DECONSTRUCTING AUTHENTICITY IN THREE URTEXT EDITIONS OF BEETHOVEN’S SYMPHONY NO. 5, OP. 67: A CONDUCTOR’S GUIDE TO VARIANT READINGS FOR PERFORMANCE

A DOCUMENT

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS

By

CHRISTOPHER DAVID WESTOVER
Norman, Oklahoma
2016
DECONSTRUCTING AUTHENTICITY IN THREE URTEXT EDITIONS OF BEETHOVEN’S SYMPHONY NO. 5, OP. 67: A CONDUCTOR’S GUIDE TO VARIANT READINGS FOR PERFORMANCE

A DOCUMENT APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF MUSIC

BY

______________________________
Dr. William Wakefield, Chair

______________________________
Dr. Jonathan Shames, co-chair

______________________________
Dr. Sanna Pederson

______________________________
Dr. Frank Riddick

______________________________
Dr. Jeffrey Callard
To Mom, Dad and all the friends, colleagues and students that made this possible
Acknowledgements

I wish to thank all the teachers that made this document possible, with special thanks to Dr. Jonathan Shames and Dr. Sanna Pederson for their guidance over the past six years and in preparing the document. I wish to acknowledge Dr. Clive Brown for his assistance in ascertaining several historical readings. Lastly, I want to thank Dr. Merle Schlabaugh for his work in translating a large commentary for this document.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................ iv

List of Tables ...................................................................................................................... vii

List of Figures ..................................................................................................................... viii

Abstract ........................................................................................................................... x

Glossary ............................................................................................................................ xi

Chapter 1: Introduction ................................................................................................... 1

Chapter 2: Literature Review ........................................................................................... 8

   Survey of Historical Sources ....................................................................................... 8

      The Autograph and its Facsimiles .......................................................................... 8

      The Two Score Copies ............................................................................................ 12

      Early Orchestral Parts ............................................................................................. 14

      The First Printed Editions ...................................................................................... 15

   Overview of Urtext Editions Included in the Study ....................................................... 18

      Clive Brown – Breitkopf Urtext – A New Appraisal of the Sources of

          Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony ............................................................................. 20

      Jonathan Del Mar – Bärenreiter Urtext – Symphonie Nr. 5 & Critical

          Commentary ...................................................................................................... 24

      Jens Dufner – Beethoven-Haus Gesamtausgabe ..................................................... 30

   Survey of Secondary Literature ................................................................................... 36

      Literature Relating to Authenticity, Philology and Editing ...................................... 36

      Literature Relating to Beethoven and the Urtext ...................................................... 40

Chapter 3: Authenticity and Text .................................................................................... 46
Urtext: What are we looking for in the urtext? .................................................. 46

Divining the Author’s Intent: Philosophical Issues of the Ontology of the Work ... 50

Deconstructing the Urtext concept in the Fifth Symphony ................................. 52

Chapter 4: Defining Historical States of the Text ............................................... 58

  Count Oppersdorff—Early 1808 ........................................................................ 60
  Vienna—Premiere—Late 1808 ............................................................................ 62
  Leipzig—Breitkopf & Härtel—1809 ................................................................. 64
  Vienna—Q & S—ca. 1816-1820 ...................................................................... 67

Conclusion ............................................................................................................. 69

Chapter 5: The Fifth Symphony: A Guide to Four Historical Texts ..................... 72

  Count Oppersdorff—Early 1808 ........................................................................ 73
  Vienna—Premiere—Late 1808 ............................................................................ 100
  Leipzig—Breitkopf & Härtel—1809 ................................................................. 120
  Vienna—Q & S—ca. 1816-1820 ...................................................................... 139

Bibliography ......................................................................................................... 159
List of Tables

Table 1. A Guide to the Sigla of Historical Sources to Op. 67 ........................................ 9
Table 2. A Guide to the Sigla of the Early Orchestral Parts............................................... 15
List of Figures

Figure 1. Pagination Numbers in the Autograph.................................................................13
Figure 2. The Repeat Error in Breitkopf's First Edition.........................................................16
Figure 3. Brown’s Filiation of Sources.................................................................................22
Figure 4. Del Mar’s Filiation of Sources................................................................................26
Figure 5. Transcription of Vc/B in Autograph, 1st mvmt., m. 242.................................34
Figure 6. Dufner’s Filiation of Sources..................................................................................35
Figure 7. Advertising the Composer’s Intentions.................................................................48
Figure 8. Contested Brass and Timpani, 1st mvmt., mm. 282-286.................................54
Figure 9. A Composite Filiation of the urtext editions, op. 67.........................................58
Figure 10. Earliest Trumpets and Timpani, 4th mvmt., mm. 356-357.........................62
Figure 11. Beethoven’s Shorthand in the Autograph, 4th mvmt., mm. 145-148.............63
Figure 12. Excerpt from duplir Violin 2, 4th mvmt., mm. 144-160.................................64
Figure 13. The “Redundant” Bars, 3rd mvmt., mm. 236-240..........................................66
Figure 14. Horns, e’ or g’, 4th mvmt., mm. 319.................................................................68
Figure 15. Pitch Identification System.................................................................................72
Figure 16. Early 1808, Horns, Trumpets and Timpani, 1st mvmt., mm. 282-287.........74
Figure 17. Early 1808, Violin 1, 1st mvmt., mm. 290-291.................................................75
Figure 18. Early 1808, Violin 2, 2nd mvmt., m. 204.........................................................82
Figure 19. Early 1808, Bassoons, 2nd mvmt., mm. 225-225.............................................82
Figure 20. Early 1808, 3rd mvmt., mm. 1-8........................................................................85
Figure 21. Early 1808, 3rd mvmt., mm. 237-244.................................................................86
Figure 22. Early 1808, 3rd mvmt., mm. 1-4, ‘Cello/Bass...............................................87
Figure 23. Early 1808, 3rd mvmt., mm. 327-329b, ‘Cello/Bass.................................87
Figure 24. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 18-21.................................................................92
Figure 25. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., m. 32........................................................................92
Figure 26. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 146-149.............................................................95
Figure 27. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 257-258.............................................................97
Figure 28. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 267.....................................................................97
Figure 29. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 351-357.............................................................99
Figure 30. Late 1808, 1st mvmt., m. 499.........................................................................104
Figure 31. Leipzig/1809, 1st mvmt., m. 499.....................................................................122
Figure 32. Leipzig/1809, 3rd mvmt., ‘Cello/bass, mm. 237-239b.................................128
Figure 33. Leipzig/1809, 3rd mvmt., mm. 237-239b......................................................129
Figure 34. Leipzig/1809, 3rd mvmt., mm. 352-366.........................................................132
Figure 35. Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., m. 32.....................................................................133
Figure 36. Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., mm. 257-258.........................................................137
Figure 37. Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., m. 267...................................................................137
Figure 38. Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., m. 391.................................................................138
Figure 39 Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., m. 444.................................................................138
Figure 40. Vienna/Q & S, 1st mvmt., mm. 282-287......................................................141
Abstract

This document suggests a solution to the problem posed by the existence of three competing urtext editions of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 5, op. 67, by Clive Brown, Jonathan Del Mar, and Jens Dufner. The fact that a final authorized text of the work has not been produced despite the scholarly effort of at least three leading Beethoven scholars over the span of 30 years might be the best indication that a new approach is necessary. In contrast to the urtext, then, I argue for historical and social approaches to understanding the work and its text. Understanding a specific performing tradition based upon location, time, or performer opens up visions of the work not accessible to the urtext.

The document surveys and evaluates the urtext editions and their commentaries, which combined represent the state of the most recent research on the work. As a resource for conductors, it combines this with a measure-by-measure concordance to the variants to reconstruct four historical states of the text from the early performance history.

Behind this mostly empirical enterprise is an examination of the philosophical ramifications of the urtext and fassung letzter hand. Using recent critiques from the field of textual studies, concepts of work, text, and authorship are examined in relationship to authenticity. Drawing on recent research on the historical sources, this document finds that the urtext concept cannot apply to Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony.
Glossary

**Autograph.** The copy of a work in the author or composer’s hand, in this case referring to a specific score that was used as a model for later score copies and early performing parts. The autograph of Beethoven’s op. 67 is available in facsimile from Laaber Verlag.

**bogen.** A bifolium or a sheet folded to produce four (4) pages of, in this case, music. Bogen numbers are found in the Autograph of op. 67 following each movement as a notation by the copyist of how many sheets were used in the copying of that movement. Occasionally this is given with the Austrian spelling bögen.

**fassung letzter hand.** A doctrine which asserts that the final version of a text, which claims to carry the composer’s final thoughts, is the only text worth recovering. Also used to denote the final version of a composer’s text, whether found in a single source or collected from several sources (Boorman, s.v. “Urtext,” Grove Music Online).


**sectionalization numbers.** Numbers copied into to the Autograph or score copies by copyists in the preparation of orchestral parts. Sectionalization numbers acted as a means for the copyist to check for errors of too few or too many measures.

**stichvorlage.** A manuscript score used by a publishing house as the model for a printed edition. In this case, a specific score copied by Joseph Klumpar from the Autograph transferred to Breitkopf & Härtel in September 1808 by Beethoven and held in their archives in Leipzig until presumed destruction in World War II.

**Rötel.** A term used to identify red crayon markings made by Beethoven in the historical sources of his works including op. 67.

**sigla.** An abbreviation given to a source in the commentaries or scholarly literature. See Tables 1 and 2 for guides to the sigla in the critical commentaries.

**stemma.** A term used in philology referring to a chart or tree used to illustrate the relationship between sources (see pgs. 21 and 25 below).

**urtext.** A term used to describe the earliest version of the text of a musical composition. The term is also used to describe a modern published edition of music that claims to present the earliest text (Boorman, s.v. “Urtext,” Grove Music Online). Within this document urtext editions refer to the specific editions by Brown, Del Mar and Dufner.
Chapter 1: Introduction

This document suggests a solution to the problem posed by the existence of three competing urtext editions of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony. Multiple urtext editions are by definition impossible. Since the basic concept of the urtext is a singular, definitive text, each of these editions proposes to resolve the textual variants created by missing sources and conflicts in the extant source materials of this most famous of works. Because they each seek to present their interpretation of Beethoven’s artistic or final intentions they almost always leave the details of textual variants to their separate commentaries. Their editions are misleading by not acknowledging legitimate variants to the text to reflect the state of their own research. It is difficult to examine their claims of the commentaries because they are not readily available and use different nomenclature.¹

In contrast, the document takes a different point of departure by deconstructing the concept of a single urtext, on practical and aesthetic grounds. Taking a more inclusive concept of authorship the document shows that more than a single version of the text is supported by the source material and the research regarding Beethoven’s compositional process. The document demonstrates this by reconstructing four different texts of the Symphony by compiling the textual variants recognized by the three urtext editions.

