; 8th note = 126
I: Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso; 2/4; quarter = 108	String quartet op. 18 no. 2/I	Allegro; 2/4; 32nd notes, quarter note = 96
I: Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso; 2/4; quarter = 120	String quartet, op. 18 no. 1/IV	Allegro; 2/4; triplet 16th notes; quarter = 120
II: Molto vivace; ¾; dotted half = 116	String Trio, op. 9 no.3 /III	Scherzo. Allegro molto e vivace; 6/8; 16th notes
	Septet, op. 20/ V	Scherzo. Allegro molto e vivace; ¾; dotted half = 126; mostly quarters; dotted half = 126
	Piano Sonata, op. 27, no. 1/II	Allegro molto e vivace; ¾; mostly quarters; dotted half note = 112/120/126

	Symphony No. 3, op.55/III	Scherzo. Allegro vivace; ¾; dotted half = 116
II: Molto vivace; ¾; dotted half = 108	Piano Trio, op.1, no. 1/III	Scherzo. Allegro assai; ¾; mostly quarters; dotted half = 116/126/132
	String Quartet, op. 18, no. 1/III	Scherzo. Allegro molto; ¾; quarter notes; dotted half = 112
	Symphony No. 1, op. 21/III	Menuetto. Allegro molto e vivace; ¾; quarter notes; dotted half = 108
	Piano Sonata, op. 26/II	Scherzo. Allegro molto; ¾; 8th notes; dotted half note = 88/92/104
	Piano Sonata, op. 28/III	Scherzo. Allegro vivace, ¾; mostly quarter notes; dotted half note = 92/96/100/104
	Symphony No.6, op. 68/III	Scherzo. Allegro molto; ¾; mostly quarter notes; dotted half = 108
	Cello Sonata No.3, op. 69/III	Scherzo. Allegro molto; ¾; mostly quarter notes; dotted half = 104/108
	Woodwind Trio, op. 87/III	Menuetto. Allegro molto. Scherzo; ¾; mostly quarter notes
	String Quartet, op. 135/II	Vivace; ¾; mostly quarter notes; dotted half = 88
II:Presto; 2/2; half = 116	Septet op. 20/VI	Presto, 2/2; 8th notes; half note = 112
	Piano Sonata op. 110/II	Allegro molto, 2/4; half note =108/112/120
	String Quartet, op. 130/II	Presto, 2/2; triplet quarter notes; half note = 144

	String Quartet, op.131/V	Presto, 2/2; quarter notes; half note = 120
II:Presto; 2/2; whole = 116	String Quartet op. 59 no.2/IV	Piu Presto, 2/2; whole note = 112
	Symphony No. 5 op. 67/IV	Presto, 2/2; whole note = 112
	Missa Solemnis op. 123/Agnus Dei	mm.266 Presto, 2/2; quarter notes
II:Presto; 2/2; half = 160 (ie. whole note = 80)	Symphony No. 3, op. 56/II	Adagio assai; 2/4; 8th notes = 80
	Septet op. 20/VI	Andante con moto alla Marcia; 2/4; 8th note = 76
	Symphony No. 9, op. 127	Allegro Assai Vivace, alla Marcia; 6/8; Dotted half/ dotted quarter = 84
	Choral Fantasia Op. 80/II	Marcia assai vivace ; 2/4; quarter = 80 (Czerny)
	Piano Sonata op. 101/II	Vivace alla Marcia; half note = 76/84
III: Adagio molto e cantabile; 4/4; quarter =60 (i.e. half note = 30)	Piano concerto no.1, op.15/II	Largo; 4/4; triplet on 8th and 16th notes; quarter note = 54/56/58
	Piano sonata, op. 26/III	Marcia funebre Maestoso Andante; 4/4; 16th notes; quarter note = 60/66/72/80
	Piano sonata, op. 27, no. 2/I	Adagio sostenuto; 2/2; triplet on 8th notes; half note = 54/60/63
	Violin Sonata op.30, no. 2/II	Adagio cantabile; 2/2; 16th notes; quarter note = 60/63/66

	Romance, op. 40	Andante; 2/2; 32nd notes
	Romance, op. 50	Adagio cantabile; 2/2; 32nd notes
	String quartet, op.59, no. 2/II	Molto adagio; 4/4; Quarter = 60
	Piano Concerto no. 5 op. 73/II	Adagio un poco mosso; 2/2; 16th notes; quarter note = 60/69
	String quartet op.131/I	Adagio ma non troppo e molto espressive; 2/2; 8th notes; quarter note = 76
	String quartet op. 132/III	"Heiliger Dankgesang eines Genesenen an die Gottheit, in der Lydischen Tonart". Molto adagio; 4/4; quarter notes; 8th note = 58
	Fidelio, op. 72/ Act II, No. 11: Introduction and Aria *Gott! Welch Dunkel hier!*	Adagio cantabile; ¾; 16th notes
	Missa Solemnis, op. 123/Et incarnatus	Adagio; 4/4; 16th notes
	Missa Solemnis, op. 123/Agnus Dei	Adagio; 4/4; 8th notes
III: Andante moderato; ¾; quarter =63	Piano Trio, op. 97/III	Andante cantabile ma pero con moto; ¾; 16th notes (32nd notes: poco piu adagio); quarter = 54/58/63; poco piu adagio: quarter = 52
	Piano Sonata op. 109/III	Andante molto cantabile ed espressivo; ¾; quarter notes (theme) Quarter = 63/66/72

	Piano Sonata op. 110/I	Moderato cantabile molto espressivo; ¾; 16th notes (concerning the melodic theme material); quarter note = 63/76/80
	Missa Solemnis, op. 123/ Credo : et homofactus est	Andante; ¾; 8th notes
	String quartet, op. 131/VI	Adagio quasi un poco andante; ¾; quarter notes; 8th note = 76
III: Andante moderato; 12/8; quarter = 60	Missa Solemnis, op. 123/Benedictus	Andante molto cantabile e non troppo mosso; 12/8; 8th notes
	Symphony No. 6, op. 68/II	Andante molto mosso; 12/8; 16th notes
IV:Presto ;¾; dotted half = 66	Cello sonata op. 5 no.2/II	Allegro molto piu tosto presto; ¾; triplet 8th notes; dotted half =84
	Piano Sonata, op.79/I	Presto alla tedesca; ¾; 8th notes; dotted half = 84/88
IV:Presto; ¾; dotted half = 96	Missa Solemnis op. 123/Gloria	Presto; ¾; 8th notes
IV: Allegro assai; 2/2; half = 80	Piano Sonata, op. 14, no. 1/III	Rondo Allegro comodo; 2/2; 16th notes; half note = 80/96/100
	Horn Sonata, op. 17/III	Rondo. Allegro moderato; 2/2; 16th notes; half note = 76
	Violin Sonata, op. 24/IV	Rondo. Allegro ma non troppo; 2/2; 16th notes; half = 76/84/92

	Piano Sonata, op. 31 no.1/III	Allegretto; 2/2; triplet 8th notes; half note = 76/84/96/100
	Piano Sonata, op. 49 no.2/I	Allegro, ma non troppo; 2/2; triplet 8th notes; half note = 104/160
	Rondo (for Piano), op.51 no.1	Moderato e grazioso; 2/2; triplet 16th notes
	Violin Concerto, op. 61/I	Allegro ma non troppo; 4/4; 16th notes
	Cello Sonata, op. 69/I	Allegro, ma non tanto; 2/2; 16th notes; half note = 72
	Woodwind sextet, op.71/IV	Rondo. Allegretto; 2/2; 16th notes
	Meeresstille und Glückliche Fahrt, op. 112	Poco sostenuto; 2/2; quarter notes; half note = 84
	Overture to The Ruins of Athens, op. 113	Allegro ma non troppo; 2/2; triplet 8th notes
	Missa Solemnis op. 123/ Agnus Dei	Allegro assai; 4/4; 8th notes
IV: Allegro assai vivace; Alla marcia; 6/8; dotted quarter = 84	Quintet op. 16/III	Rondo. Allegro ma non troppo; 6/8; 16th notes
	Piano Sonata, op. 28/IV	Rondo. Allegro ma non troppo; 6/8; 16th notes; dotted quarter = 84/88/92/96
	String Quartet, op. 59 no. 2/I	Allegro; 6/8; 16th notes; dotted half = 92
	Piano Trio, op. 70 no. 2/I	Allegro ma non troppo; 6/8; 16th notes; quarter = 63/80

	String Quartet, op. 95/IV	Allegro agitato; 6/8; 16th notes; dotted quarter = 92
	Piano Sonata, op. 110/III	Fuga. Allegro ma non troppo; 6/8; 16th notes; dotted quarter = 76/92/100
IV: Allegro assai vivace; Alla marcia; *6/8;* *dotted half = 84* *(No smallest rhythmic value was given, as it is a tempo relationship based on genre)*	Symphony No. 3, op. 56/II	Adagio assai; 2/4; 8th notes = 80
	Septet op. 20/VI	Andante con moto alla Marcia; 2/4; 8th note = 76
	Choral Fantasia Op. 80/II	Marcia assai vivace; 2/4; quarter = 80
	Piano Sonata op. 101/II	Vivace alla Marcia; half note = 72/76/84/132
IV: Allegro ma non tanto; 4/4; half note = 120	Violin Sonata, op.12, no. 3/I	Allegro con spirito; 4/4; triplet 16th notes; quarter note = 116/120/126
	Horn Sonata, op. 17/I	Allegro modertato; 4/4; 16th notes; quarter note = 138/152
	String Quartet op. 18 no. 4/I	Allegro ma non tanto; 4/4; 8th notes (very few instances of 16th ntoes) whole note = 66 (half note = 132)
	Piano Concerto No. 4, op. 58/I	Allegro moderato; 4/4; 16th notes; quarter note = 116/144
	Piano Sonata, op. 78/II	Allegro ma non troppo; 4/4; 16th notes; quarter = 116/132/138
	Piano Trio, op.97/I	Allegro moderato; 4/4; 8th notes; 16th notes; quarter = 132/138/152

	Piano Sonata op. 106 /I	Allegro; 4/4; 8th notes; half note =138
	Missa Solemnis op. 123/ Credo	Allegro ma non troppo; 4/4; 8th notes
	String Quartet op.130/I	Allegro; 4/4; 16th notes; quarter note = 132
	String Quartet op.132/I	Allegro; 4/4; 16th notes; quarter note = 76
IV: [Presto]; 2/2; Half note = 132	String Trio, op.9, no. 1/IV	Presto; 2/2; 8th notes
	String Trio, op.9 no. 3/IV	Finale. Presto; 2/2; triplet 8th notes
	Piano Sonata, op. 10 no. 3/I	Presto; 2/2; 8th notes; half note = 126/132/152
	Septet, op.20/VI	Presto; 2/2; triplet 8th notes; half note = 112
	Piano Sonata, op. 27, no. 2/III	Presto agitato; 4/4; 16th notes; half note = 80/84/92
	Violin sonata, op. 47/I	Presto; 2/2; 8th notes; half note = 144/160
	Piano trio, op. 70, no. 1/III	Presto; 4/4; 8th notes; half = 144/160
IV: [Prestissimo]; 2/2; Half note = 132	Piano Trio, op.1, no. 3 /IV	Finale. Prestissimo; 2/2; 8th notes; half = 152/160
	Piano Sonata, op.2, no. 1/IV	Finale. Prestissimo; 2/2; triplet 8th notes; half note = 104/108/112

	Piano Sonata, op. 10, no. 1/III	Finale. Prestissimo; 2/2; 16th notes; half note = 96/100/108
IV: Maestoso; ¾; quarter = 60	Piano Trio, op. 97/III	Andante cantabile, ma pero con moto; ¾; 32nd notes; quarter = 54/58/63; poco piu adagio: quarter = 52
	Piano Sonata op. 109/III	Andante molto cantabile ed espressivo; ¾; comparable 32nd notes in last variation; Quarter = 63/66/72
	Piano Sonata op. 110/I	Moderato cantabile molto espressivo; ¾; 32nd notes; quarter note = 63/76/80
	String quartet, op.131/VI	Adagio quasi un poco andante; ¾; quarter notes; 8th note = 76
IV: Prestissimo; 2/2; *Half note = 120 - 132*	Refer to above.	
IV: Prestissimo; 2/2; [Karl: whole note = 88?]	String quartet, op. 59, no. 2/IV	Finale. Presto; 2/2; 8th notes; whole note = 88

Including all the controversial interpretations of the various possibilities derived from several speed indications from Beethoven, the above table shows how the indications echoed throughout his oeuvre with similar tempo factors. The only three instances where it is challenging to draw parallels are the dotted half = 96 (?) of the *Schreckensfanfare*, half note = 160 (?) in the Scherzo's Trio and whole note = 84 (?) at the Turkish March of the *finale*. I attempt to relate the *Schreckensfanfare* to the Presto at the end of Gloria from *Missa Solemnis*, but that does not in any way validate the marking of 96, as that passage does not bear any metronome marking and suffers from a similar problem of tempo among performers. The author only intends to relate the historic interpretative choice of a tempo above dotted

half = 66 at the *Presto* of *Missa Solemnis* to the possibility of realizing that at the *Schreckensfanfare*. The author must also draw tempo connections in the remaining cases based on the discussion regarding Beethoven's march tempo and recorded march references in the early performance history.