¹ The commentaries by Brown and Del Mar are published as separate volumes
As the urtext\textsuperscript{2} edition has become a ubiquitous and controversial part of musical culture and performance practice, conductors of the twenty-first century have become increasingly familiar with textual variants. Urtext editions most often aim to present the composer’s final version of a work’s text, free from editorial intrusion and generally accompanied by a commentary outlining the justification for editorial choices in situations where source material is unclear. This of course presents a serious problem when a composer’s final wishes regarding the text are difficult to decipher or are unknowable. In these situations, editors are often left to compare fragmentary source material and search through correspondence to ascertain or make a decision for publication. The ideology of the urtext is compounded by the publishing industry’s desire for an authoritative text,\textsuperscript{3} a desire that is often at odds with the nature of a composer’s process which might reveal more than one authentic version of a work (e.g., Mendelssohn’s Reformation Symphony).\textsuperscript{4}

The present case of the text of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony arises from two main issues: first, indecisiveness on the part of the composer regarding certain elements of the work, and second, a permanent gap in source material. Furthermore, the history of the work’s texts that survive display a remarkable degree of indeterminacy. The

\textsuperscript{2}The definition of urtext is somewhat fluid and Grove Online even goes so far to say, “the value of the search for a musical Urtext is debatable.” The term is used to denote editions ranging from the most editorially sterile to performance editions aiming to assemble a modern performing edition from confusing source material.

\textsuperscript{3}Eva Badura-Skoda, “Textual Problems in Masterpieces of the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} Centuries,” trans. Piero Weiss, The Musical Quarterly 51, no. 2 (April 1965): 301.

Symphony’s primary source, the Autograph score, is an example of Beethoven’s notoriously difficult notation. At a loss for words, Adam Carse said that, “The autograph score must be seen to be believed.”\(^5\) The Autograph epitomizes the historical sources with an array of textual variants that range from the minutest details of slurs and articulation to the form of an entire movement. The latter is so significant that it cannot be ignored. The form of this third movement scherzo is determined by a missing repeat. It seems to have arisen from the problem of deciding whether the repeat would be written-out in full or given in a shorter form with instructions. The \textit{urtext} editions commentaries provide evidence that the problem of this variant and others are complex and, in many cases, unsolvable.\(^6\)

Given these problems, we must consider whether the concept of a “final version,” or \textit{FLH}, is itself applicable to Beethoven and this Symphony. The problem is that the texts of musical works almost never exist in a form that matches the idealized concepts of \textit{urtext} and \textit{FLH}. Furthermore, they fail to recognize that every transcription and copy of a text removes it another degree from its mythical ur-state. They are also flawed in their noncompliance with the process nature of a composer’s work or the occasional nature of some works, both of which might leave us with multiple texts. This problem is demonstrated by Bernard Cerquiglini’s history and deconstruction of the

---


6. Within this document the text without a repeat is referred to as 3-part and the text with a repeat is referred to as 5-part.
“faithful copy”⁷ and Georg Feder’s assertion that “only a facsimile publication of the autograph of a work can, in fact, offer a true ‘Urtext,’ since printed editions...must rely on interpretive transcription.”⁸

Andrew Durkin approaches this problem in yet another way in his discussion of “expressive authenticity”. Paraphrasing Andrew Potter, he suggests that we easily make the mistake of equating a “work’s material provenance” (for us, its text) with the expressive authenticity of the composer.⁹ This is the trap in which we find ourselves and the document deconstructs the supposition that an urtext (or any text) truly conveys the composer’s expressive authenticity or intentions.

There has been a great deal of research regarding textual variants in the Fifth Symphony over the last 40 years, and the critical commentaries in particular note the overwhelming uncertainty regarding certain passages. Nevertheless, much of the musicological literature has not questioned the goal of ascertaining fassung letzter hand. Therefore, while much of the literature provides evidence that Beethoven was undecided about certain details in the work, especially with regard to the form of the scherzo, the “urtext” performance materials advertise singular authenticity in the face of textual uncertainty. Given that Beethoven was undecided about aspects of the work and the aforementioned state of the source materials, we must be left to wonder if


continuing to seek FLH is a promising use of research effort. Consequently, this
document jettisons this arguably unattainable goal. Instead it constructs four historically
authentic texts representing four early performances that demonstrate the way in which
the work was received and understood in its own time.

The document focuses on how the three current urtext editions treat textual
variants in Beethoven’s Symphony No. 5, op. 67. Therefore, it does not study the
primary source material, but rather analyzes and compares the scholarly literature
concerning the work to achieve its goal.

The scope of the studies included in the comparison are limited to the following:

1) Clive Brown, *Symphonie Nr. 5 in c-moll: Breitkopf Urtext. (A New
Appraisal of the Sources of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, 1996.)*

2) Jonathan Del Mar, *Symphonie Nr. 5 in c-moll: Bärenreiter Urtext.
(Critical Commentary, 1999.)*

1, vol. 3. (*Kritischer Bericht, 2013.)*

All textual variants of the Symphony are included within the scope of this document.
The exclusion of a variant deemed insignificant by this author would diminish a variant
that might be significant to another scholar. When a variant seems to be derived from a
copying error, the variant is noted and the possibility of error is explained.11

10. The exception to this is the Kritischer Bericht of the 2013 Beethoven-Haus
Gesamtausgabe edition, which is only published in German. It was translated by Merle
Schlabaugh for inclusion in this study.

University Press, 1996), 112-113. Grier notes the editor’s conception has a primary role
in the editing process. This perhaps impacts one’s consideration of the text, posing the
The goal of this document is to produce a practical tool. The methodology and structure of the document focus upon research regarding the sources and their interpretation. A more abstract discussion of aesthetic theory relating to authenticity and FLH will help clarify the problems inherent in producing a scholarly edition. The further chapters in the study are divided between an in-depth discussion of philology and variants in the editions and the concept of authenticity and FLH as it applies to Beethoven’s musical text. The final chapter is placed so as to be a product of the prior discussion and the main goal of the document.

Chapter 3 contains a discussion of the aesthetic considerations regarding urtext editions and the concept of FLH, focusing principally upon considering the legitimacy of applying these concepts to Beethoven’s works. Here the document relies largely upon James Grier’s *The Critical Editing of Music* and Lydia Goehr’s *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*\(^\text{12}\) in its analysis of work and text concept. It grows out of Christopher Hogwood’s call for the “process edition,” considering the variants as a way of producing a critical text in a different manner, specifically a manner that allows for variants.\(^\text{13}\)

Based upon this idea, Chapter 4 constructs four historical texts of op. 67 based upon the source material. Using a composite source filiation, different streams of textual evolution and performance practice are reconstructed as a further basis for the historical question of what is an error and what is a compositional revision. In either case, it is not my place to dismiss even the smallest variant.


\(^{13}\) Hogwood, “Urtext, que me veux-tu?” *Early Music* 51, no. 1 (2013): 127.
texts. Chapter 4 then proceeds by demonstrating how each text is established through examples from the source material.

The final chapter serves as a guide to the historical texts. Taking a form similar to that of the urtext editions commentaries, Chapter 5 is an extensive measure-by-measure guide to producing each of the historical texts from the scores by Brown, Del Mar, or Dufner. Instead of classifying the variants, the texts are given in their entirety as readings of the text that are historically authentic and contemporaneous to the composer, performers and culture that first produced the work.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Survey of Historical Sources

Although they are not treated separately from the editions, the primary sources and the discrepancies they contain are central to my argument. The following survey of historical sources summarizes the basic content and status of the primary sources (Autograph, Stichvorlage, Early Orchestral Parts, etc.). In this survey I rely upon the research of Brown, Del Mar and Dufner but reserve commentary on their point of view for later. Regarding the sigla assigned to identify each of the historical sources, Table 1 is provided to ease the confusion.\textsuperscript{14}

The Autograph and its Facsimiles

The autograph score of Beethoven’s op. 67 resides in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin • Preußischer Kulturbesitz and consists of what are now two separate documents, Mendelssohn-Stiftung 8 and Mendelssohn-Stiftung 20.\textsuperscript{15} It is available in facsimile from two publishers which each possess unique and valuable commentary; the first, with commentary from Georg Schünemann\textsuperscript{16} and the second, with commentary by

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{14} The first column gives the name assigned to each source in this document.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Ludwig van Beethoven, \textit{Symphonie Nr. 5 c-moll}, Studienpartitur, ed. Jens Dufner (München: G. Henle Verlag, 2015), 115.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Ludwig van Beethoven, \textit{Fünfte Symphonie, Nach der Handschrift im Besitz Preußischen Staatsbibliothek}, ed. Georg Schünemann (Berlin: Maximillian-Verlag Max Staercke, 1942). This was published in a limited run, only in German, and is only available at a limited number of libraries.
\end{itemize}
Table 1. A Guide to the *Sigla* of Historical Sources to Op. 67

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Westover</th>
<th>Brandenburg</th>
<th>Brown</th>
<th>Del Mar</th>
<th>Dufner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autograph</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Orchestral Parts</td>
<td>D &amp; E: He differentiates between 1st set of parts and <em>duplir</em> which he asserts were made much later and just prior to the premiere.</td>
<td>SPH, SPS, SW1, SW2, SW3: Brown divides the parts into 5 <em>sigla</em>.</td>
<td>PX &amp; PY: del Mar differentiates the parts based upon early and later copies as well as the source from which they descend. PX=A PY=B</td>
<td>B – Dufner gives the sub-<em>sigla</em> B1, B2, B3 to differ between earlier and later copies of the parts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Stichvorlage</em></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost Score Copy</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PX</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>[D]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First edition parts</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>ES1, ES2, ES2bl, ES3</td>
<td>P1, P2</td>
<td>G (G1, G2, G3, G4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First printed ed. score</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>EP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna manuscript score</td>
<td>No <em>sigla</em> granted to this source.</td>
<td>PW</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rainer Cadenbach, available from Laaber-Verlag. The Autograph itself is useful to us because 1) it was Beethoven’s working score through which we can observe his compositional process and 2) it was a score for copyists through which we can glean details about derivative sources that are no longer extant.