The fifth factor is a brief discussion on the various schools of interpreting and their respective interpreter's approach to tempo through specific sections.

One thread discussed briefly above is the possible intervention of Schindler through his writings advocating a slower tempo, which was made possible by Beethoven's confusion of tempo at times. Another possibility of Schindler's motives behind such advocacy could also be a fight against 'Mendelssohn's tradition of over-rushed *tempi* – and even establishing a style in such reading of the work. This is further supported by the fact that convinced Habeneck the four metronome markings in the finale - *Allegro energico*, *Allegro ma non tanto*, *Prestissimo*, *Maestoso* – were too fast. He may have also convinced Habeneck to take the "*An die Freude*" theme slower at half note = 69 (*Allegro assai*) by attaching this information to the printed score.[69]

Schindler's idea – whether it truly reflects Beethoven's intention is still uncertain today – certainly affected Wagner as he furthered his ideas. Wagner elaborated his ideas on critical prose works such as 'On Conducting' and the 1873 article "*Zum Vortrage der neunten Symphonie Beethoven's*" ('Performing Beethoven's Ninth Symphony'). Above all, his main contention was establishing the chief responsibility of conductors as indicating the right tempo through *melos*, which – later, according to Barbirolli - is 'the unifying thread of line that gives a work its form and shape'[70]. Despite critics of his interventionist and slow-tempi approach, Wagner managed to establish a school of conducting that survived through generations of conductors, from Hans von Bülow to Weingartner, Mahler, Strauss, Toscanini, Walter, Reiner, Furtwängler, Schuricht, Mengelberg, Klemperer, Busch, Szell, Markevich,

[69] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 25.
[70] John Barbirolli: 'Speech to the New York Philharmonic-Symphony League, 1 November 1938,' original typewritten manuscript held at the Royal Academy of Music, London.

Karajan and Del Mar. Especially worth noting is Weingartner's departure from Wagner's recommendations on several occasions, just as our discussion on retouches above shows.

Eventually, closer to the turn of the century, a wave of objectivity in interpretative aesthetics emerged as the Historically Informed Practice movement. It is essentially a revival of the 'Mendelssohn' school, most notable by faster tempi, the introduction of periodic instruments, and a non-intervention approach. Years after Mahler had to issue a written statement to the audience attending his re-orchestration of Beethoven's 9th Symphony in Vienna, Mackerras, in 1988, also issued a statement explaining his attempt trying to be closer to the text and revealing the 'true intentions' of Beethoven regarding tempi. Major interpreters from that school include, but are not limited to, Leibowitz, Marriner, Mackerras, Harnoncourt, Norrington, Zander, and Järvi. It has influenced many conductors up to this day. Generally, a new style has been established today using thoroughly examined critical editions of the performance materials and a closer general tempo to Beethoven's metronomic indications.

Let us discuss the tempo decisions various important interpreters took throughout the performance history. The opening tempo from the 'Schindler camp' is interpreted more on the maestoso side: Furtwängler started at quarter = 50; Strauss and Klemperer were slightly above at 58-60, with the majority (including Weingartner) taking quarter = 76. The exception is Walter, who went as far as quarter = 80, which is, surprisingly, the same as Harnoncourt. According to Schindler, Beethoven marked faster after the first 17 measures[71], leading Reiner to start the symphony slightly slower and pick up the pulse as the first theme arrived. Walter and Furtwangler did the opposite way (albeit at a different starting tempo), allowing the theme to pull back and truly articulate Beethoven's *poco maestoso* remark. There is an instance where the tempo has been deliberately taken down suddenly, recorded by Furtwangler and Strauss, to evoke a *Pastorale* character for the passage starting at mm. 469. Finally, there is a traditional tendency to start the Coda at mm. 513 very mysteriously and slowly, for example,

[71] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 24.

with Norma Del Mar recommending no faster than 60 to a quarter[72], and Markevich at 58 to a quarter[73]. This is usually achieved by broadening the two bars beforehand – in extreme cases, with an additional cesura. A gradual accelerando towards the last presentation of the theme brings the momentum back to tempo primo around 72-76 to a quarter.

A common interpretation is rendering the repetition of the *Scherzo* quicker. J. Fischof recommended speeding up the tempi during the repetitions of the *Scherzo*, which is echoed in Porges' 1872 report that Wagner and Strauss increased the tempo when repeating the *Scherzo* following the trio and Leopold Damrosch's New York performances from 1877-1880, testified by his conducting score.[74] Later, this idea faded away even amongst the Wagnerian conductors.

In the Scherzo, most conductors adhere closely to Beethoven's inscription. Only Walter, Strauss, and Furtwangler started with a slightly slower tempo at around dotted half = 100, only later accelerating back to dotted half = 116. Despite the three different readings of the *Trio* tempo, the transition from *Scherzo* to *Trio* is another complicated matter we have not addressed. This is because the tempo choice of each conductor of the *Trio* must correspond to an organic *accelerando* from the *Scherzo* tempo beforehand. Tradition from Wagner (reported by Porges) reads half note = 116 in the Trio; Wagner accelerates two bars before the *Presto* with a tempo relationship of dotted half = half, before slowing down in the third bar of *Scherzo* for the bassoon entrance. Most notably, Norrington adopted Wagner's view in his recording. An obvious disadvantage of this approach is the fact that the actual degree of acceleration is minimal, as the quicker the dotted half-note tempo is, the more one has to slow down in the first two measures of the Trio to reach half-note = 116. On this basis, Weingartner disagrees with Wagner's approach and instigated the reading of half note = 160 in the Trio. He neglected the half note = 116 metronome and achieved a substantial accelerando while retaining Wagner's tempo relationship of dotted half (Scherzo) = half (Trio). This approach was adopted and detailed in Hans Swarowsky's

[72] Del Mar, *Conducting Beethoven: Volume 1: The Symphonies*, 181.
[73] Markevitch, *Die Sinfonien von Ludwig van Beethoven: Historische, Analytische Und Praktische Studien*, 514.
[74] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 23.

remark: Throughout the four 2-bar-iterations of the central motif on which Beethoven marked stringendo, he inscribed the following metronome marks for every two measures: mm. 404 dotted half = 116; mm. 406 dotted half = 132; mm. 408, dotted half = 152; mm. 410, dotted half = 168.[75] He takes the Trio slightly faster than Weingartner at half note = 168. This approach is well documented and widely attempted across both camps; however, it must be noted that most, Swarowsky and Weingartner included, did not reach the tempo at m. 411 to make the dotted half = half tempo relationship in their recordings. Most barely achieved any *accelerando*, allowing the quarter notes to stay at the same speed across this transition, giving a mathematical metronome of half note = 174 in the Trio. Thus, the approach proposed by Weingartner also fails to achieve the *accelerando*, but there is a marked increase in the speed of the *Trio* because of the different tempo relationship. Nevertheless, if one follows precisely what Swarowsky proposed in theory (not from his recording), a tremendous drive will result during the stringendo, only hampered later by the dotted half = half tempo relationship as the pulse of the quarter notes will still be suddenly slower once the Trio starts. The last approach, hardly done by anyone except Benjamin Zander/London Philharmonia, was based on reading whole note =116. He also insisted on achieving an accelerando beforehand, so the result is dotted half = 142 and a sudden change to whole note = 116 without any tempo relationship.

In conclusion, there are four known ways of executing this passage: First, the Wagnerian way with little *accelerando* two bars before the Trio, followed by a dotted half = half = 116 tempo relationship, with a slight holding back of tempo in the first two bars of Scherzo. Second, the Weingartner approach with a dotted half = half = 160 tempo relationship, including an accelerando beforehand. This has been rarely achieved due to the unsuccessful *accelerando* of most conductors; thus, leading to the third way, the half-baked approach with a half note = 160-174 speed in the Trio and a quarter = quarter tempo relationship beforehand. This approach does abandon the *stringendo* marking. Fourth, an approach with whole note = 116 and an *accelerando* beforehand, with no tempo relationship or

[75] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 22.

a roughly dotted quarter = whole note = 116. Thus, only the second and fourth approaches will result in an audible *accelerando* and increased speed in the quarter notes into the Trio.

The slow movement tempo shows a vast difference between the two schools. The Wagnerian approach leads to a recorded opening tempo of quartet = 50 on average and, in extreme cases, at 40 to a quarter note. A common practice from this approach, recommended by Weingartner, Markevich, and Norman Del Mar, is to conduct slowly in the first two bars, beaten out in 8th notes, until the third measure when the real tempo begins. Weingartner, Markevich, and Norman Del Mar have unanimously warned about the danger of too slow a tempo at mm. 83 and onwards and thus suggested a gradually flowing tempo all the way leading into mm. 99. However, in many recorded performances and Strauss-prescribed metronome marks, mm. 83 usually starts slower than the opening tempo.[76] The Mendelssohn school generally has a much quicker pulse at quarter = 55-60 throughout, even in the 12/8 passage.

The *Schreckensfanfare* (horror fanfare) that begins the *finale* bears two different metronomic readings. Most Wagnerian conductors play at a slightly slower tempo, ranging from 56-60 to a bar, except for Toscanini at dotted half = 69 and Schuricht = 76. This raises the question of whether the choice has been influenced by Weingartner's view that dotted quarter =.96 is not too fast for the fanfare but for the recitatives. Norman Del Mar disagrees with his view on dotted quarter = 96 for the fanfare. Still, he agrees that the recitatives should be conducted slower than the recitative, approximating quarter note =112 as the tempo basis of the cello/bass recitative.[77] Those following the Mendelssohn school, such as Leibowitz and Norrington, play the recitatives at the exact metronome given by Beethoven (as discussed above, this is proven false). Others show little flexibility in tempo and phrasing. They are possibly influenced by the Wagnerian tradition of playing the recitatives, which is best summarized below by Norman Del Mar:

[76] Strauss quarter = 40.
[77] Del Mar, *Conducting Beethoven: Volume 1: The Symphonies*, 200.

Example 5.1. Norman Del Mar 4th movement recitative indications[78]

In some extreme cases, the stretches in the pulse during these passages can be exaggerated, more to evoke a sense of solemn festival rather than to communicate Beethoven's narrative, as shown in our previous discussion of the sketches. Two instances prove to be interpreted consistently in an exaggerated fashion, the recitative starting at mm. 81 and the transition in mm. 92. The first instance is mm. 81, where this recitative has been mostly interpreted with a subconscious tempo relationship half note = quarter note of ¾, and with ritardando in the last four measures. The second instance is the transition into the "*An die Freude*" theme, which, instead of emerging right away from the two triumphant chords before, is usually treated after a very broad reading of the two chords followed by a grand pause. The problem with grand pauses in this movement is that they destroy the continuity of Beethoven's conception: a motivic and melodic continuity that was originally intended. In the case of this transition, the notated pulsation of the two chords and the first note of the '*An die Freude*' theme should be respected, as Tovey first pointed out.[79]

Schindler may have been influenced later interpreters by his inscription to the score half note = 69 at mm. 92, a possible act of interference we discussed earlier. This has resulted in most Wagnerian conductors rendering this passage very close to Schindler's metronome. However, some Wagnerian

[78] Del Mar, *Conducting Beethoven: Volume 1: The Symphonies*, 200–201.
[79] Del Mar, *Conducting Beethoven: Volume 1: The Symphonies*, 202.

conductors such as Scherchen, Strauss, and Klemperer add a gradual accelerando throughout the coming variations into mm. 164; the latter two had an also identical tempo of half = 80.

At mm. 331, two readings of the metronome markings were previously discussed: dotted quarter = 84 or dotted half = 84. Hardly any interpreter has ever attempted the slow dotted quarter = 84, as most find a halfway tempo between these two markings, ranging from dotted quarter =112 – 146 (Jarvi), with the Mendelssohn camp on the faster side and the Wagner camp on the slower side. Only Zander has attempted dotted half = 84, but it is probably more of an experimental demonstration.[80] Almost all Wagnerian conductors pick up the tempo around rehearsal K (mm. 431), adding around ten counts to the metronome. Strauss marked his score dotted half = 69 at mm. 543, and judging from the exactitude of his approach as a conductor, the Turkish march would probably have started at the same speed. This shows Strauss's clear intention to use the same pulse in the first iteration of the "*An die Freude*" theme to this 4th variation, where he gave this metronome mark.

The next two passages, beginning at mm. 543 and 595, see little deviation from Beethoven's marking. What deviates is the general approach across both camps at the double fugue starting at mm. 655. All conductors play this passage significantly faster than the printed metronome, at around dotted half = 100-120, regardless of camp. A practical concern emerges as the pulse goes faster and harder to play every note practically and audibly.

Strauss and Klemperer used the same pulse going into mm. 763, making a tempo relationship of dotted half = half. The tempo taken by conductors here ranges from half = 100-120.

Schindler's note through reading the last two metronome numbers in Beethoven's Conversation book - that the first poco Adagio (mm. 810) half note = 88 and the second poco Adagio (mm. 833) half note = 60 – was later corrected by Peter Stadlen as he believes the note value to be incorrect.[81] This note differs from the norm to interpret these two passages at the same tempo, usually around half note = 50 – 60. Norman Del Mar and Weingartner have unanimously recommended the tempo relationship of half

[80] Zander admits that in his audio explanation which comes with the recording with London Philharmonia Orchestra.
[81] Eichhorn, *Beethovens Neunte Symphonie: Die Geschichte Ihrer Aufführung Und Rezeption*, 26.

note (Allegro) = quarter note (Poco Adagio), but that would mean an Adagio of quarter note = 120, which is faulty. Thus, most conductors across both camps achieved half note (Allegro) = 8th note (Poco Adagio), arriving at a tempo ranging from quarter note = 45-50. Norrington was the only one on record to have incorporated Schindler's argument and achieved quarter notes = 70 and 60 for both instances of the Poco Adagio. What follows is another tradition of a grand pause before starting the *Poco Allegro*; however, there is a danger in hampering the continuity of the B-A motif heard at the end of the solo quartet to the first two notes of the Poco Allegro.

There is a significant deviation from the notated metronome at mm .851 to the end of the work. Half note = 132 at the Presto/Prestissimo is usually rendered much quicker, at half note = 144-160; subsequently, the *Maestro* passage is then rendered at half of the speed Beethoven indicated, at around 8th note = 52-72, either at a half note = 8th note relationship or none at all; and the final *Prestissimo* played at either a fastest possible speed (in the case of Furtwängler), or a tempo relationship of 16th note (*Maestoso*) = half note (*Prestissimo*), or *subito* at the previous *Presto* tempo. On the other hand, conductors of the Mendelssohn camp are quite divided on the reading of these two tempo transitions. Harnoncourt follows the old grandioso reading into the first three bars of *Maestoso,* then accelerates in the final bar, and attempts a *subito Prestissimo* based on a tempo relationship of the 8th at the beginning of the *Maestoso*, not the end) = whole note (*Prestissimo*). Järvi follows the Wagnerian school outlined above and chooses a tempo relationship of 16th note (*Maestoso*) = half note (*Prestissimo*). Zander and Mackerras attempted a uniform pulse throughout, with a tempo relationship of half note (*Presto*) = 8th note (*Maestoso*) = half note (*Prestissimo*). Surprisingly, this is an approach advocated by Strauss and realized by Kubelik.

Norman Del Mar suggested a tempo of half note = 176 in the final *Prestissimo*, based on his suspicion of 88 from Karl's hand in the Conversation book being referred to as the final tempo.[82] Schindler took the number as a marking for the first *poco adagio*, and upon closer inspection, one finds a whole note = 80 being crossed out. Could that have been Beethoven's tempo? Certainly, that would

[82] Del Mar, *Conducting Beethoven: Volume 1: The Symphonies*, 217.

make a case for the difference between *Presto* and *Prestissimo*, as Jonathan Del Mar finds in the autograph and brings it into his edition. This issue remains to be addressed scholarly.

CHAPTER SIX: IN SEARCH OF FORM AND NARRATIVE

The uniqueness of the Ninth Symphony, in its unusually grand form, programmatic inclinations, and blend of music genres, makes it perhaps the most revolutionary work in the symphonic repertoire. Theorists, musicologists, and performers have made attempts to explain the work. The predicament, of course, is that its originality defies most conventional parameters of understanding the work. So, existing analyses are primarily successful in identifying several distinguished individual elements or articulating the basis of their rationale but need to be inclusive of the other features of the work. These theories, especially those surrounding the finale - which we will discuss below - remain debatable to this day. The difficulty in perceiving the work then seems to reflect its very nature – just as in many of his late works, it is tough to pinpoint precisely *how* Beethoven composed them. Perhaps the following poetic phrase to summarize the work is accurate: Spaciousness and grandeur were attained by a divine architect who gives a humanist message that blends mystical, theological, utopian, and revolutionary trends of thought. This statement reflects my approach below, which summarizes some essential existing findings that could reveal insights into the conventionality created by the work that led to 19th-century Romanticism and its design's structural and programmatical organicism.

A feature in the Ninth that is wholly Beethovenian and constant throughout his oeuvre is motivic unity. This composition method is rooted in his earlier works, most notably the Fifth Symphony. Hans Mersmann, Walter Engelsmann, Fritz Cassirer, and Rudolph Reti sought to establish that each multimovement work from Beethoven could be shown to be derived from a single motif or theme: a most basic cell with its melodic and rhythmic features.[83] In the case of the Ninth, d'Indy has commented that "All the typical themes of the symphony present the arpeggio of the chords of D or B flat, the two tonal bases of the work, with arpeggio as the real cyclic theme of the ninth symphony.".[84] This commentary did reveal the most critical three tones: D, A, and B-flat, and their intervallic relationships of octave, 4th,

[83] Solomon, *Beethoven*, 407.
[84] D'Indy and Baker, *Beethoven: A Critical Biography. Translated from the French by Dr. Theodore Baker*, 114.

5th, and semitone. These elements could be reflected in all themes in the work except the other group of themes constructed by the cell of the *Freude* melody. This view could be strengthened by considering the two subjects in the double fugue of the *finale*, one being that of the *Freude* melody and the other being the *Seid umschlungen Millionen* theme, that, as Reti pointed out[85], is the inversion of the second subject of the first movement. From this point onwards, all the two essential motif cells combine to form a unity that binds the work together in its conclusive section.

While most of the sections can be easily identified in formal analysis, several different readings of passages are worthy of discussion. First, let us consider the 16 bars of introduction material in the exposition. Its reappearance in the recapitulation bears few similarities with that of the exposition, including a similar growth of rhythmic activity from the fragmentation of the 1st theme motif. Otherwise, the scoring, dynamic, and 32nd figure on F-sharp by the cello and basses suggest a completely different scenario. The beginning of recapitulation cannot be more different than that of the exposition. It almost defies the definition of recapitulation in sonata form's principle to repeat the exposition in tonic and reassure it, with the 3rd of the major triad at the bass being shattered by the timpani. Secondly, the form is constantly being expanded. The long development in the first movement has three main sections, with the *piano* outer sections developing the first and second theme respectively and connected via a *forte* fugato section. Its location articulates the high point of the development section's arc. Yet, despite its sudden outburst, a sense of continuity was still present because of the motivic connection of the cell of the first subject in mm. 19-20. The second movement outlines an enlarged scherzo form, with elements of fugue infused in sonata form embedded in the outer compound ternary form. The third movement is in double variation form with two themes with two variations on the first theme and two fanfares. Thirdly, a sense of continuity is cultivated from these long arcs of passages built over thematic or motivic connections and dramatic contrasts. Each group contains multiple themes, and each grows out of the previous one. Formalized cadences – such as *medial caesura* - from the Classical Style, such as Mozart and Haydn,

[85] Reti, *The Thematic Process in Music*, p.22.

were absent. As Vaughan Williams noted, the developmental technique in the Ninth Symphony is unique, as there is a curious hesitancy; "instead of using his thematic material to lead directly home, Beethoven seems to handle it and meditate on one aspect of it after another".[86] Fourthly, the second movement outlines an enlarged scherzo form, with elements of fugue infused in sonata form embedded in the outer compound ternary form. The finale presents several different readings in its form, including sonata, ternary, and free form. Schenker divides the finale into three large sections:

Table 6.1. Schenker's *finale* structural divisions[87]

Section	Measure number	Features
1a	mm. 1-207	'instrumental'
1b	mm. 208-594	'vocal'
2	mm. 595-654	Chorus only
3a	mm.655-762	Beginning of double fugue
3b	mm. 763-850	Soloists rejoin
3c	mm. 851-940	Prestissimo

Baensch followed Schenker and advocated further that the finale I set in Bar form AAB (*Stollen, Stollen, Abgesang*):[88]

Table 6.2. Baensch's *finale* structural divisions

Section	Measure number	Features
Stollen	mm. 1-207	'instrumental'
Stollen	mm. 208-330	'vocal'
Abgesang 1	mm. 331-594	
mm. 591 2	mm.595-940	Beginning of *Seid umschlungen (Andante)*

[86] Ralph Vaughan Williams, *Some Thoughts on Beethoven's Choral Symphony*, 21-22.
[87] Heinrich Schenker, *Beethoven's Ninth Symphony*, trans. and ed. John Rothgeb
[88] Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony*, 91.