Notable elements of the Autograph’s role as a working score are found in its layers of edits and corrections which range from substantial compositional changes to small corrections in ink and Rötel. Of particular interest are passages that altered the continuity of the Autograph, including an insertion at the conclusion of the first movement and a significant extraction in the third movement. Although extracted as a separate document and classified a sketch much later, what we now know as Mendelssohn-Stiftung originally resided within the Autograph immediately following page 185 and was sewn up as Beethoven eliminated a completely written out repeat of the scherzo and trio in favor of an abbreviated means of the repeat. Further, the end of the first movement underwent a significant revision by means of the deletion of pages 83-85 in favor of page 86. Sieghard Brandenburg’s discussion of paper types in his article “Once Again On the Question of the Repeat of the Scherzo and Trio in Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony” uncovers several layers of correction. Although


Brandenburg does not discuss this detail in the first movement, his study of paper types shows that these last four pages were likely a replacement for a first version of the ending written on Italian paper. If this conjecture is true, then we can observe two attempts (the first inferred) at a satisfactory ending before Beethoven reached a final decision regarding the passage. This is just one example of what can be gleaned from the layers of revision in this source.

Additionally, a host of markings inserted by copyists are helpful in relating the Autograph to derivative sources. These markings provide evidence for two scores and one set of parts that were copied from the Autograph and the importance of these markings is amplified by the sorry state of the two score copies, which will be discussed in more detail later. Specifically, these markings consist of pagination and bögen markings, relating to the score copies, and sectionalization numbers relating to the copying of the parts. These markings will be included when discussing the sources to which they relate.

Two other factors which are difficult to separate from the source itself are the quality of the facsimiles and the content of the commentaries which accompany them. The first facsimile is a reproduction of the score in black and white with a commentary by Georg Schünemann. While the black and white reproduction tends to flatten the details and layers of information, the primary usefulness of this source is its accompanying commentary and the timeliness of its publication. Published in 1942, its commentary includes comments on the Stichvorlage prior to its presumed destruction in the bombing of Leipzig during World War II. Since this source was only partially preserved in photocopies, Schünemann’s commentary provides clues into an incomplete
and degraded source. Conversely, the primary usefulness of Cadenbach’s facsimile is the facsimile itself, which is published in full color and includes the entirety of Mendelssohn-Stiftung 20, which was not included in Schünemann’s facsimile. Cadenbach’s commentary provides a survey of a great deal of literature including Brandenburg, Tyson, Brown and Del Mar and is an excellent starting point for the detailed study of this subject and these sources.

*The Two Score Copies*

As previously noted, the Autograph includes copyist markings that relate to two score copies and parts prepared for early performances. While the first of the score copies is partially preserved in photocopies, the second of the score copies is unavailable and presumed lost. Discussion of the interpretation and dating of these sources will be part of the discussion of the urtext editions and their critical commentaries.

A portion of the first score copy, which is traditionally considered to have been the *Stichvorlage*, is extant and readily available for study in high-quality scans through the Beethoven-Haus Digital Archive website at no cost. While only 116 pages of the 321-page score copy remain through photocopies, these pages and the copyist markings

---


22. See commentary on Gülke on pg. 18.

in the Autograph provide a great deal of information regarding the document. The document also contains corrections by Beethoven, his copyist Klumper and further markings in an unknown hand made in Breitkopf & Härtel’s preparation of the first printed parts and score of the work.\(^\text{24}\) As mentioned, Schünemann makes up for some of the gaps in this document in his commentary on the Autograph, wherein he reports upon the \textit{Stichvorlage} prior to its presumed destruction. All of this information gives us insight into the document. For example, with regard to the repeat of the scherzo and trio, Brandenburg assumes through a reconstruction of the pagination that the repeat was not fully written out but given with repeat signs. Schünemann reports, with regard to the pages where the repeat would occur, “this error is not improved,” referring to the supposed error created by the lack of first and second endings or a repeat sign.\(^\text{25}\)

While dating the score copies is difficult, the manner in which the pagination numbers are entered (see Figure 1) into the Autograph gives us a relative dating for the two scores, telling us that the \textit{Stichvorlage} seems to have been made prior to the Lost Score Copy.\(^\text{26}\) Further, this along with \textit{bögen} numbers at the end of each movement in the Autograph tell us that

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{pagination_numbers.png}
\caption{Pagination Numbers in the Autograph.}
\end{figure}


25. Brandenburg, “Once Again,” 175. See Figure 2, pg. 16.

26. Brown, \textit{A New Appraisal}, 49. Clive Brown disagrees, pointing out that the manner in which the numbers are copied only proves that the Lost Score Copy was checked with the Autograph after the \textit{Stichvorlage}. His argument is further evidenced and discussed in more detail below.
the *Stichvorlage* was much more spaciously copied than the Lost Score Copy. For example, in the instance shown in Figure 1, the passage of the first movement that occupies 34 pages in the Autograph occupies an expansive 40 pages in the *Stichvorlage* and a mere 30 pages in the Lost Score Copy. As the pagination numbers are the only glimpse into the Lost Score Copy, they are extremely important in the critical literature, particularly in the critical speculation of Brandenburg and Brown.

*Early Orchestral Parts*

A significant source due to the serious gaps in other sources, the earliest orchestral parts prepared for early readings and/or the premiere in December 1808 are now held in two collections, the Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna and the Roudnice Lobkowicz collection, Nelahozeves Castle, Czech Republic. The parts are also available in microfilm in the archive of the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn. The parts themselves are given different *sigla* (see Table 2) in the *urtext* editions based upon the editors’ estimation of their dating and relation to the Autograph and *Stichvorlage*, generally grouping them into early and later groups based upon their estimation of the timing of their production, specifically whether they were prepared in Spring/Summer 1808 or for the public premiere in December 1808. Regardless of points where they disagree, it is generally accepted that the copyist identified as Klumpar was responsible for the preparation of all manuscript performance parts prepared in 1808. The parts demonstrate a performance history that is complicated to decode. For example, some manuscript parts contain corrections (in Beethoven and

---

27. None of the manuscript parts have been examined as they are only available for viewing on site in Bonn, Vienna and Prague or through exorbitantly expensive microfilm reproduction.
others’ hands) that can be dated to as late as 1812. The filiation of the complete collection of the early parts is essential to the differing readings of the urtext editions.

The First Printed Editions

As early as June 8, 1808, Beethoven sold his Fifth and Sixth Symphonies to the Breitkopf & Härtel (hereafter B&H) publishing house although the scores were not delivered until on or around September 14 of the same year. It is generally accepted that the Stichvorlage, not the Lost Score Copy, was sent to B&H and the text of the parts and score seem to reflect this. Due to the business nature of their communication, a fair amount of Beethoven’s correspondence with B&H survives, which helps us to further understand its text. The printed editions are divided into orchestral parts and a full score, published in 1809 and 1826 respectively. The parts are divided into three impressions (two in April 1809 and one after November 1809), the first two of which, along with the score of 1826, are available for perusal through the Beethoven-Haus Digital Archive website. The third impression, which is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. A Guide to the Sigla of the Early Orchestral Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prague Wind, Brass, Timp parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dufner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Data from Brown, A New Appraisal, 40-41; Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 22-25; Dufner, Kritischer Bericht, 218.

28. Brandenburg, “Once Again,” 188. Note that Seventh Symphony passages are used to cover over the repeat of scherzo and trio.


differentiated from the second impression only by two changes in the viola part, is not available in facsimile but is held in many collections. As it was common for parts to be published much earlier than the printing of a score, Beethoven’s communication with B&H focuses solely upon errors in the printed parts, some of which seem to be ignored by the publishing house.

Based upon his written correspondence with B&H, we are aware of four errors for which Beethoven requested correction, three of which were accounted for in the second and third impressions of the parts. These errors include the addition of measures to the first movement which lengthen the second fermata measure in each of the presentations of the main motive; missing grace notes in the third movement; and an arco marking for the viola in the fourth movement. The fourth error, which received the greatest attention from Beethoven and was never corrected, not even in the score published 27 years later, relates to the da Capo or repeat of the scherzo and trio in the third movement. All three impressions of the parts and the single impression of the score present the passage ambiguously by including measures that account for a first

![Figure 2. The Repeat Error in Breitkopf's First Edition. Source: Image from Beethoven-Haus Digital Archives. Note: Observe that B&H omits the incorrect measures in the First Edition Score.](image)


and second ending, without ending markings, repeat sign or _da Capo_. \[^33\] Beethoven sent notes to B&H twice in the autumn of 1810 specifically mentioning this error, uncharacteristically asking, not demanding, as Brown notes, that the error be corrected. \[^34\] In the companion to his _urtext_, Clive Brown makes note of a single viola part of the second impression that contains “relevant manuscript additions.” \[^35\] Lastly, the full score, which was published in 1826, bears no indication of any involvement with Beethoven and, like the parts, seems to have been made from the _Stichvorlage_. Worth noting, however, is the lack of care with which it was constructed. Of the four errors Beethoven made B&H aware of, only the fermata measures in the first movement and the Viola _arco_ in m. 176 of the fourth movement are corrected in the full score, while a host of other new and untraceable changes are found. \[^36\] Thus, while the parts may give somewhat reliable clues to the content of the _Stichvorlage_, the first published score is too far removed from a primary source to be considered reliable.


[^34]: Brown, _A New Appraisal_, 54.

[^35]: Brown, _A New Appraisal_, 41. Currently held in the British Library, h.2894.q.