Sanders argued that the finale is set in sonata form with double exposition (frequently used in concertos):[89]

Table 6.3. Sanders' *finale* structural divisions

Section	Measure number	Features
1st exposition	mm. 1-207	Incomplete
2nd exposition	mm. 208-431	Complete with Turkish music at mm. 331
Development	mm. 431-542	
Recapitulation	mm. 543-	Bridge mm. 591-654 ; double fugue mm. 655-729
Transition	mm. 730-762	
Coda	mm. 763-940	Consists of three parts

All these analyses leave some critical questions unanswered, including the consistent parameters in tempo, theme, and tonality across the divisions that contradict the divisions. This leads to David Levy's further elaboration based on the consensus of Rosen and Treitler that the form here is a four-movement symphonic form: 1st 'movement': mm. 1-330; 2nd 'movement': mm. 92-207; 3rd 'movement': mm. 595-654; 4th 'movement': mm. 655-940.[90] Markevitch went even further in his analysis by elaborating a loose ternary form, with a 6 part structure beginning from the third *Schreckensfanfare* and a coda.[91]

The *finale*'s wide range of formal analyses indicates an apparent difficulty in perceiving its overall function in the work. The bass soloist's first line, "O Freunde, nicht diese Töne…" (O friends, not these sounds…) suggests that the finale is a point of departure. Because of such narrative, Beethoven had to construct a supremely integrated structure using more robust and individual contrasts and procedures than a standard sonata *finale*. Also, the clear objective in discovering the *Freude* melody is a goal, and

[89] Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony*, 91.
[90] Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony*, 93.
[91] Markevitch, *Die Sinfonien von Ludwig van Beethoven: Historische, Analytische Und Praktische Studien*, 493–97.

further embellishment can only be manifested in variations. By conjuring other genres, modes, and chorus/solo quartet combinations, Beethoven manages to use motivic links to bind these all together while creating a sense of propulsion to the end of the work that can be described as the absolute limit of musical apprehension or speed. This reminds me of a remark when a renowned conductor was asked about his understanding of the end of the *finale*; the response was that the music was initially conceived to be both unplayable and not understandable. In other words, it attempts to break through the human conscience into another metaphysical level.

This brings us to the discussion on utopian art as a programmatic intention of Beethoven. Solomon has summarized utopian art's three distinctive qualities: First, it is anticipatory and based on the principle of hope. Second, it articulates a disharmony between the artist and the conditions of his existence. Thirdly, utopian art is inseparable from the existing condition of humanity as it is based on transcendence philosophy, which originates in a diseased present, a vision modeled on memories, fantasies, or artistic representation of an Edenic state. Many aspects of this work are utopian: firstly, the evocation of a pastoral Arcadia.[92] The two prominent examples are the brief quotes of the *Freude* theme in the first movement and the symphony's slow movement. Simple diatonic harmony and stillness in the atmosphere contrast strongly with the otherwise drama-driven score. Conductor Kirill Petrenko commented explicitly on the slow movement's expression of Arcadia by calling the movement 'Lost paradise'.[93] He believes Beethoven attempted to evoke dreams and nostalgia, recalling life before all catastrophes in the time of Arcadia, with simple bucolic scenes close to nature. The scenic portrayal is very beautiful to the point where it escapes reality so that one can only try to remember it. This then creates disharmony, which must be rejected by the recitatives in the *finale* designed for just that purpose. Secondly, the genre articulates the thought of renewal, a triumph of light over darkness. Elements of the triumphal *Siegessymphonie* (Victory Symphony) from the tragic play *Egmont* and Pizarro's prisoner's chorus music from *Fidelio* echo in this work. Finally, Schiller's text is utopian: the word *werden* is in a

[92] Solomon, *Beethoven*, 404.
[93] Interview video available at Berlin Philharmonic Digital Concert Hall.

process tense, implying what will happen *if*. Thus, if all men are to become brothers and dwell in harmony with a loving father, they will be protected by *Freude*, daughter of Elysium – an anachronistic enlightenment dream of a harmonious kingdom.

Considering this, we may now attempt to articulate the programmatic function of the *finale*. Is the movement an attempt at finding an ideological solution? The text from Schiller can be summarized into three main themes: first, joy; second, the personification of the nurturing mother whose protective embrace all mankind is reunited; and third, the way toward reunion with the benevolent father is opened. Also, the combined use of Gregorian chant and Lydian mode, a wide range of genres from variations, march to fugue, and a mixed structure of cantata and sonata features presents a message with a vast ambiguity without particularly known origins. But it is precisely on that basis that it can manifest itself through a set of universal paradigms. As such, an ideological solution is not to be given: the *finale* musically indicates a path towards a new direction of spiritual joy, with faith in the creator so that in the old Prometheus sense, mankind can be transported to a better world. It is, therefore, not a religious solution, but a transcendence towards the sublime.

Richard Wagner's programmatic interpretation of the Ninth Symphony, based on quotations from Goethe's Faust combined with his narrative, is mostly rejected. While there are hints of the foundations of his own search for musical drama, such description contains vivid imaginative power and alludes to some of the programmatic ideas discussed above. Thus, visiting it is worthwhile.[94]

Wagner viewed the first movement as a dramatic account of a soul's striving for joy, struggle against an oppressive force, and a longing cursed to despair and failure. The 1st theme is alluded to Goethe's line: "Entbehren sollst du/ Sollst entbehren!" (Renounce you must, you must renounce!) and the fugato, as a state of open battle: the resistance is fighting against the mighty force. At the end of the movement, such a mood without joy and peace, has engulfed the whole world in a terrifying yet sublime majesty. Wagner describes the second movement as a frenzied new world in which the protagonist is

[94] Reynolds, *Wagner, Schumann, and the Lessons of Beethoven's Ninth*, 49–56.

constantly chasing after some new, unknown happiness. He quotes Goethe's lines: 'I take the wildering whirl, enjoyment's keenest pain. Let us the sensual deeps explore, to quench the fervors of glowing passion.' The Trio represents a scene of Dionysian pleasures, which Wagner quoted Goethe: 'Here, for the folk, each day's a holiday: With little wit, and ease to suit them, they whirl in narrow circling trails.' This scene then becomes clouded, and we return to the Dionysian pleasures. Incorporating Geothe's lines, Wagner speaks of an awakening in the beginning of the slow movement, which evokes a memory of forgone pure happiness. He further suggested that the second theme is a sweet yearning for love. The famous passage in the middle of the movement was characterized as hesitation, a tremendous calming power like the balm that was resisted. Finally, the two *fortissimo* interjections were assigned to the words of Goethe: 'Sound on, ye hymns of Heaven so sweet…'. In the finale, Wagner labeled the beginning, a moment of negation and shock, as *Schreckensfanfare* (horror fanfare) since he believed it was a 'chaotic outcry of unsatisfied passion.

CHAPTER SEVEN: A PRACTICAL CONDUCTING GUIDE

I would like to summarize the entire document in a manner that connects to the craft of the conductor – a deep study of the score and execution of the work through the details of our findings and artistic ideas, channeling through us to the public from the creator. I have incorporated some written comments from two masters on the subject of interpretation and execution, Igor Markevich[95] and Norman Del Mar[96], in addition to my studies, with the hope of elucidating and enriching the reader in understanding the many thoughts that have gradually evolved through the preparation of this piece of writing and my preoccupation with various interpreters of the symphony.

Firstly, one must discuss the critical subject matter of rehearsal considerations. In today's world of short rehearsal periods, efficiency is one of the keys to successful performances. Thus, the importance of organizing various rehearsals according to the institution's scheduling way in advance cannot be underestimated. Conductors should communicate to the chorus director in advance his main musical ideas for better preparation – I remember vividly, as a chorus member, a case when the conductor came in the evening before the first tutti rehearsal with every interpretative touch different than what the chorus master had been rehearsing with us for weeks. Soloists usually have time only for a quick piano rehearsal – what is called in German *verständigungsprobe* (understanding rehearsal) – very late in the rehearsal process. Work must be done with regard to tempi, phrasing, breathing, and mundane but visually important matters of standing and sitting. Orchestral rehearsals should also be well planned, so there is no need for conductors to let personnel not needed in the orchestra wait and sit for a long time. The factors of trombones being tacet in the 1st and 3rd movement, and the separate needs to rehearse 1st violins in the slow movement and cello bass recitative in the *finale* should be well incorporated into the grand rehearsal plan. In terms of stage management, the two questions that one must answer are, firstly, the placement of soloists, whether to be in the circle immediately in front of the conductor or in front of the

[95] Markevitch, *Die Sinfonien von Ludwig van Beethoven: Historische, Analytische Und Praktische Studien*, 448–556.
[96] Del Mar, *Conducting Beethoven: Volume 1: The Symphonies*, 169–217.

chorus. Secondly, the question of the timing of entrance of the chorus and soloists. The most ideal way is to have the entire vocal quartet on stage at the downbeat. However, the ordeal of sitting through three movements may prove challenging to some, and the conductor must decide which interval is best for entrance. The best moment of entrance is between the second and third movements. I believe when the two movements have been performed with the right amount of vigor and intensity, the public deserves a pause (think of the famous inscription of a 5-minute pause after the first movement of Mahler's Second Symphony), during which is the perfect timing for the entrance of soloists. A chorus entry will take too long, so it is highly recommended they enter and stay seated from the beginning of the work. Norman Del Mar and Markevich ruled out entering between the third movement and the *finale* based on preserving the dramatic intent of Beethoven. The brief silence, in which the audience is left in awe of the sublime beauty of the 3rd movement, is immediately followed by a dramatic, destructive *Schreckensfanfare* (horror fanfare). Ultimately, these are questions of acoustics and individual comfortability that conductors must handle with great sensitivity. I shall explain the standing and seating instructions during the *finale* below, as I believe they should be carefully planned for a correct theatrical effect.

A phrase from Mikhail Lermontov summarizes the atmosphere that a conductor should evoke at the very beginning of the work: "Silent night, the desert is listening to the voice of God, and the star speaks to the other stars in the sky"[97]. A situation of apparent paradox must be achieved here: a beat providing clarity for the ensemble and, at the same time, not disturbing the mysterious and empty atmosphere. One will be surprised to find how common it is for many interpreters to have altered the pulse during these 16 measures. The entrance of all winds and brass must also not bear any accent, and they must blend in softly without causing a crescendo because of the increase in instrumentation. According to Markevitch, Beethoven addressed his friend Nikolaus von Zmeskall in a letter dated 1798/99 with a theme almost identical to the cell of the symphony's beginning, with the word 'Baron'

[97] Lermontov, Mikhail. "The Sail" (Парус). 1841.

inscribed on top. Markevitch has also rightly advised to bring out bassoons and 3rd 4th Horn at mm. 15 and 49 with maximum *crescendo* – for these two tones underline the roots of the two main harmonies of the work. 1st violins and violas must play with utmost conviction and *crescendo* during mm. 16-17, and equivalently mm. 49-50. Norman Del Mar suggested broadening the second beat of mm. 16, elongating the 32nd rest just a touch longer. This is the tradition, but a sense of urgency will be lost when starting this theme of "suddenness, the quasi-Promethean character," - rightly noted by Markevitch. Think of the beginning of Piano Sonata, op. 111, where the pianist must start with utmost courage and urgency in the musical breath. For this reason, I recommend a very short 16th note in the strings preceding the 32nd rest in bars 17 and 50 so as not to lose significant time.

In rendering the first theme at mm. 17, care must be put into well-sustained long notes, ben sostenuto, and very energetic and well-articulated 32nd notes. Interestingly, Beethoven has prescribed a trill that goes through the half bar for timpani both in mm. 17 and 51. Mm.21-23 shows a clear hemiola of ternary construction, comparable to the equivalent passage pointed out by Markevitch in mm. 31-33. The difference in the articulation of these chords should be articulated: in the former case, a clear space must be given, while in the latter case, a good tenuto is sustained until the winds, brass, and 1st violin must break the pattern at mm.33 and bringing the highest possible drama to the 8th note rest. At mm. 24, Norman Del Mar has suggested a slight subdivision to indicate the importance of the syncopated note in the low strings. It is also important to highlight the *portato* character of the 8th notes at mm. 27, as it is usually rendered with an almost violent *staccato*. The greater the nobility in the fortissimo, the greater the effect will be when repudiated by the diminished *sf* chord and the militant trumpet and timpani figure a measure later.