[^36]: Brown, _A New Appraisal_, 54. Brown conjectures that these untraceable changes may stem from Beethoven’s missing correction lists, but there is of course no way to prove this.
Overview of Urtext Editions Included in the Study

As an introduction to the following survey of urtext editions included in this study it is pertinent to briefly discuss two sources that do not belong elsewhere in this survey but are essential to the subsequent urtext editions. German musicologist and conductor Peter Gülke completed the first of these sources. Gülke was primarily a conductor in the DDR during the 1970s, was on the faculty of Musikhochschule, Friedburg from 1996 to 2000, and has published on music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Beethoven, Mozart and Schubert. Gülke’s critical edition of the late 1970’s, had a profound effect upon scholarship surrounding this work due to its landmark inclusion of the repeat/da Capo of the scherzo and its extensive commentary, which included the primary sources and sketches, notably reproducing a transcription of Mendelssohn-Stiftung 20. Furthermore, the commentary includes an intriguing motivic study of the work, as well as a discussion of the influence of French revolutionary music. Gülke’s inclusion of performance materials transported his scholarship to the arena of performance, while its controversial inclusion of the repeat in the third movement initiated a discussion that could be said to have motivated all of the ensuing studies discussed below.


40. Brandenburg, “Once Again,” 147.
The second of these sources is not an edition but an article. Sieghard Brandenburg, was a noted Beethoven scholar, who became a researcher at the Beethoven Archive Bonn in 1968 and was the director of the Archive in 1984 until his retirement in 2003.\(^{41}\) While Brandenburg’s article of 1984 on the repeat in the scherzo is classified as a secondary source, its groundbreaking discussion of the source materials, their paper types and filiation is a significant source for all three urtext editions that are to be discussed below. Originally a response to Egon Voss’ article of 1980,\(^{42}\) the article’s inclusion in the festschrift honoring Elliot Forbes brought its discussion into the English language.\(^{43}\) Brandenburg’s article is outstanding for its in depth discussion of paper types and detailed structural descriptions of the Autograph, which shed new light upon some of Beethoven’s revisions to it.\(^{44}\) Because the purpose of the article surrounds the form of the scherzo, a great deal of interesting discussion regarding sketches in Landsberg 10 and Mendelssohn-Stiftung 20 are included alongside transcriptions, all of which explicate Beethoven’s compositional process with regard to the movement. Furthermore, his theory that the repeat/da Capo was deleted and reinstated in various stages has had a profound effect on the way that Del Mar, Dufner, and Brown approach this textual problem. His discussion of unknown copyists Q and S is essential to the readings given in Brown’s urtext. Finally, his claim that the


\(^{43}\) Brandenburg, “Once Again,” 146.

\(^{44}\) Brandenburg, “Once Again,” 149.
5-part form of the scherzo reflects Beethoven’s artistic intentions gives rise to the discussion that has proceeded for over 30 years. With his study, Brandenburg provided a compelling case for the idea that we should be seeking the artistic intentions of the composer in our scholarly study and reconstructions of the text, not simply looking for the *fassung letzter hand*.

*Clive Brown – Breitkopf Urtext –

*A New Appraisal of the Sources of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony*

Published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1996, Clive Brown’s critical performing edition and its accompanying commentary represent the first extensive study with matching performance materials published in the English language.\(^{45}\) Clive Brown, Professor of Applied Musicology at the University of Leeds, is a British scholar who has published extensively on performing practice and has at least twenty scholarly editions to his credit.\(^{46}\) It is part of a series of the complete Beethoven symphonies in *urtext* edited by Brown and Peter Hauschild and published by B&H throughout the late 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century. The comprehensive commentary and performing edition, taken together, form the first complete response to both Gülke’s critical edition of 1977/8 and Brandenburg’s article of 1984.

While Brown’s commentary relies upon Brandenburg’s 1984 article, Schünemann’s commentary on the *Stichvorlage* and Fojtíková and Volek’s discussion of Beethoveniana in the Lobkowicz collection, the most compelling aspects of his

\(^{45}\) Brown’s commentary was published bilingually, in English and German, from the outset.

\(^{46}\) “Professor Clive Brown,” University of Leeds, School of Music, People, accessed August 9, 2015, [http://music.leeds.ac.uk/people/clive-brown/](http://music.leeds.ac.uk/people/clive-brown/).
document are revealed from his own nearly forensic investigation of the source materials. His document can be divided into three sections: 1) a discussion of the historical sources, 2) a discussion of the repeat or da Capo of the scherzo and trio, and 3) a measure-by-measure critical report which outlines divergent readings in the companion performance materials. Additionally, Brown includes for the first time a Viennese score, copied by an unknown hand, which includes Ripieno and Solo markings. While these markings cannot be directly related to Beethoven, he makes a point of justifying their use in period performance practice with larger orchestras.

Growing out of his investigation of the sources, Brown’s estimation of their filiation is of primary interest to this study. In his report, Brown writes with a focus on details, often minute, that link the sources together into a unique filiation that makes his reading of the score particularly distinctive. His filiation (see Figure 3) differs from others in two basic ways: 1) in its estimation that the Lost Score Copy was made prior to the Stichvorlage and 2) in its assertion that the Early Orchestra Parts were copied from all three of the manuscript scores in combination. This is further influenced by his estimation of the authenticity of corrections in the sources by copyists S and Q.

---


48. Brown’s critical report helps to sift the sheer amount of information by highlighting details relevant to performance practice and comments that represent textual readings at variance with current editions.

49. Brown, *A New Appraisal*, 68. Brown notes that this practice is authentically connected to Beethoven in parts for his Fourth Symphony and provides a guide to these markings as an appendix.

Much of Brown’s argument is centered on the dating of S and Q’s additions to the parts, and therefore he asserts the Autograph, Lost Score Copy and earliest parts were in the process of being edited/corrected contemporaneously and that the Stichvorlage was certainly copied after this period.\footnote{51} Thus, he proposes two distinct performance texts, 1) a Viennese version, represented by the manuscript parts used at the premiere and the Autograph and 2) a printed version, represented by the Stichvorlage and Breitkopf & Härtel’s printed editions of 1809 and 1826.\footnote{52}

\footnote{51. Brown, \textit{A New Appraisal}, 57. Much of this argument is founded upon a single flat sign in the third mvmt. and the location of the repeat at the outset of the fourth mvmt. Brown connects Q’s corrections with performances that involved B&H 1809 parts and the manuscript parts, while asserting that S’s corrections must have come from a no longer extant source, the Lost Score Copy, thus giving the latter greater authenticity.}
Regarding the issue of the form of the scherzo, Brown continues in the format of Brandenburg’s stages and adds two “stages” with his new discoveries. Considering the sectionalization numbers on page 185 of the Autograph, Brown asserts two layers of an attempt at writing first and second ending measures to actualize the 5-part form after having excised Mendelssohn-20, which was an attempt at writing out the repeat in full. Brown associates the 76 given at the end of measure 235 with a four-measure long first/second ending and the 77 given in the following measure with a three-measure long first/second ending. Both of these are eventually replaced by a two-measure long first/second ending as shown in the Rötel markings found in the margins of pg. 185 and on pg. 188.\(^{53}\) Brown uses all of this to prove the amount of uncertainty regarding the notation of the repeat that seems to have existed for Beethoven and Klumpar.

While Brown’s New Appraisal was groundbreaking, especially in the English-speaking world, there is a weak point in his consideration of Klumpar. At no point does Brown consider that the divergent readings found in parts copied by Klumpar could demonstrate even the slightest unreliability of the copyist. With regard to the page numbers, Brown has deduced, correctly I believe, that the repeat was fully written out in the Lost Score Copy and given as a repeat with measures for first and second endings in the Stichvorlage.\(^ {54}\) A seemingly obvious question that Brown doesn’t answer is why the


53. It is worth noting that a third sectionalization number, to be associated with the two-measure first and second ending is not found.

54. This is corroborated by the early performance parts and the 1809 B&H printed edition, the first of which is mostly sourced in the Lost Score Copy and features a fully written out repeat.
pagination numbers relating to the Lost Score Copy in the third movement do not account for the written out repeat. Brandenburg reports that this Bögen marking (following the third movement) must indicate the fully written out repeat, yet neither addresses why pagination numbers are present at a similar point in the fourth movement where Beethoven indicates a portion of the exposition to be repeated in the recapitulation in shorthand. Further, Brown doesn’t ask or answer two obvious questions: 1) why is the repeat given fully in some sources and not in others and, 2) why is the repeat written out in full in the parts even when copied from the Stichvorlage?

Finally, regarding Brown’s score, the preface is particularly interesting as it makes a clearer and more succinct case for two texts as outlined above. Additionally he provides a concise discussion of performance practice as it relates to slurs, staccato, striche and legato. Within the score itself, Brown reflects textual variants that he attributes to S, and thus from the Lost Score Copy, with ( ), differentiating these from his editorial additions which are given in [ ] and dotted slurs.

Jonathan Del Mar – Bärenreiter Urtext – Symphonie Nr. 5 & Critical Commentary

Jonathan Del Mar, independent British scholar and graduate of the Royal College of Music, London, completed the second of the urtext editions included in the study. Del Mar has spent much of the last 30 years editing the music of Beethoven, initially through independent relationships with orchestras, and later through


56. Brown, A New Appraisal, 43. There is a typographic error in the facsimiles that make up Appendix 3. On pages 96 and 97, measure numbers for examples 6a, 6b and 6c are incorrect. They should read as follows: 6a (I/282-289), 6b (I/282-291), 6c (I/286-292).

Bärenreiter-Verlag, which published his *urtext* edition of performance materials (score and parts) in 1999.\(^{58}\) An extensive critical commentary is published separately and only in English. The Bärenreiter-Urtext of op. 67 comes as a part of a highly publicized set of the complete Beethoven symphonies in *urtext* edited singlehandedly by Jonathan Del Mar and published between 1996 and 1999.\(^{59}\) This series has continued with the further publication of Beethoven’s piano concerti, the *Triple Concerto*, selected piano and cello sonatas, the violin concerto and romances, and string quartets all edited, again, by Del Mar.

Among the most commendable aspects of this edition is its extension of the “forensic” examination and discussion of sources to include all published versions of the work and adjoining major pieces of scholarly literature.\(^{60}\) An example of the degree to which Del Mar examines these sources in great detail is his noticing of a marking


\(^{60}\) Jonathan Del Mar, *Symphonie Nr. 5 in c-moll op. 67, Critical Commentary*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1999), 36. Unfortunately, the commentary is confusing to read as each item is given a *sigla* to which there is no index. Furthermore, Del Mar seems to be one of the first to consider Schünemann unreliable. He notes several instances in which Schünemann’s commentary offers an incorrect reading. He also notes the anti-Semitic tone of Schünemann’s text in which Mendelssohn and Schenker’s names are in footnotes and preceded with “Der Jude.”
added in the later half of the twentieth-century, appearing in later facsimiles of the Autograph but absent in the 1942 facsimile.  