At mm. 56,58, 60, and 61, it is important to articulate the difference in the length of the strings' *sf* notes: they should be here shorter as 16th notes not to obscure the imitative answer of the woodwinds. At mm. 63, Norman Del Mar has recommended an exaggerated execution of the 16th note figure, which I presume will bring out the rhythmic continuity in this constantly evolving composition. Markevitch has

articulated the need to hear the headnote of the motif repeated here in the bassoons and Violas played *molto forte e sostenuto*. A dramatic descrescendo of one measure long at mm.73 is to be observed by not reducing the intensity and volume in the measures before. Then a surprise moment, with the first iteration of the *An die Freude* theme (not recognized by the audience at this point), has led to Beethoven's marking of *dolce* which should be rendered with a *Pastorale* quality - Furtwängler slows down here.

All efforts should then be turned to the string passage starting mm. 80, as the common failure is to place an unwanted accent on the 8th note. In any case, strings should phrase out of the downbeat 16th note slightly and place a dash on the 8th note.

I reject Bärenreiter's D-natural reading at mm. 81 based on the principle of consistency with the reiterations of the similar passage in the development (mm. 275) and the reprise (mm. 345). The 4th degree interval has to be maintained not only because of that but also as a motivic link to the other movements compositionally. Del Mar remarked on the difficulty of hearing the bassoons at mm. 95; thus, they should be brought out as much as possible. Wagner has correctly noted the need for a discrete *crescendo* at mm. 98-99 in the strings in order to not cover the melodic material in the winds. There is a recent new trend of excessive '*Phrasing out*' artificial *diminuendo* used in the classical repertoire. Unfortunately, it has found a way into the performing trends of this symphony. Mm. 102-109, as Norman Del Mar rightly pointed out, resembles two big pillars alternated with the quiet responses rooted in Beethoven's early dramatic work *Egmont*. Therefore, the '*phrasing out*' indications could only have hampered this dramatic impulse at mm. 102,103,106,107. Strings and flute should play the two-bar *piano* passage with a *dolce* quality, a mark that is logical from his earlier indications. This is contrasted immediately at mm. 110 with the hushed quality, during which the strings should play with minimal expression as if the drive had come to a sudden halt.

From mm. 114-119, the strings should be encouraged to play *sol tasto, non vibrato*, well connected and even, without any sense of *crescendo* as the pitch rises. Norman Del Mar has suggested the strings must stay much lower dynamically than the wind *appoggiatura* figures. Furtwangler, at mm. 120, instructed the 1st violins to continue the same *pianissimo* with vibrato, as they instigated an exchange

with the 2nd violins. This motif is the same as the Piano Sonata op.2 no. 1 mm. 20-21. To construct the gradual intensification of this passage, the crescendo must be well-paced, and within the timpani-dotted motif cell, a little *crescendo* within every single iteration will help create an expectation for the later outburst of 32nd notes. Note that the Violas by mm. 128 had already changed to 32nd figurations, and this detail should also be brought out.

From mm. 132-137, the strings should play the 32nd notes *alla corda*. Interestingly, Mahler strengthened the second violins by doubling the line with the violas at mm.135, presumably because of a concern about its clarity. I see no reason why the part cannot be brought up an octave higher, which is more consistent considering how these six measures are constructed with a clear register raise. Then, at mm. 138, the first oboe could drop out the first 16th note to 'speak' well the beginning of this important melody; simultaneously, the strings should play the first two notes of mm. 138 short, as the wedges are missing. As for the Wagner retouches that we discussed thoroughly earlier, I do not see this as a purely continuous melodic phrase. Beethoven was clear to mark hairpin and *espressivo* to the three-note cell, and I believe these, at times, uncomfortable leaps are fundamental to the musical expression. I suggest that all woodwind principals perform the same hairpin and *espressivo* when such cell repeats in their parts. What is commonly heard, which is not printed, is a natural increase in volume due to the additional instrumentations and a crescendo through each woodwind melodic line at mm.145. I believe the conductor should uphold Beethoven's intention here without an increase in volume, and then the successive *forte*s can be read as *subito sf* in *forte* at mm. 146, which could also be applied to the strings at mm. 148-149. Care must be taken to bring down the winds and brass to a single forte at mm. 148 so that both printed *fortissimo* instances can be brought out, as noted by Norman Del Mar.

In the following mm. 150-159, he has also noted the importance of conveying a sense of conclusion to articulate the shocked diminuendo of the spaced-out dotted figure. Echoing that thought, I suggest restoring the wedge (*keile)* that has sadly not been printed on mm's downbeat. 158. Only by playing this note slightly shorter will it give a chance for the conductor to articulate this moment of shock.

The beginning of the development, from mm. 162, does not manifest until mm. 170, the sound of the dominant 7th chord of g minor. Astonishingly, the music is almost identical from the beginning until mm. 170, yet the atmosphere here is completely different compared to the beginning of the piece. A mysterious sense of agitation is now replaced by a sense of sustained calmness, as pointed out by Norman Del Mar. To render the passage from mm. 178-187 with the main theme brought out, I suggest the following dynamic specification: 1st flute, 1st oboe, and 1st clarinet play *piano con espressivo* from upbeat to mm. 183; 1st bassoon from pick up to mm. 179 onwards; 1st Violins and violas from mm. 178 play *piano con espressivo*. and back to *pianissimo* on the second 8th note of mm. 180; mm. 185 start only at *mp* with little cresc. At mm. 191 last beat, Norman Del Mar has suggested a little *caesura* so that the abrupt change to *piano* in the next measure could established. I believe this is valid, and further on, a *decrescendo* on the last 8th note of mm. 191 must be avoided (different from that in mm. 426). Subsequently on mm. 192, and 194, the specifically noted hairpin in 1st Oboe and 1st Flute must be carefully executed on the second beat. It may sound unnatural, but this small swell is rooted in the closing section of the exposition at mm. 138. At mm. 196 and 214, Norman Del Mar has articulated the need to immediately re-establish tempo as it has an immediately forward-looking function. Furthermore, in my view, it is important for the players to play thinking in terms of the whole phrase rather than four chords. Any unintentional swell here will be detrimental. Again, the following dynamic specification is recommended regarding mm. 198-205: pick up to mm. 200: 1st Oboe, 1st Clarinet and 1st Bassoon espressivo, 1st Violins and Violas *pianissimo*; mm. 201: 1st violins and Violas *crescendo* mid-measure to *piano espressivo* at the pick-up to next measure; pick up to mm. 204: 1st Violins and Violas *pp*, *poco crescendo*. Norman Del Mar also suggests that the basses could be playing the *pizzicato* passage from mm. 198 onwards *mp*.

For the unique two additional measures of mm. 216-217, which plunges directly into the *fugato* third part of the development, Markevitch suggests a slight *accelerando*, with the strings making a clear *crescendo* throughout each note. This is not to be mistaken as a token of excuse to render mm. 214 and 215 without picking up the tempo, and I recommend an additional encouragement from the conductor to

be directed towards the clarinets and bassoons for a maximum *crescendo* so that this new melodic line stands out clearly from the texture. At mm. 215 and 217, it is reported that Toscanini and Moscheles changed the chord to C minor 2nd inversion and f minor, respectively, but Norman Del Mar did not attempt to interfere. I echo with his position as the c minor chord is an extension of the melodic cell that kicks off the clarinet and bassoon phrase, and therefore, the clash is not a mistake.

The subsequent *fugato*, which is the third part of the development, has to be presented with a constant ferocity in the articulation of the 1st countersubject, first appearing at the 2nd violins at mm. 218 and later in thirds with violas at mm. 224. Rightly so remarked by Del Mar, each 16th note must be articulated with great weight. Markevitch reported the retouch by Bülow and Scherchen at mm. 232 by doubling four bars of the 2nd violins with the 1st oboe. A valid concern on over-instrumentation should be raised here, as it is an easy acoustical fix should the conductor feel the texture is unbalanced with the subject and the first counter subject. Beethoven's intention here seems to strengthen the first counter subject to create a sense of continuation by adding the force of clarinets. As a matter of principle, it's rarely wrong to ask the second violins to play out more. Similarly, the sudden reappearance of the sextuplet figure in the 2nd violins at mm. 240 should also be brought out here, full of dramatic feeling. At mm. 239, Markevitch proposed bringing out the 2nd Oboe figuration but considering the force, it will be virtually impossible to hear this detail without doubling with the first oboe and playing *molto staccato, fortissimo*. It is a wonderfully brief moment at mm. 235 where the cello and basses part with their F sharp iterations, which seems to evoke a sense of major-mode victory, only then returning to the minor mode a measure later. The diminished woodwind arpeggios beginning at mm. 249 and 251, the last 8th note should be marked up a dynamic into fortissimo to project well and not give any sense of diminishing sonority.

Following that, the dramatic energy started by the fugato should gradually dissipate into mm. 258. A real sense of *cantabile* - the first time such motif was assigned such marking - should be attained here with the stroke ever so slightly longer beginning at mm. 259. This will lead well into the

divertimento, beginning mm. 267, with a slight *scherzando* character that brings the *crescendo* to a dynamic peak of no more than *mf*. While this subsequent passage beginning from mm. 275 is a development of the second theme, the earlier remarks stand. Extra attention must be given to the cellos and double basses between mm. 279-282, played *piano e espressivo*. The moment of sublime beauty at mm. 287 asks for a *dolcissimo* rendering of the motif first appearing at the 2nd violins so that the later plunge into what Wagner calls the *Schreckensmoment* (horror moment) at mm. 301 is all the more gripping. The previous measure should be interpreted *senza rall e molto cresc*.

As discussed above, the beginning of the reprise is one of the pivotal moments in music literature. While its structural and aesthetic meaning and implications remain open to interpretation, we should note that the only moving line here is that of the celli and bass, with an F-sharp ascent in register seems to imply an attempt at full realization of the major mode, which only fails repeatedly until the full 1st theme appears exactly at the minor mode – a second pivotal moment.[98] It does seem, then, that it is a repeated failure to reach the major mode, but the arrival point of mm. 301 is merely a neutral, grand void being constructed. A danger in exaggerating Weingartner's retouch on this passage - which we discussed earlier – is too big a change in volume during the *decrescendi* and *crescendi* he inscribed. I suggest a careful judgement in the slight *decrescendo* and *crescendo*, just enough in the dosage so that the soaring cello and basses are well heard. Also, the cello and double bass must be clearly brought out from mm. 315-322. Then, as Norman Del Mar pointed out, there is a need to articulate pivotal points of the passage through the interpretation, and I would underline the two pivotal points being the mm. 315 and mm. 327. It is astonishing to note that from mm. 315-322, there is absolutely no stability at all, as the 1st theme iteration is constantly being interrupted by its repeat of another group of instruments. At mm. 326 the last surge on E-flat by celli and double basses, which is similar in design when compared to the beginning of the recapitulation, is a clear attempt at landing on the E-flat chord just like mm. 24. However, this root is

[98] this ascent was originally a 32nd figure built on the 1st theme's rhythmic cell in the autograph. Markevitch remarked that this figure never went to the London copy, which explains the subsequent disappearance. This is up for interpreters to decide whether to restore it.

completely removed in the next downbeat and Beethoven created a diminished 7th interval that closes to the perfect 5th, in an apparent clash with a prominent G natural. This is a high point that led to Mengelberg and Toscanni galvanizing the utmost strength from their ensembles. Then, at mm. 329, during a canon between the woodwinds and the upper strings, cellos must be encouraged to give their maximum *crescendo* to be heard. Every closer inspection of this passage reveals an incredible originality and expressivity. At mm. 339, the right key of the "An die Freude" is revealed, and a sense of beauty and awe should be achieved through a *legatissimo* execution of the melody. A real surprise at the *minore* at mm. 351 calls for a *misterioso,* dark tone from the woodwinds and should be played *pianissimo*.

In the following passage, which mostly resembles the exposition, several similar remarks can be made at mm. 362 violas must play fortissimo to emerge from the texture, and again, strings from mm. 365-366 should be cautioned with a *poco crescendo*. At mm. 397, an effort should be made to start this passage even softer, *subito pianissimo*, perhaps rendered here suddenly without any expression for greater contrast and mystery. Markevitch advised the timpani to articulate the 32nd *misurato* writing at mm. 387 before it becomes difficult to articulate when the *crescendo* starts four measures later.

The 1st violins should take up an octave from mm. 405- 406 (first half of the measure) and then at mm. 412-413. The dynamic treatment from mm. 414 – 418 should be the same as that of mm. 145-149, which has been discussed in length earlier. The slightest pull back at the end of mm. 426, recommended by Norman Del Mar, should give just the right acoustic space for a clear diminuendo to be brought out while ensuring the 32nd upbeat in the 1st violins is played with an expressive tone, a mark that Beethoven has inscribed earlier passages but strangely left out here. To hear well the imitation of the theme here beginning of mm. 427, a few dynamic touchups at the 1st violin part will be helpful: upbeat to mm. 429 pp; upbeat to mm. 431 p espressivo; upbeat to mm. 433 pp; upbeat to mm. 435 p espressivo; upbeat to mm 437 pp, etc. Starting at mm. 439, the 8th note in the dotted figure must be articulated with a quick release, to articulate the new 16th rest which certainly gives the *crescendo* build-up a more restless quality. Bringing out at mm. 452 the 32nd notes of 2nd violins and violas dynamically is also recommended.

Markevitch has reported a *subito piu lento* that Furtwängler introduced at mm. 469. I would personally not significantly pull back the tempo. I would recommend a subito *pianissimo* from the strings, played here with as little accent on the downbeat as possible. Winds and horns should play these eight measures with a pastoral character and beautiful tone, and the conductor should ensure the second horn, whose figure is like that of the *Trio* of the Seventh Symphony's *Scherzo* movement.

It was suggested by Markevitch, who follows Weingartner's advice here, that woodwind figures being swallowed by the strings from mm. 481-492 should be allowed and that the reappearance of the woodwind figure from mm. 493-494 is a magical moment. I do not understand such a view, as the woodwind figures are the cell of the countersubject of the fugato previously, so they should be brought out with a clear sense of its dramatic function. I, therefore, proposed if needed, the conductor could double the woodwind parts during these measures as needed, granted the crescendo in the strings is paced gradually and the intensity of the *fortissimo* is only let out briefly as Beethoven indicated (note that the *diminuendo* afterward is only two bars long, so the drop in dynamic level has to be audibly significant and dramatic). Again, Norman Del Mar suggested a slight gap before the downbeat of mm. 505 – all in all, this is a question of degree, as one does not want to overthink and, therefore, overdo the stretch. It is a fine line between giving acoustic space and a sounding ritardando.

Mm. 511-512 has been historically interpreted with a huge *rallentando*, with some inserting a cesura after the last note of the flute. While I do not believe in absolute *tempo primo*, given the lamenting nature of the additional flute figure, there is a need to hold back the tempo slightly for the right expressivity. The subito *pp* Beethoven inscribed here at the downbeat of mm. 513 should be realized, and so the entrance must be rehearsed so the extra forces are achieving a collective pianissimo that is softer than the two bars before, which in this case should not be too soft. The tempo will then later be regained by the long *crescendo* build-up, rendered impressively here by conductors such as Walter and Kubelik. To properly bring out the underlying drama in this final extraordinary build-up, firstly, I ask the 1st and 2nd-second horns to be slightly brought out (especially the lower notes, which are hard to cut through), and the remaining horns, trumpets, and timpani to play *pp* when under the horns. Secondly, the trills

should be played as fast as possible with a slight accent. Thirdly, the violas and cellos must start the 32nd notes *misurato*, well-articulated, and not too much on the string. One error is obvious: at mm 516, the last note of trumpets should be like other instances, a 32nd note placed at the end of the measure. The tempo should then gradually be brought up throughout the *crescendo*. Care must be given at mm. 531-548 to ensure the brass is not too loud to cover the upper wind's F-sharp-G-sharp-A line. Note that a sense of tenuto should also be achieved here, so the breath taken before the 32nd note is as late as possible. At mm. 538, the strongest tutti crescendo will help articulate the pivotal return of the first theme. At mm. 541-542, the 8th notes should be played staccato with as quick a release as possible. No extra broadening should be added to the last two notes.

Markevitch reported a wonderful description of the Scherzo movement from Rolland, "The movement is both Dionysian and mysterious, and all Queen Mab of the future have emerged from it"[99]. It is certainly not intended to be comical, an effect usually resulting from non-committal lighter strokes from the strings as the long movement progresses. Walter has rightly asked the strings in the beginning to emphasize the articulation of the second and third note – the effect is so much more gripping and ferocious than the commonly heard easing-out heard across most orchestras. The head motif should also be constant reminded not to degenerate into a 2/4 rhythm, especially during loud passages. This is why Norman Del Mar recommended a slightly pulled-back tempo from Beethoven's marking of half note = 116, which I agree with. Markevitch has suggested that these quarter notes be played tenuto to clearly hear the coloring of the fugato subject from the woodwinds. Then, from mm. 9-44, one must avoid preliminary crescendo from the additional forces. From mm. 61-76, the repeated *forte* marks will be executed as *sf* in *fortissimo*. Mm. 82 bears an irregular high point of the phrasing and should be correctly observed.

We have discussed in length earlier the historic retouches employed and additional thoughts on articulating the metric structure of the second theme. I believe rightly so the brass should be brought

[99] Markevitch, *Die Sinfonien von Ludwig van Beethoven: Historische, Analytische Und Praktische Studien*, 516.

down to a *meno forte* since the function is not of primal importance. However, the head motif and the woodwind figures should be played sempre fortissimo. Here, I would like to ask whether it is worth it to change Beethoven's text. Can the difficulty in hearing the woodwind figure containing the main cell of the "*An die Freude*" melody against the *fortissimo* strings be perceived as the intention of Beethoven? It seems to me that any attempt at reducing the volume of the strings to a single *forte* takes away the Dionysian character. If one could hear the woodwinds that are not changed or amplified to be brought out from the texture, would that be a sin? I do see that a slight covering of what will eventually become "*An die Freude*" by the Dionysian main motif is not a failure but most likely his intention here. This could be compared to the similar concern I raised over correcting the orchestral balance in the first movement's recapitulation. Clashes should be confronted rather than eliminated. Then, at mm. 127, the successive *forte* marks should be interpreted as *sf* in *f*. The degree of *crescendo* from mm. 159-171 should be controlled so that mm. 173 could rightly come out as *subito fortissimo*. Whether the timpani accent mark from mm. 195-208 could have been a *diminuendo* across the measure has been raised. I do not believe Beethoven would only want a decay in the main motif here, which bears no resemblance with other motivic treatments throughout the rest of the movement. It should be played *sempre forte*, with an accent on the first note, and a *meno forte* in its last utterance of 208 to match the *diminuendo* of the winds.

At m. 225- 247, I would also recommend marking the head motif of each group of instruments slightly louder to bring out the busy imitation. Note that at mm. 264, only a single *forte* is reached so there is enough room to go further into the *fortissimo*. Beethoven at mm. 270 marks the timpani part a triplet figure like that in the Egmont Overture, articulating a dramatic moment that calls for it to be brought out. Violins and violas should bring an octave to the pitches in the fugato theme from mm. 276-277, 280-281.

At mm. 381, a question has been raised whether to omit this repeat. I believe it should be observed, given the *da capo* repeat Beethoven has specified to be played without any repeat. Thus, he is expanding the length of the movement based on the same Minuet Trio tradition of composing. Then, to ensure the *stringendo* is obvious, I bring the tempo down at mm. 396 and echo Swarowsky's metronomic

indications for the 8 bars *accelerando*, and resort to a strictly dotted half = half note tempo relationship discussed earlier. Here, the trombone entrance should be brought out and not allow it to be blended in the woodwind texture, for this unique instrumentation is crucial to the later important themes played in the finale, such as the sung calls of brotherhood and devotion. Starting from the beginning of the Trio, the oboes and clarinets should play the quarter notes *portato*, in contrast with the *staccato* bassoons. To hear the countermelody clearer, I suggest doubling the 1st flute, 1st oboe, and 11th bassoon effective from the second half of mm. 497. The articulation of violins at mm. 503-506, 515-522 has been argued by Norman Del Mar to be played without re-articulation, as he quoted examples from the first movement and *Grosse Fuge*'s main theme that such indication means *sostenuto* through the measure. While traditionally, there has been an exaggerated allargando from mm. 523-531; one must be reminded that Beethoven only inscribed *poco ritardando* at the last measure. It must not be over-prepared, with the conductor allowing only the slightest hint of relaxation.

Several renowned conductors, such as Bernstein and Jansons, add a timpani stroke on the last note. Still, I find it unnecessary since the whole point is about the emptiness and ambiguity these sudden open fifths put forward. The same device has brought us an unexpected *Presto* Trio, and the abrupt ending is also a shock: note the fermata inscribed during the rests. The interval between the end of the second movement and the beginning of the third movement is the only other option for the entrance of soloists if they show reticence over a long wait; however, the chorus should be already seated at the beginning of the performance. The soloists should be reminded to enter the stage quietly and discreetly, without any gesture of drawing applause from the audience.

Toscanini once famously remarked that 'conductors should conduct the slow movement on their knees', summarizing the humility and sincerity all performers must instill into the performance of this movement. One is also reminded by Beethoven's inscription on the title page of his other monumental work, *Missa Solemnis*, written at about the same time, '*Von Herzen -Möge es wieder – zu Herzen gehen!*' (From the heart, may it return to the heart!), and of course his inscription on the *Molto Adagio* movement

from op. 132 quartet: '*Heiliger Dankgesang eines Genesenenan der Gottheit, in der Lydischen Tonart*' (Holy song of thanksgiving of a convalescent to the Deity, in the Lydian mode). This slow music has many echoes in Beethoven's late works as it delves into an unknown metaphysical realm, with a beauty that is perhaps no longer earth-like. Another reason for the difficulty in perceiving such movements is that they are not in the genre of Lied, Waltz, Hymn, although the shared similarities are there.

The first bar proves challenging for each woodwind instrument to enter with the same timbre, nuance in phrasing, and intonation. It is, therefore, not a sin to conduct with a light smooth subdivision to build a coherent line. The traditional view, echoed by Rolland, is that Beethoven wanted to connect the two movements with two bars of introduction. Thus, they are rendered much more slowly, with the real tempo established in the third measure. I believe this is not an advisable approach to exaggerate the tempo difference. Still, I have attended performances where, as Norman Del Mar suggested, the first bar is out of tempo and beaten in 8, and the second measure with its hairpin moves forward imperceptibly (this is easy to achieve, as the pulse is deliberately composed to be ambiguous) into the real tempo at the subsequent measure – real art of *rubato*. The question of sound execution regarding Beethoven's marking *mezza voce* is a question that may arise during rehearsals. In my opinion, it is comprised of a singing tone that is intimate through a careful dosage of vibrato, and a bow contact should always be natural, not overly heavy. As an interpreter, it is perhaps impossible to understand fully Beethoven's intention of adding these very dreamy woodwinds echo/commentary-like interjections, but one thing is certain: such quality of sound that defines the interludes and the variations are to be heard here. Markevitch rightly reminded the necessity to ensure seamless exchanges, with no break in the continuity, timbre, and dynamics. To explain the first phrase, Markevitch observed that its first three notes are the inversion of the second theme of the first movement, thus concluding that a question of peace proposed in the first movement has now come full circle with the beginning of the theme as an expression of full fulfillment of the message of peace. The timpani at mm. 19 should play a very round and resonant sound, and the strings' arpeggiated notes in mm. 21 are played before the beat. There is a common practice of taking time for a breath before the modulation at mm. 23, however, believe it is simply an exaggeration

hindering the naturalness of arriving at a magical moment. The tempo should gradually be picked up into the second theme, and the atmosphere portrayed by the theme should be more human and tender compared with earlier tones of ecstatic awe. At mm. 92, a slight ritardando and subdivision will give the 1st violins clarity in executing this upward arpeggio. There is no question that in the next measure, quarter-note-beating is resumed, indicating both warm phrasing in the 1st violins and the intensely expressive pizzicato.