The most salient feature of Del Mar’s urtext commentary is his filiation of the Lost Score Copy, Prague String Parts and First Edition Parts, especially with relation to the contents of the Stichvorlage. One of the foundations of his study is the consideration of the two score copies of op. 68, the Sixth Symphony, as a means of ascertaining the possible contents of the score copies of the Fifth Symphony. Also essential is his detailed examination of the First Edition Parts in conjunction with the Prague String Parts and Stichvorlage which leads him in an attempt to deduce the contents of

Figure 4. Del Mar’s Filiation of Sources.
Source: Image from Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 32.

61. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 21.

62. This is extraordinarily significant as Del Mar uses the status of the text in the two score copies of op. 68 to refute any text that might be said to have come from the Lost Score Copy. The implication seems to be that he is ruling out Brown’s assertion that S’s corrections to the manuscript parts could be authentic based upon a possible connection with the Lost Score Copy.
Beethoven’s list of corrections (March 28, 1809) and to prioritize a text found in the Prague String Parts over a text found in the Stichvorlage. Additionally, his comparison of the Stichvorlage, First Edition Parts and Prague String Parts leads him to consider the problematic First Edition Parts as “authentic” in one breath and in another to approach its text, especially with regard to the winds, with hazard and caution. Thus, he looks to the First Edition Score as a “faithful guide to the probable text of [the Stichvorlage.]” Essentially, Del Mar prioritizes a text that is found in some theoretical version of the Stichvorlage, whether in its few remaining pages, the Prague String Parts or his conflation of the First Edition Parts and Score.

One aspect of Del Mar’s apparatus that seems problematic is his method of determining between simple copying errors and significant textual changes. Throughout he continually refers to simple or obvious copying errors as “not worthy of discussion” and yet we are left without a list of these errors, which seem to him obvious, and are unable to judge for ourselves exactly what is obvious and what is not. Throughout the commentary, this problem has several manifestations, most of which relate to not defining “obvious” and not providing evidence. An example of the latter is his consideration of the Early Orchestral Parts (copied from the Autograph), wherein he creates a list of ten categories of exceptions when considering Rötel corrections in

64. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 31.
65. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 30-31.
66. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 30.
67. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 25.
connection with the copying/correcting of these parts and the Autograph. The difficulty arises in the point at which his exceptions themselves have exceptions (see 7, 8, 9 in the list) and no photographic evidence is provided to back his assertion of what is and isn’t obviously in Beethoven’s hand. Certainly the filiation of these parts is complex and while Del Mar’s command of the material is clear, there is no real substantiation of the evidence upon which he has made his decisions. When it comes to the measure-by-measure commentary, on the other hand, Del Mar is exceedingly clear.

The score rarely references the critical commentary and in this respect easily stands alone without requiring the conductor to constantly seek out details in the commentary. While this last aspect enhances the edition’s usefulness as a readily performable edition, the nearly complete absence of editorial markings in the score would be very misleading for the conductor who overlooks or does not have access to the Critical Commentary. Thus, it must be asserted that this can only be considered the complete urtext edition when the score and commentary are used together.

Lastly, there is an implied critique of Brown’s edition in Del Mar’s commentary. Their most significant points of disagreement can be summarized in the following five points:

1) While Brown asserts Autograph pagination numbers relating to the Lost Score Copy are in Beethoven’s hand, Del Mar refutes this asserting that all pagination numbers are Klumpar. Again, there is no evidence presented justify the claim.68

2) While Brown connects S’s corrections in the manuscript parts to the Lost Score Copy, Del Mar refutes that connection by asserting, “there is no evidence that any

______________________________
of his markings are in any sense authentic,” and disallowing any of S’s markings in his edition. While agreeing with Brown that S’s markings were made from a score, he claims, “this score cannot have been [the Lost Score Copy],” and suggests that S made his markings from another, now lost and inauthentic, score. Del Mar goes as far to list the readings given in Brown which are “wrong, or at least conflicting with other sources.”69 This is seemingly connected to Del Mar’s consideration of the contents of the Lost Score Copy related to his study of the Sixth Symphony score copies (see p. 26 above).

3) Del Mar disagrees with Brown and Brandenburg, with his claim that the Stichvorlage must have had the complete repeat/da Capo of the scherzo completely written out much in the same manner that Brown and Brandenburg argue for in the Lost Score Copy. This is again connected to Del Mar’s consideration of the Sixth Symphony score copies. Most interestingly, Del Mar justifies disregarding the page count assigned to the Stichvorlage by B&H in 1809 by arguing that this only proves the page count as it arrived at the publishing house in September of that year and bears no reflection on its original length. He goes further to assert that if the completely written out repeat/da Capo was present and subsequently removed from the Stichvorlage the fact that the completely written out repeat/da Capo was present in the Lost Score Copy bears no relevance towards the justification of the repeat/da Capo.70

4) Regarding Del Mar and Brown’s estimation of the Prague String Parts, a careful reading of their commentaries will reveal a small but significant discrepancy in

69. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 24.

70. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 56.
their valuation of this source. Both point out that what seems to have been Beethoven’s last correction to the Stichvorlage (the addition of più stretto to sempre più allo) is curiously missing from both the Prague String Parts and First Edition Parts. Further, while they both go on to note there are no corrections in the hand of Beethoven found within the Prague String Parts, Del Mar considers the parts as the only authentic way to reconstruct the string readings of the Stichvorlage. Taking a different view, Brown believes they fell to the wayside, never having been corrected or collated with the earlier string parts despite the fact that they were used side-by-side in performance.71 This detail seems to reflect the fundamental cause for the divergent readings; in Brown, favoring the Lost Score Copy and Early Orchestral Parts, and in Del Mar favoring his reconstruction of the Stichvorlage text.

5) Lastly, Del Mar makes the claim that Brown’s edition is in some way based upon the 1966 B&H edition. This is completely unsubstantiated in his discussion of the source and is nowhere found within Brown.72

Jens Dufner – Beethoven-Haus Gesamtausgabe

Jens Dufner completed the third and most recently published of the urtext editions included in the study. Dufner is a German musicologist who began working for the Beethoven Archive in 1998 and has been a research assistant for the Beethoven Complete Edition (NGA) since March 2004.73 Dufner’s critical score and commentary

72. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 36.
are a part of the new *Neue Gesamtausgabe* overseen by the Beethoven-Haus and published by G. Henle Verlag. While the complete editorial guidelines for the NGA are only published in German, the Beethoven-Haus website does summarize the goals of the edition and among these goals is the notable focus upon inclusion of “different versions and variant readings.” Furthermore, the focus seems to be shifted towards a philosophy that the research should inform performers who can then make their own decisions regarding variants.\(^7^4\)

Dufner’s edition consists of a large score and commentary published as a part of the NGA in *Symphonien III*\(^7^5\) and a study score\(^7^6\) with a drastically abridged forward and commentary (in French, German and English) both published by G. Henle Verlag. Performance materials are forthcoming, at least a year out from the time of this writing.\(^7^7\) One of the serious disappointments of this publication is the lack of a complete English language translation which essentially prevents in-depth comparison with the two commentaries by Brown and Del Mar.\(^7^8\) While the abridged commentary of the study score does reveal some important aspects of Dufner’s edition, it does not


\(^7^6\) Beethoven, *Symphonie Nr. 5*, Studienpartitur, ed. Dufner.

\(^7^7\) Eva-Maria Hodel, e-mail message to author, June 5, 2015.

\(^7^8\) Jens Dufner, e-mail message to author, June 18, 2015. In this message Dufner revealed that there is no intention to publish an English translation of the complete commentary.
provide enough information for the reader to compare his filiation with that of Brown or Del Mar. Nevertheless, there are several highlights to Dufner’s commentary on the text that are in many ways groundbreaking and worthy of discussion. His commentary can be divided into four sections: 1) a catalogue of the historical sources, 2) a genealogy of the historical sources and the development of the text, 3) an evaluation of the sources, and 4) a measure-by-measure critical commentary that gives the source of divergent readings.

The most salient feature of Dufner’s commentary is his genealogical approach to the sources and the development of the text. By telling the story of the text’s evolution, one that consists of no less than 14 stages, he demonstrates that no single score ever held the text of the work. He shows that Beethoven added corrections and revisions to the sources as they became necessary and never kept track of these changes in any one source. By itself, this creates a nightmare for the modern editor but it is infinitely compounded by the absence of many of the important sources like the Stichvorlage.

A feature of Dufner’s “genealogical” approach is the special attention that he draws to the transmission of the text and the effect the copyists and editors had on it. He even goes as far to assert, “the copyist…influenced the compositional character of the work[s] through his interpretation of indecipherable points or mistaken marking.” His analysis of the historical sources considers the earliest performing materials and the impact of the performances in which they were used. He gives credence to the idea that the earliest manuscript parts were actually prepared for performances under the auspices

79. I am grateful to Dr. Merle Schlabaugh who translated much of Dufner’s commentary so that it might be included within this document.

80. Dufner, Kritischer Bericht, 212.
of Count Oppersdorff and is the only of the urtext editors to give serious discussion to parts used for the Leipzig performances in early 1809. This is important because it demonstrates that the text of the work was primarily handed down through performance materials and that the earliest performers had some impact on the text.

His genealogical approach yields two important pieces of information that are instrumental in understanding the development of the text. First, he notes that Beethoven’s revisions made to the Autograph can be separated into two different stages, 1) markings in Rötel, and 2) markings in ink with Nb. (nota bene). This separation is essential to identifying the earliest version of the text in the Autograph and early manuscript parts. Dufner’s dating of Q’s modifications to the early manuscript parts is also important in establishing his assertion that the 5-part scherzo remained valid after the initial publication of the First Edition Parts. While he doesn’t argue that Q’s markings can be traced back to Beethoven, this small fact demonstrates a consensus about the 5-part form of the third movement among musicians in Vienna. Another example of their importance is found in the first movement at m. 242 where the Autograph and early manuscript parts give the reading shown in Figure 5. The dating of Q’s markings shows that this reading was valid for the earliest readings of the work and was only changed in his comparison of the manuscript parts and First Edition Parts.

---

granting greater credibility to the earlier reading.

Among Dufner’s most significant contributions in this commentary is his discussion of reports by Schünemann and Berthold Damcke regarding the *Stichvorlage* and the “redundant” measures in the third movement. While the other editors simply quote him, Dufner probes Schünemann’s understanding of the error and demonstrates that his understanding of the passage in the Autograph is flawed.\(^82\) He then uses testimony of Berthold Damcke to show that the *Stichvorlage* must have given measures 238/9a and 238/9b as “1ma volta” and “2-da volta” respectively. Damcke goes on to report that upon receiving Beethoven’s instructions to delete the repeat, the engraver misunderstood and only struck the “1ma volta” and “2-da volta” markings.\(^83\) This is important because it establishes the reading with the “redundant” measures as in some way historically authentic, even though both Dufner and Damcke postulate that it is based upon a misunderstanding. While that aspect is unknowable, Damcke’s testimony does clarify the contents of the *Stichvorlage* in this passage.

Regarding this most notable textual variant, Dufner grants equal authorization to the 3-part and 5-part forms of the third movement. He makes the unique claim that “All evidence suggests that the work was also to be published in [the 5-part form].”\(^84\) While he agrees with Brown and Brandenburg about the pagination of the two score copies,

\(^{82}\) Regarding this passage, Schünemann writes, “…ist der Fehler nicht verbessert.” Del Mar translates this as, “the error is not corrected.” Dufner argues that Schünemann must have understood the error to be the absence of the first and second ending markings and not the presence of the “redundant” measures. Schünemann, 38; Dufner, *Kritischer Bericht*, 238-239.

\(^{83}\) Dufner, *Kritischer Bericht*, 239.

\(^{84}\) Beethoven, *Symphonie Nr. 5*, Studienpartitur, ed. Dufner, 117.
Dufner’s claim to this increased authenticity of the 5-part form is based in his understanding of the *Stichvorlage* as described by Berthold Damcke.

Thus, while Dufner’s filiation of the sources (see Figure 6) is not significantly different from those of Brown and Del Mar, his conception of the text’s development within the sources demonstrates a new approach. Though his commentary matches the new approach of the NGA’s goals, the score itself only includes the variant of the repeat in the third movement while rejecting other equally contested variants. Though his commentary demonstrates a transformation in approach, it is disappointing that the score does not reflect the same change.\(^8\)

---

85. Note that a supposed error is found in the third movement in mm. 233-234. No historical source shows the Bassoons with these pitches and Dufner’s own commentary does not justify this reading. The tenor clef here seems to be the error, as these notes in bass clef match all historical sources.
Survey of Secondary Literature

Literature Relating to Authenticity, Philology and Editing

As the thesis of the document involves the deconstruction of the urtext, it is necessary to include a short discussion of textual criticism, philology and the concept of the “work.” While they cannot be thoroughly explored here, these concepts go to the heart of the problem and are ultimately responsible for the existence of the multiple “original” editions. I will use “the text” to refer to the many physical manifestations of the more abstract idea of the work.

Important literature relating to authenticity of text and work is found in both the fields of literary studies and musicology. The philologist Bernard Cerquiglini’s In Praise of the Variant is a brief, but engaging history and discussion of the concepts of text and author as they relate to our conception of the work. While historical literature, particularly medieval poetry and Shakespeare, form the topic at hand, Cerquiglini discusses ideas that are relevant for this study: first, his consideration of the role that printing takes in establishing the text, delineating text and pre-text, and authorship.86 Second, his discussion of variants in Shakespeare illustrates a difference between modern and 19th century philosophies of editing.87 The musicologist Ingrid Pearson considers the application of Walter Ong’s classic Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word to the historical performance movement.88

86. Cerquiglini, In Praise of the Variant, 6 & 8.


response to this movement, Pearson asserts “notation/text/literacy can lead us to a
greater understanding of musical ‘craft’ but only through manifestation/enactment/
orality can ‘art’ be revealed.” In essence, Pearson affirms the general thesis of many
other scholars in the field, the idea that rules of performance practice or the use of
period instruments only guide us to reconstructing “the outer shell of sonority of a given
work.” Eva Badura-Skoda goes even further to outline the difficulty of producing
urtext editions or scholarly editions of eighteenth and nineteenth century works. In her
article, Badura-Skoda develops a criticism of the “Urtex boom” by articulating the
financial motivation of publishers, the unattainable goal of producing an “uncorrupted
text,” and how the values that are applied to editing change from generation to
generation. Her article also includes a translation of Jens Peter Larsen’s
“Editionsprobleme des späten 18. Jahrhunderts,” which outlined the problems of textual
editing and presentation in 1958.

The musicologist James Grier significantly contributed to the literature
producing the first introduction and application of methods of textual criticism to music
editing. In *The Critical Editing of Music*, Grier explores how literary methods can be

89. Pearson, “By Word of Mouth,” 12.

90. Lewis Lockwood, “Performance and ‘Authenticity’,” *Early Music* 19, no. 4


92. Badura-Skoda, “Textual Problems,” 305-307. Larsen’s paper was presented
at the 7th congress of the International Musicological Society (Cologne, 1958).
applied to the editing of music and philology, while also noting where they do not apply to music.93

A number of scholars apply these concepts to specific works or repertoires and the specificity of their examples makes them greatly useful in this study. They include articles by Hogwood and Zappalà in addition to critiques of textualism by Lewis Lockwood,94 Barthold Kuijken,95 Roland Jackson96 and Cristina Urchueguía.97 Providing examples of variants in specific works, A. Peter Brown gives an early performance history of Haydn’s *The Creation*98 and David Buch considers a newly-discovered score that lends insight to the earliest Viennese performing traditions of Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*.99 Additionally, José Antonio Bowen100 and Robert


94. Lockwood, “Performance and ‘Authenticity’.”


Donington provide two different perspectives on authenticity in contributions to

*Performance Practice Review*. Bowen’s article presents a history of textual fidelity as it relates to the conductor. Discussing accounts of and by Mendelssohn, Berlioz and Wagner, Bowen traces the history of “realization” by revealing Mendelssohn and Berlioz as forerunners of a re-creative philosophy of conducting while tracing the history of “interpretation” or a creative philosophy of conducting to Wagner.\(^\text{101}\)

Conversely, Robert Donington encapsulates the difficulty of discussing the topic of authenticity.\(^\text{102}\) While clearly conservative with regard to historical performance practice (see his treatise\(^\text{103}\)), he alternates between advocating for period instruments and a more liberal realization of the impossibility of applying the specificity with which we approach Baroque music to that of the nineteenth-century.\(^\text{104}\) He then goes on to give a philosophy of early music, framing it as a quest for perspective.

> The real point of this great crusade of ours into the historical and the authentic…is the reward of experiencing something other than ourselves; something different from our own familiar musicianly habits; something opening out upon strange and distant horizons.\(^\text{105}\)

---


\(^\text{101}\) Bowen, “Mendelssohn, Berlioz, and Wagner,” 88 & 85.


\(^\text{104}\) Donington, “The Present Position,” 123.

Sources surveyed here can be broadly organized into four categories: 1) sources relating specifically to performance practice in Beethoven’s time and works, 2) sources relating to the editing of Beethoven’s works, 3) sources that provide analytical perspectives to the topic, 4) sources relating directly to the three urtext editions of the Fifth Symphony.

The literature relating to performance practice in Beethoven’s oeuvre leads us to examine the works in a variety of perspectives. Clive Brown’s most directly applicable contribution is found in his consideration of orchestral forces and tempi for the Beethoven symphonies presented in two articles for Early Music. While the earlier of the two articles provides detailed examination of the state of the orchestra in Vienna during Beethoven’s lifetime, particularly with regard to its size and seating in addition to their general level of preparation, the latter details the background of the historically informed recordings produced in the 1980s which in turn provides context to the urtext editions produced in the following decade. Furthermore, Brown’s immense contribution to the study of performance practice, his Classical and Romantic Performing Practice: 1750-1900, provides great insight into the semiotics of music notation in this era that makes up much of the common practice period.


relevant literature in this area considers the specific conventions of repeats and notation in the period. Hugh MacDonald’s article is particularly relevant for its discussion of repeats in minuets and scherzi with specific attention given to the practices of Beethoven. Furthermore, discussions of Beethoven’s textual conventions by Jonathan Del Mar and Paul Badura-Skoda provide examples of the literature available regarding textual criticism. Thus, this area of the secondary literature provides a means by which one can examine Beethoven’s symphonies from the “the outer shell of sonority” to the details that make up the text of the works.

Further extending the discussions of textual criticism is a mass of secondary literature concerning Beethoven’s sketches and compositional process. Sketch studies range from studies of Beethoven’s compositional process as shown in the sketches like those by Martha Frohlich and Heinrich Schenker to Alan Tyson’s work on the identification of Beethoven’s copyists, which is especially useful due to Klumpar’s role


in the transmission of op. 67. Richard Taruskin’s brief article noting his observation of a possible connection between the scherzo of op. 67 and a work by Stamitz exemplifies the literature that seeks to contextualize Beethoven.

Lewis Lockwood and Jonathan Del Mar further this textual criticism in their analytical discussion of scherzo form in works of the period surrounding op. 67. The discussion consists of three articles, one by Lockwood and two by Del Mar, the first two of which consider the form of the scherzo in op. 59, no. 1. Del Mar’s *Early Music* article of 2012 furthers the discussion to include works between op. 59 and op. 97. The conversation created by this trio of articles is directly applicable as they consider Beethoven’s development and means of notating scherzo form, which is at the core of the discussion regarding the scherzo in op. 67.

A further subsection of the literature that pertains to op. 67 provides analytical solutions to textual variants in the work; two examples are found in articles by Robert


Simpson and Owen Jander. While Simpson\textsuperscript{119} advocates for the 5-part scherzo in op. 67 by means of a discussion of formal proportions, Jander\textsuperscript{120} takes a biographical slant to explain the form of the scherzo.