Then, at the second varied theme, the countermelody, now in the strings, must be carefully balanced and played so it serves the woodwind line. At mm. 67, the repeated C naturals of the flute should be played just a bit softer to allow the oboe and bassoon melodic line to come through. Then, at mm. 82, Del Mar indicated Beethoven had originally put in slurs for 2nd violins and violas in the autograph, then erased it. Does this mean he had originally thought of having strings play *arco*? The interesting fact is that later *pizz.* is printed again. Mm. 97 is almost like a little cadenza for the 4th Horn, which must have been incredibly difficult at the time since only two-valve horns were available, so hornists must use additional hand-horn techniques to navigate this passage. A slight delay of the downbeat is the tradition. It should be noted that the degree of 4th in the third beat should not be slurred. A good tempo in mm. 99 should give the right flow for woodwinds and space for the 16th notes of the 1st violins to be played *cantabile*. Then, at mm. 103, the 1st and 2nd horns must not overpower the 4th horn, which has the melody. A slight holdback on the last beat of mm. 120 should be done only for the sake of a clear breath. These chords should be played only *forte*, before the second half of mm. 122, where *fortissimo* is printed. The grandeur of this moment is further enhanced by the execution of an 8th note played full length. The following two bars are to be played *espressivo e misterioso*, as this is only the skeleton that will be expanded at mm. 133 into what Markevitch calls a majestic evocation. These four bars are perhaps the most inexplicable bars of the entire movement, played with a great warmth of tone with the second violins here being bought out with a pleading quality. Some interpreters do stretch the last beat of mm. 136 and exaggerate the *crescendo* to about *mf*, ending the passage with a subito *piano*.

Based on my early argument on the need to preserve the organic quality of how these moments of wonderful color change are conceived, I do not share this view.

Then, the imitation at mm. 137 can be emphasized by bringing out 1st clarinet and 1st bassoon in the second half of the measure. The seamless quality needed at mm. 145-147 for the ensemble to fully blend in terms of tone and timbre cannot be underestimated. The eloquent closure of the 1st violins that bridge the music to the coda must be treated with nuance and gradual diminuendo at mm. 150. The conductor will help his musicians by beating out the 8th notes in a very smooth manner. The woodwinds and 1st violins must phrase delicately at mm. 156's last beat. The last chord could be given some extra space, and the timpani's B-flat must be heard as the harmonic root. After the cut-off, there is usually a moment of awe from the audience that the conductor can utilize to plunge almost immediately to the *Schreckensfanfare* that begins the *finale*, almost *attaca*. Due to the improvement of instruments, there is no more such need to retune the timpani and have crook changes in the horns and trumpets as in Beethoven's time.

This important *Schreckensfanfare* (horror fanfare) does come as a forceful rejection of the other-worldly third movement that had just been played, signaling a return to the horror and drama like the pivotal moments of the first movement. Norman Del Mar was right to point out that if conducted in one, visually speaking, it does appear light and lacks the necessary ferocity that should be communicated to the players. An athletic, quick beat is therefore recommended. The arpeggiated figure reminds one strongly of the construction of the first movement's first theme. While the various retouches of this passage and their principles have been discussed at length, I have concluded: The trumpet figure, when not retouched and not over-projected, gives the feeling of organized chaos. Together with the third and fourth horn's antiphonal effect, it is clear from Beethoven that a continuous trumpet or horn line, albeit not possible at his time, is also not his intention. The first three clarinet notes are taken up an octave for a fuller sound. The problematic measures are mm. 5-6, where there is a danger of the chromatic lines being covered by the brass. At the same time, a temporary reduction in volume will hamper the overall dramatic gesture. Therefore, I propose that the conductor alter the first flute part to include the chromatic tones,

and the 3rd and 4th horns can incorporate the descending bassoon chromatic line for clarity. Also, at the first sounding of the chord, bassoons, and horns must be strongly brought out, and the timpani should be cautioned not to be too loud, granted the dynamic marking. The timpanist should also avoid an audible accent when changing to D natural two measures later. Any attempt to rend the last two quarters with an additional gap or, even worse, 'phrasing out' *diminuendo* will incorrectly change the fanfare character into one of lightness.

A slight reduction in tempo should then follow in the *recitativo*, keeping in mind that Beethoven's remark about maintaining the same tempo is based on the manner of recitative. Therefore, it is bewildering to hear performances where the recitative is rendered absolutely accurately metronomically, for that lacked the necessary profile of a *cantabile recitativo* – a quality Beethoven demanded. I shall incorporate the words Beethoven inscribed onto the recitatives from the sketches – regarding that, he remarked, 'If need be, I will set down words underneath so that they learn to sing!'[100] – into our discussion below.

The first recitative is a foreshadowing of the later baritone entrance and announces the solemnity of the occasion that is celebrated with song. An emphatic cesura after the first note should be avoided, as it gives a wrong character of heroism. It should be rendered with a full tone, never sounding aggressive in the staccato notes. Although Markevitch noted that at mm. 14-15, the tie between the two B-flats is not found in the autograph. As the tie, which has become customary, is consistent with the baritone recitative later, I do not see any overwhelming reason to remove the tie. Then, at pick up to mm. 17, a ferocious upbeat is given to bring in the trumpets and timpani *tutta forza*, during which the opening tempo for the fanfare is reinstated. Weingartner's recommendation to bring the first note of 2nd oboe and 2nd clarinet up an octave could help the woodwind's harmonic balance with the horn parts. The trumpets and timpani should notably reduce the dynamic slightly at the introduction of the chord.

[100] van Beethoven, *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte / Beethovens Konversationshefte: Kritische Ausgabe in 11 Bänden und einem Registerband / Band: 1*, 249.

A slight holdback at mm. 24 will launch the second recitative clearly. At the same time, the upbeat woodwinds and brass answer could be played either in the old fanfare tempo or the emphatic, slightly held-back *recitativo* tempo. A clear upbeat is thus important here. The second recitativo, beginning at mm. 24, as shown from the sketches and the melodic contour, is a resumption of the same narrative. Thus, the character of this recitativo should be in the same solemn and *cantabile* character. At mm. 29, the tradition of further holding back on these two chords, at times even with an added cesura, before the quote of 1st movement begins is questionable. Since the two chords here are scored with the *Schreckensfanfare* forces, these two chords should feel rejected before the sudden appearance of the 1st movement quotation. A clear upbeat precisely placed on the third beat should give clarity, without the need to make an extra gap. to establish the quarter-note-quarter-note tempo relationship.

The third recitativo begins *fortissimo*, a violent rejection of the tones of despair, and ends with an expression of desire for more pleasing tones, according to our sketch studies. To reflect this properly in the execution, I would suggest the 8th notes, in the beginning, to be played more marcato, and by mm. 43, the articulation should become *portato* and more tender in tone. As Markevitch noted, since the quotation here from the Scherzo is the lightest moment, a faster tempo will give this section an immaterial and fantastic character. I agree with his recommendation as this does correspond to Beethoven's written remarks about the pleasing tones in the earlier *recitativo*. And so, despite Beethoven putting in *Vivace* instead of *Molto vivace* here, a lighter and quicker pulse is still recommended. The fourth recitative starts with a fourth-degree drop that seems to suggest another rejection and continues based on the skeleton of the first two measures of the slow movement, reflecting a clear dominant 7th function. As Beethoven described, this recitative's narrative is to search for something more cheerful. So, the character and sound should change clearly at the F natural upbeat to mm. 59 to one of light-hearted joyfulness, and with the sequential rise the tone should become more tender and intimate, with the 8th notes played more *tenuto*. Markevitch argued that at the second beat of mm. 61 should be a quarter rest instead of the repeated C

naturals, blaming the London copyist's mistake.[101] The rest will make the overall line less continuous, with an added sense of doubt in the narrative. The mistake is still printed on all editions today, which should be corrected.

Then, after the slow movement quotation, the fifth recitative should be first played very tender before intensifying into an outburst of needing tones that could awaken before the "*An die Freude*" theme descends magically into the dominant played by the woodwinds. Is there a need for *poco ritard* into mm.77, as recommended by Weingartner? I do not see it as necessary, but rather, the lead-in from mm. 76 should be played and paced with a natural cantabile quality and a tempo relationship of quarter = half note to create a seamless transition into the Ode theme. What is unique about this recitative is the added woodwind scoring, which no longer serves as a question-and-answer dialogue device but brings the two worlds, one imaginative and one of reality, closer together.

Finally, at mm., 81, the climax of all recitatives, fully incorporating the instrumental forces, brings a feeling of liberation. The "*An die Freude*" theme is now found, played at *tempo primo* as indicated by Beethoven, so the quarter notes should be played at a pulse equal to, if not greater, than the previous *Allegro assai*. Then, at mm. 85, a complete presentation of the "Freude" theme is heard. In rendering this recitative, the feeling of liberation should not be substituted with one of grandeur and solemnity. The syncopated wind chords written on the second beat and the trumpet calls give a sense of urgency. Unfortunately, the former is rendered too long and heavy, and the latter with a traditional *ritardando*. It should be remembered that the whole recitative will be later evolved into the baritone's first statement, asking for more pleasing tones. Finally, mm. 88-91 traditionally suffered from a lot of exaggeration, and such an approach deserves to be questioned. Mm. 88 second beat's chord should not be played tenuto connected to the next chord, but with a clear staccato articulation. The closing notes of the recitative should not be overstretched, and the conductor must be careful to bring out the difference in *fortissimo* and *forte* between these two wind/brass answers.

[101] Markevitch, *Die Sinfonien von Ludwig van Beethoven: Historische, Analytische Und Praktische Studien*, 508–9.

A slight gap should only be allowed before the start of mm. 92, based on the acoustic need of waiting for the chord to die away from reverberation. Markevitch has noted the suspense here should be consistent with how the movement began. From mm. 92-115 is the first complete iteration of the "*Freude*" theme, an important moment of revelation of the theme Beethoven has been pondering since his early Bonn years. There is no reason why this theme has to be played pianissimo, sounding almost like stage music. It should be played *piano*, *semplice,* and *legato*. The conducting and playing should reflect this sense of calm and simplicity, and the crescendo at mm. 103 should be done without any sense of violence. Del Mar was right to propose carefully treating voices beginning at mm. 115, here set in *cantus firmus*. The second is a mere reinforcement of the bass line and must be played slightly softer than the first bassoon. At mm. 128-129, 136-137, the first bassoon has traditionally been requested to bring out a *staccato* articulation on the non-slurred 8th note. This strange, sudden outburst of humor does not seem to be aligned with Beethoven's complete *legato* writing for the theme and the two variations, which should be rendered sempre *legatissimo* with a sense of '*tiefer ernst*' (deep seriousness). At mm. 140 with the entrance of the violins, a *dolce* marking has been inscribed by Beethoven, which should be applied across all instruments, all playing with an increased intensity in the expression.