The final and most directly applicable group of secondary sources relate directly to the \textit{urtext} editions and is divided into reviews of the editions themselves and subsequent writings by the editors that act as addenda to their scores. There are concise publication reviews of the \textit{urtext} editions by Del Mar\textsuperscript{121} and Brown,\textsuperscript{122} while the Dufner has yet to be reviewed. Additionally, David B. Levy penned an extended review of the Del Mar \textit{urtext} of Beethoven’s \textit{Ninth Symphony} in 2002.\textsuperscript{123} In that review, Levy articulates the difficulty in producing an edited score and parts for a work that also truly qualifies as an \textit{urtext}, and even further articulates the confusion as to what exactly constitutes an \textit{urtext}. To this review two responses are given, one from Del Mar\textsuperscript{124} and

\begin{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}
the other through the testimony of well-known conductors via Leigh Aspin.125 Lastly, there are a few publications which act as supplements to the editions of Del Mar, most of which have appeared in magazines or as liner notes. For example, Del Mar has authored at least three magazine articles in which he expresses the difficulties of editing Beethoven while also concisely defending his decisions. While the article from 2009 deals with Levy’s criticisms of his edition, at the same time asserting the philological philosophy that guided his decisions,126 the later articles deal with difficulties encountered in editing the piano concerti and violin concerto.127 Del Mar also contributed an essay to the liner notes of a DVD of the Third Symphony in which he again outlines his editorial philosophy.128 Conversely, it is important to note the general lack of literature regarding the urtext editions by Brown and Dufner.129 While the Dufner may yet be too recently published to have received much press or consideration, Brown’s edition seems to be almost ignored. It may be presumptuous to assume, but we may also connect an apparent contrast in marketing schemes and the controversial


elements of Del Mar’s *Ninth* with the difference in critical reception of the *urtext* editions.

What these surveys show is despite all the scholarship on the Symphony there is still a great deal of confusion and disagreement. Some of the problems are ideological, but some are due to the complexity of the state of the sources. The *urtext* editions themselves add to the confusion with conflicting *sigla*. Since this scholarship has yet to be compiled in a single place this document is a necessary addition to the literature.
Chapter 3: Authenticity and Text

“Our love of music invites us to believe the idea that it could be authentic and maybe that complicity occasionally requires a purge.”

Andrew Durkin

To deconstruct the urtext concept with regard to Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, it will first be useful to unpack layers of meaning found in the terms urtext and fassung letzter hand. The English translation and definition of these terms will help to answer the question, “What are we looking for in the text,” as I seek to determine their value. The outcome of this line of thought will guide the deconstruction of the current urtext concept as it applies to the work.

**Urtext: What are we looking for in the urtext?**

The complex, conceptual meanings of urtext and fassung letzter hand are central to an understanding of the authenticity asserted by the urtext editions in the present study. The following discussion goes beyond the simple definitions given earlier to uncover the values that they represent.

Indicating “primitive, original, and earliest,” the prefix “ur-” implies a strong temporal preference for the past.\textsuperscript{130} Definitions of original and primitive are most appropriate for our discussion, meaning “created directly, […] not a copy or imitation,” and “not derivative,” respectively.\textsuperscript{131} Thus, urtext implies a connection to the artist and an element of purity.\textsuperscript{132} One can extrapolate that an urtext (or its editor) frees the text

\textsuperscript{130} New Oxford American Dictionary, s.v. “ur-.”

\textsuperscript{131} New Oxford American Dictionary, s.v. “primitive” and “original.”

\textsuperscript{132} Purity and impurity have their own moral overtones and implications.
from impurities acquired over time by returning it to its original state, as authorized by the composer.

While *urtext* is a theoretical concept, it is supported by the more scientific and empirical approach of *fassung letzter hand*. *FLH* is a process with an implicitly teleological preference for the last or final version that organizes historical sources to culminate in a single, final version of the text. The term itself, translated as “edition of last hand,” suggests a physical authorization of the text by the composer and it is for this reason that the process has been used as the primary foundation for modern *urtext* editions. It is more accurate, however, to understand *FLH* as a preference for the composer’s final intentions. In this use, *FLH* is a method or guiding principle of prioritizing and organizing fragmented historical sources into a single text while also demonstrating the authentic provenance of the *urtext* presented. So, while it may be said that *urtext* and *fassung letzter hand* might signify essentially the same aspirations, they do so from different perspectives and have different ways of asserting the text’s authenticity.

These expanded definitions allow us to see *urtext* editions as more than simply the “original text”; they also allow us to see deeper assertions at play. For instance, they assume textual alteration by someone other than the composer is an impurity. They prefer a composer’s later thoughts on a work to an opinion that is contemporaneous.

133. This concept is easily applicable to certain composers and time periods, but it is questionable as to whether this singular preference is appropriate to the early nineteenth-century or Beethoven.

134. Grier writes, “On what basis is a reading deemed patently corrupt, and how should the emendation be effected? The answer to the former should be familiar by now: from the editor’s stylistic conception of the work.” Grier, 102.
with the composition. These are just a few issues provoked by the underlying values exposed in the expanded definitions of *urtext* and *FLH*. These values imbue the text of a musical composition with the intention of the composer. This is demonstrated in Bärenreiter’s online “Urtext Brochure,” which describes an *urtext* as an edition in which their editors “strive to set down a work as closely as possible to the composer’s intentions.”\(^{135}\) This example shows that claims of textual authenticity reach further to assert claims regarding the intentions of the composer, as opposed to what he actually did.

As scholars continue to search for what we seek in an *urtext*, it is clear that the *urtext* represents something that is beyond a text that is simply pure and verifiable. And while authenticity of textual transmission (what Durkin calls “nominal authenticity”)\(^ {136}\) is a reasonable goal, the ambition of authenticity with regard to the composer’s intentions is another matter all together.

Above their “encyclopedic” definition of *urtext*, the following banner (Figure 7)


136. Durkin, 130.
is displayed pairing the image of Beethoven with the quote, “I like to think my music will be performed exactly as I intended.” As suggested by James Grier, this “presupposes the existence of such an original...that could be construed as carrying the authority of its creator.”¹³⁷ This portion of the chapter deconstructs the implicit assertion that a text can convey the specific artistic intentions of the composer.

A source for the quote in the above advertisement is absent, but one could easily think Beethoven actually said it. However, other advertisements featuring Bach, Brahms, Mozart, and Schubert make it clear that these ads depict “old” composers in “new” settings created simply for the sake of “hip” marketing.¹³⁸ They nonetheless are rooted in an ideology that considers authenticity as the equivalent of the composer’s intentions. Specifically, the example above suggests that Beethoven assumes that the goal of the performer is to realize his intention, and it implies this is best achieved through the use of this publisher’s urtext. This example demonstrates the concept fundamental to the urtext movement: that the editing process is basically a psychological endeavor to determine the intentions of the composer.¹³⁹ This concept is founded upon the textualist philosophy that the “expressive authenticity” of the composer is embodied by the text.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷. Grier, 67.

¹³⁸. For example, another advertisement for Bärenreiter Urtext features Brahms donning headphones and an iPod alongside the quote, “I like the digital age, but nothing compares to the original.”

¹³⁹. Grier, 17.

¹⁴⁰. This presents a significant difficulty when a singular text is unattainable. Durkin, 128-130.
Divining the Author’s Intent: Philosophical Issues of the Ontology of the Work

In her seminal work, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, Lydia Goehr describes this objective approach to work concept as a “belief that a work is fixed in meaning before interpretation takes place.”\(^{141}\) While her context is that of performance, this idea can be applied to the present discussion of editing. The editor’s goal of a correct, fixed text is an outgrowth of the idea that the work itself is fixed prior to its transmission. But this is based upon the assumption that “to be true to a work is to be true to its score.”\(^{142}\)

Goehr traces the development of the *Werktreue* concept and points out the period between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries as a pivotal moment for its development. As the idea that a musical composition could be a “work of fine art” developed, so did a need to be faithful to said work and its composer. The “synonymity…of *Werktreue* and *Texttreue*” grew out of performers’ devotion to fidelity and composers’ increasing attempt to provide a text that enabled it.\(^{143}\) Since Beethoven lies at the crossroads of this paradigm shift and in a sense is implicated in bringing the change about, an application of these concepts to his music is especially problematic. While Beethoven clearly asserts an authority over his music that to some degree typifies *Werktreue*, counter examples show one cannot classify all of his music in this regard.\(^{144}\)


\(^{142}\) Goehr, 231.

\(^{143}\) Goehr, 231.

\(^{144}\) Goehr, 224-225.
Despite the contemporaneous development of textual fidelity and Werktreue, this does not mean that fidelity to a text extends to the composer’s intention or to “the work.” Such an assumption is based upon a system of values that regards the act of composition as the primary creative act. These values fail to recognize the materiality involved in the transmission and realization of the work.

Asserting the performer as a “full and active participant in the creation of the work,” Roman Ingarden identifies the collaborative nature of musical performance by recognizing that the text is not autonomous and is therefore not synonymous with the work.\(^\text{145}\) And since this seems to imply that the work only exists in performance, it calls into question traditional ideas of authorship. Jerome McGann goes further in his theory of art as a social phenomenon to attack “final authorial intentions.”\(^\text{146}\) In a collaborative approach, the creative act is considered the entire act of transmitting the work to its audience. I contend that it is therefore reasonable to extend some creative authorship and responsibility to all involved in this creative process.

This more inclusive authorial concept is not compatible with the rigid and objective attitudes of the urtext concept. How is it possible to develop a singularly authentic text when so many individuals had, and continue to have, a creative hand in the transmission and our reception of the work? It has been recognized that the technology used by the composer impacts the purity of the text: “music technology interferes with expressive authenticity, forcing the dissociation of a voice and its

\(^{145}\) Grier, 21.

\(^{146}\) Grier, 16.
producing body.”\(^{147}\) A more positive way of putting it is that technology is part of the text (rather than a hindrance to it). Furthermore, technology is used by people, and these people are part of the collaborative process that results in a text. Music technology provides a seemingly endless diversity of voices demonstrating different historical and social perspectives on the work. These perspectives are inextricably interwoven into their manifestations of the work and I contend that placing singular, authentic value on one state of the work robs us of a myriad of insights and creative possibilities for that work. In contrast to the urtext, then, I argue for historical and social approaches to understanding the work and its text. Understanding a specific performing tradition based upon location, time, or performer opens up visions of the work not accessible to the urtext.