If so far the tempo had been sluggish, which is evident in some recordings, then mm. 156 onwards will often see an *accelerando* of 8 measures, which always seems more as a rectification rather than an interpretative impulse. The classic retouch beginning at mm. 187 usually results in over-strengthening the woodwind melody undergoing gradual diminution. Here, if one inspects closely, it features an intensely driven ascending bass line with a 32nd rhythmic impulse that brings the strings closer and closer to the register of that of the woodwinds. Compositionally, thus, the woodwind figure based on fragments of the "Ode" theme is gradually losing dominance, although still barely audible, so the ferocious strings and brass could prepare the return to the *Schreckensfanfare*, which eventually leads to the first words of the baritone "nicht diese Töne!" (Not these tones). Marginal audibility of the winds should be maintained, but certainly not over-amplified by the retouches. If needed, mm. 190-191 would seem the only possible place for doubling the second part of woodwinds for a more apparent gradual

change of orchestra sonority. To avoid the traditional cesura before mm. 203, Markevitch suggested taking out the last triplets of the 1st violins so an immediate start with a good tone could be achieved. Norman Del Mar suggested a half-note beating for mm. 203-204 to allow gradual *rallentando*. At mm. 205, the crescendo marking is not often observed. I believe a slight hold at the first 8th note of the fourth beat with tutti *crescendo* will launch us back to *tempo primo*.

A most powerful stage spectacle will be a quick raise of the entire chorus and baritone precisely on the third beat of mm. 208. In this last *Schreckensfanfare*, the added strings force must play *al talone, marcatissimo*. This addition helps the acoustical balance tremendously, except the F natural of the 3rd and 4th horn, cello, and basses, which must be brought out. Markevitch writes eloquently about mm. 216 in the following:

"The silence and appearance of a single voice is one of the most dramatic moments in music history. The words here are from Beethoven, not Schiller. Wagner suggested a tone of noble contempt, passion and command. The soloist must be aware of including the audience in the work, for whom 'friends' are addressed."[102]

The G natural appoggiatura at mm. 211 should be sung, staying consistent with the opening recitative. Mm. 221 should be played poco espressivo, with the 2nd violins' B-natural at mm. 223 clearly heard. Although Markevitch recommended a breath at mm. 234 after the B-natural, most baritones could now navigate this line with one breath. For safety, it should be pointed out to the baritone that a quick breath after 'freuden', when well rendered, would be hardly audible. The remaining soloists should now stand on the third beat of mm. 236.

Markevitch has noted the usual style of singing has become mostly chanting instead of a melodic, *legato* way of singing, which is consistent with Beethoven's remark of '*angenehm*' (pleasant). He recommends thorough rehearsal 'until the line acquires its continuity and expressive beauty, so one can put the syllables under the notes while maintaining a good legato'. A good reference would be Bruno

[102] Markevitch, *Die Sinfonien von Ludwig van Beethoven: Historische, Analytische Und Praktische Studien*, 541.

Walter's recording with the Columbia Symphony Orchestra, in which a good legato is maintained throughout. At mm. 244, the clarinet's last beat should be played smoothly and expressively in response to the word *Elysium*. At mm. 256, strings should play very cantabile and connected. To have the right expressivity, at the pick-up to mm. 269, the horns should be played at *mp* with *diminuendo*. Again at mm. 269, the vocal quartet should be sung very connected. The passage beginning mm. 297 could pose difficulty for singers to navigate their *passaggio* while maintaining a *legato* line. It is also worth pointing out that the quartet should stay *piano* with the *crescendo* only starting at mm. 309. Mm. 313-316 should be sung *sempre legato* and only *forte* before the conductor lets the *crescendo* from mm. 317, which could be easily communicated with a more animated gesture. The chorus should sing the half notes slightly detached on mm. 321. Although other editions show that Beethoven, in the 1824 premiere, marked all instruments *diminuendo* to *piano* at the fermata of mm. 330, such a pivotal moment of dramatic power will be significantly diminished. On the other hand, an exaggerated cesura before the fermata F major chord is unnecessary, as is the grand pause frequently introduced afterward.

In my opinion, a good tempo of the *alla marcia* is through the passage at mm. 543, during which the words should bear a similar pulse compared to the very first utterance of the 'Freude' theme to establish structural unity across these sections. After the downbeat at mm. 331 was given right at the cut-off for the chorus – with the female chorus and soprano, alto and baritone soloists siting down afterward - the quarter note of the woodwinds should be played full length, *non-staccato*. The effect should sound as if the music had come from afar, representing the distant joy of victory. A note for the appropriate expression by Markevitch is worth noting regarding the first entrance of the tenor: 'the first words, not started loud, expresses an inner and sustained joy'. At mm. 411, all forces should be appropriately guided with a *poco crescendo*. There is an acoustic need to bring out Mm. 424's *freudig* by adding tenor to the bass. From mm. 426-430, the tenor's notorious line could be easily covered; however, making dynamic adjustments could easily result in hampering a mood so joyous and exhilarating. So, let it be, and assure the tenor that he will be heard and that he should not over force the high notes. Afterwards, the tenor could sit down at mm. 432, and the strings begin the ferocious war-like fugato. The intensity at mm. 517

should not be brought down a notch, and the 8th note should still be accurately placed and attacked ferociously.

Much has been debated about the horn ties at mm. 532-533, 538, and 540. I accept Jonathan Del Mar's findings, whose version brings an extra layer of rhymical instability, but I do not find this alters my interpretation of the passage very much differently (as claimed by most conductors who adopt it). It should be advised not to overlook the need for the 8th note articulation of the horns to be more *tenuto* along the *decrescendo*, and it is only so a *misterioso* atmosphere during the fragments of the *Freude* theme can be suspensefully established. At mm. 543, the chorus should sing this passage very well connected while the strings play *molto staccato*. Brass and timpani from mm. 543 should be recommended to play *poco meno forte*, only playing *fortissimo* at mm. 550, 558, 566, 574, and 582 which retains Beethoven's dramatic purpose. Markevitch underlined the significant meaning as one of the most important achievements in this symphony:

The repetition on the lines "Seid umschlungen, Millionen! Diesen Kuß der ganzen Welt!" and "Brüder, über'm Sternenzelt Muß ein lieber Vater wohnen" are in different modes. The theme was first in F mode of 2nd Gregorian tone and then harmonized in Lydian mode - an example of reconciliation between the Christian and Greek religious views.[103]

At mm. 597, 605-606, the conductor must decide whether the syllable "li" should be sung marcato and separated and then align with the orchestra accompaniment. Beethoven does not print this. When a single forte is achieved at mm. 603, 619, the viola syncopated figure will stand a chance of emerging from the texture when encouraged. The slightest gap will pull back the tempo in the last beat of mm. 626 to this devout passage, similar in expression when compared to the beginning of *Sanctus* or the transition into *Benedictus* of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*. Here, the same problem regarding articulating the word "*Millionen*" persists, again calling for a decision from the conductor. Attention must be given to help a clear pronunciation of the word *stürzt* from the chorus, and afterward a most contrasting soft

[103] Markevitch, *Die Sinfonien von Ludwig van Beethoven: Historische, Analytische Und Praktische Studien*, 547.

upbeat to mm. 635, 639, and the preparation for the 2nd beat of mm. 647 to help these most magical and inspired entrances. At mm. 647, strings should play *senza vibrato*. The necessary ethereal sound of the female chorus beginning at mm. 650 must be imitated by the male chorus who enters the next measure. A ritardando at mm. 654 would not be necessary. The beauty of this passage is reflected in the layering of the diminished seventh and dominant seventh harmony.

While the launch of the double fugue at mm. 655 should bear as little gap as possible, most conductors tend to launch into too quick a tempo, which often results in a mere sketching of the outline of their parts, as Norman Del Mar noted. It is not a matter of only practicality but also audibility. The Freude iterations should be clearly brought out at mm. 672 and 674-676. At mm. 717, a collective breath before the word *Welt* should be avoided. As a result of not playing the double fugue too fast, conductors will be surprised at how logical it suddenly becomes to start the passage at mm. 730, without a need to pull down the tempo with the woodwinds. Again, the chorus is recommended not to breathe mid-word to achieve continuity in the phrase and, therefore, tension. The apparent clash of C-sharp and C-natural at mm. 758 leads to many retouches. I agree with Markevitch, who sees this as another deliberate clash with an expressive purpose. Soloists will all stand again a few bars before mm. 763. No extra gap will be made, if the cut-off gesture at mm. 762 is the upbeat for starting mm. 763. Strings should start this passage with a light *spiccato,* then the vocal quartet should phrase into the second measure of their phrases. Mm. 795 again is dangerous for its chanting inclination, and care must be taken for the *legato* execution. The effect will be more compelling when these sequences of *subito* dynamics, *crescendo,* and syncopated entrances from mm. 804-806 are conducted with a compact and decisive gesture.

I adopt the strategy recommended by Schindler not to be too slow, still beaten in four but more flowing, at around quarter = 72, in the first chorus only *poco adagio*, and second time beginning at mm. 832, which the chorus should sing in the old tempo, at a slower tempo, approximately at quarter = 60. A flowing tempo will allow the soloists to render the passage with a better sense of continuity.

The following remark must be given regarding this quartet: First breath should be after *Brüder* at mm. 834, after which the dynamic and timbre should be *piano* – clearly mismarked by Beethoven.

Weingartner suggests inserting the repeated syllables at the soprano, tenor and bass during the long melisma from mm. 835-837. Soprano will take a breath at the end of mm. 835, while the mezzo-soprano and bass breathe at the end of mm. 836. For a better legato, I would suggest taking a quick breath across all parts only after the second beat of mm. 842, which will give the possibility to change the harmonic timbre and dynamic to *piano* again. The soloists should stand till the end, and the cut-off for the quartet is exactly the downbeat of mm. 843. Beethoven's metronome marking is usually disregarded here at the Presto/Prestissimo passage beginning mm. 851 (depending on the edition of the score). I recommend a slightly held-back tempo closer to Beethoven's metronome marks, as mm. 895-901 pose an immense vocal challenge for the chorus to be well heard in their full voice. The other advantage of holding back is the possibility of really pushing the tempo at the last *Prestissimo* closer to the practical limit, thereby achieving a linear progression of structure and expression.

It is worth suggesting to the soloists to join the chorus in the tradition of the classical cantata, singing mm. 918-920 the words *Freude, schöner Götterfunken.* Mm. 916 needs no preparation for its slow tempo, and it should be noted that the metronome marking of Beethoven's quarter=60 is not too slow, as most conductors insist. Upon closer inspection of the rhythmic figure, one would find an echo in the opening of the piano sonata op. 110. By playing this passage sensibly, it should not be slower than quarter = 50. The 32nd note figure in the strings could be played at the same speed, equating the 8th notes at mm. 920, and articulated the same way. Strings must be encouraged for its *molto crescendo* at mm. 917, after which it could break off and start the *martellato* descending figure. The *forte* marking at mm. 918 should also not be overlooked, and a slight crescendo subsequently could bring the whole ensemble to the climax bearing the word *Götterfunken* (sparks of divinity), played loudest here. Norman Del Mar pointed out a usual approach to play the Prestissimo passage faster than the previous *Presto/Prestissimo*. Alternatively, an 8th note = half note tempo relationship could be instated, and the conductor could rightly push the tempo to its limit. Then, at mm. 932, he could easily beat in one, which aligns with the *sf*

marking. The fermata at the end seems to reflect the moving moment when the deaf master must have been turned by Umlauf to face the applause before realizing the premiere performance had just ended.

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