Rejecting the claim that the urtext is based solely in the intention of the composer, I instead take the historical approach suggested by Grier that, “each source attests to a particular historical state of the work.”\(^{148}\) As he proposes, I consider each text a historical state of the work that reflecting the intentions of Beethoven and of those transmitting the work through their editorial decisions.

**Deconstructing the Urtext concept in the Fifth Symphony**

In the case at hand, the distinctly different approaches of the editors emerge through comparison. As detailed above in Chapter 2, the absence of several important sources creates a crisis of provenance for many readings found in the later sources. In

---

147. Durkin, 133. In this instance, I understand music technology in its broadest meaning; this would include notational systems, printing and engraving technology, publishing firms.

what follows, a short summary reveals how each editor’s philosophical underpinnings is evident in their editions.

The most direct comparison may be drawn between the urtext editions of Brown and Del Mar. As Brown documents in a 1991 volume of Early Music, both editors were engaged in aesthetic and practical dialogue surrounding Beethoven’s symphonies since at least 1982.\textsuperscript{149} Their respective printed editions of the 1990s can be taken to represent the logical conclusion of their work on the topic. Furthermore, their extensive literature on the topic documents their evolving stance throughout this time.

Jonathan Del Mar’s edition represents the most conservative approach to the text of op. 67. In his review of Del Mar’s edition of the complete symphonies, Brown clearly articulates that the difference between their philosophies lies in their judgment regarding the appropriateness of FLH to this repertoire and time period. Brown goes as far as to assert that, “such notions of an authoritative reading are entirely alien to the early nineteenth century and indeed to Beethoven’s own known practice.” In closing, he writes that a literal/textualist approach “flies in the face of our increasing understanding of the relationship between text and performance in Beethoven’s time.”\textsuperscript{150}

This contrast is demonstrated in the editions themselves. Although Brown accepts that multiple versions “may…have received the composer’s sanction,” he acknowledges the existence of an FLH and seems to wish he could realize this in his

\begin{flushright}
149. Brown, “Historical Performance,” 247, 258.\
150. Brown, review of Beethoven symphonies in urtext, edited by Del Mar, 915. It is worth noting that this review cannot be considered objective given Brown’s own investment in the topic. However, I find Brown’s response to Del Mar’s edition a revealing insight into the dialogue between their editions.
\end{flushright}
edition. Del Mar, in contrast, “always prefers a reading at least known to have been written by Beethoven.” These philosophical underpinnings reveal themselves in each editor’s text. For example, Del Mar displays a developing opinion in his published edition regarding mm. 282-286 in the first movement (see Figure 8). The Autograph shows a confusing reading in this passage with markings with and without brass and timpani. Although Del Mar argues for the presence of brass and timpani here in 1996, his edition of 1999 argues against their presence. Because Del Mar continues to argue for a final authoritative text, he is forced to read this passage in the Autograph in a fixed way that is not appropriate. While noting much of the same argument, Brown’s reading of this passage ultimately includes the brass and timpani, which allows their omission at the discretion of the performer, a far easier task than their insertion. This contrast is found throughout these editions, though Brown’s inclusion of the variants nods to the idea that a single authoritative reading is misplaced. Both editions are based upon the misconception that a single, final text (fassung letzter hand) represents Beethoven’s

![Figure 8. Contested Brass and Timpani, 1st mvmt., mm. 282-286. Source: Data from Dufner, Kritischer Bericht, 248.](image)


152. Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 31.

intentions.

This contrast between Del Mar and Brown is not as strong as the more distinct contrast between their editions and that of Jens Dufner’s score and commentary. This urtext follows editorial guidelines of the NGA, of which it is a part, which are substantively different than previous guidelines in their goals of “document[ing] the complexity of the sources and their interdependence in a critical apparatus and to shed light on the different editions of the work in question.”¹⁵⁴ Dufner’s commentary most clearly demonstrates these guidelines and a change in attitude toward these challenges that evolved in the nearly twenty years between its publication and that of the urtext editions by Brown and Del Mar. While his commentary includes a comparable description of the historical sources, his primary focus is the documentation of at least fourteen stages in the development of the text. Dufner encapsulates the edition’s new perspective with his admission that “the copyist…influenced the compositional character of the works through his interpretation of indecipherable points or mistaken markings.”¹⁵⁵ Yet despite the openness that this demonstrates to a more inclusive concept of authorship, Dufner still attempts to present a single Werktext.¹⁵⁶ In doing so,


¹⁵⁵ Dufner, Kritischer Bericht, trans. Schlabaugh, 213. “Fungiert Beethoven bei mechanischen Übertragungen an manchen Stellen seiner Arbeitspartitur selbst nur als Schreiber, beeinflusst der Kopist umgekehrt durch Interpretation unklarer Lesarten oder Fehleranmerkungen auch die kompositorische Gestalt des Werks.” Works plural here refers to op. 67 and op. 68 which were both prepared by Klumpar concurrently.

¹⁵⁶ Dufner, Kritischer Bericht, 244.
he fails to represent the “developing strands…drifting apart,” which he so accurately demonstrates, into more than a single text of the work.\textsuperscript{157}

The fact that a final authorized text of the work has not been produced despite the scholarly effort of at least three leading Beethoven scholars over the span of 30 years might be the best indication that a new approach is necessary. While the quality of their scholarship is impeccable, their conclusions are far from beyond criticism. As both Clive Brown asserts and Lydia Goehr implies, the application of FLH to Beethoven’s music is at least questionable.

Goehr does this from a historical perspective, tracing the change from the functional use of music to an autonomous concept of work through the end of the eighteenth-century.\textsuperscript{158} Conversely, Brown notes the impracticalities of FLH and questions its relevance to the work.\textsuperscript{159} Goehr describes this absence of a work concept by showing that composers did not assume ownership over their works. This is demonstrable through the many examples of composers reusing music, both theirs and that of others. She claims that “reusing music in this way was just part of what it meant to compose music.”\textsuperscript{160} Though Beethoven clearly demonstrates ownership of his music and a work concept, the shadow of the prior century and its values are evident in his music. Examples are found both in the occasional quality of Wellington’s Sieg and in his reuse of Johann Stamitz’s orchestral Trio in C Minor, op. 4, no. 3 and Mozart’s K.

\textsuperscript{157} Dufner, \textit{Kritischer Bericht}, 227.

\textsuperscript{158} Goehr, 181, 203.

\textsuperscript{159} Brown, review of \textit{Beethoven symphonies in urtext}, edited by Del Mar, 914.

\textsuperscript{160} Goehr, 181.
550 in the third movement of the *Fifth Symphony*. Peter Gülke also notes his inclusion of French Revolutionary music throughout op. 67.

These evidences demonstrate that the concepts of FLH and traditional authorship are questionable with respect to Beethoven and op. 67. Central to my argument is that no living state of the work (a performance) reflects only Beethoven’s intentions; it reflects the intentions of every individual in the orchestra, the conductor and those who transcribed and transmitted the text. In that light, I assert a different approach to the work’s text. This new approach will organize the extant scholarship towards the realization of the different historical and locational states of the text.


162. Gülke, 49-55.
Chapter 4: Defining Historical States of the Text

This chapter uses the critical reports on the historical sources of Brown, Del Mar and Dufner to reconstruct four different historical states of the text. Because their writings (particularly that of Brown and Dufner) document the stages of the text as it developed, it is possible to produce texts specific to a particular time and/or place.

Figure 9 shows a composite filiation of the urtext editions and illustrates how the divergent texts were derived. In contrast to the editors’ goal of understanding this development as it leads to a final authorized text, the premise of these readings is based upon Bernard Cerquigini’s notion that a text is established when the composer creates a

Figure 9. A Composite Filiation of the urtext editions, op. 67
When sigla are given, they are listed in the following order; Brown, Del Mar, Dufner.
Sources: Data from Brown, A New Appraisal, 40-41; Del Mar, Critical Commentary, 21-31; Dufner, Kritischer Bericht, 215.
printed object or makes the text available to an audience.\textsuperscript{163} In this instance, orchestral parts prepared for discrete historic performances establish the “texts.” Both Brown and Dufner detail the early performance history of the work that includes an intended performance for Count Oppersdorff, the December 22, 1808 premiere, performances sponsored by B&H in Leipzig, and performances in Vienna after 1816. Based upon this critical framework, the following are established as historical states of the work:

1. **Count Oppersdorff—Early 1808:** Based upon the text given in the early manuscript parts (SPH, SW1, SW2/PX\textsubscript{1}/B\textsubscript{1})\textsuperscript{164} and the Autograph (where it clarifies readings in these parts). This text is made up of the earliest readings found in the early manuscript parts. Brown’s dating of S and Q’s contributions to these sources is taken into account and their readings constitute a later text.

2. **Vienna—Premiere—Late 1808:** Based upon the text given in the early manuscript parts (SPH, SW1, SW2/PX\textsubscript{1}/B\textsubscript{1}), *duplir* (SW3/PX\textsubscript{3}/B\textsubscript{3}) made for the December 22, 1808 premiere, and the Autograph. Revisions found in the early performance parts are primary to constituting this text; the *duplir* are only somewhat helpful. The dating of S and Q’s contributions to these sources is taken into account and their readings constitute a later text.

\textsuperscript{163} Cerquiglini articulates that “creating a printed object that makes an act of writing available to readers…provides a precise picture[s] of the dynamics” of the “establish[ment] of the letter of the work.” Here the distribution of a score, set of parts, or the performance of a text of the work will signify the establishment of a state of the text. “Established” is used to mean this constitution of a text. Cerquiglini, xii.

\textsuperscript{164} In this chapter, sources are listed (Brown/Del Mar/Dufner). See Figure 1 for a guide to the *sigla.*
3. Leipzig—Breitkopf & Härtel—1809: Though this text is difficult to realize in a single reading, it is derived from the Breitkopf & Härtel printed parts, which in turn derive from the Stichvorlage. This text was established by Beethoven in three ways: 1) when he released the Stichvorlage to the publisher for printing, 2) when he agreed to the publisher’s plan to perform the work in Leipzig without his involvement, and 3) when Beethoven acted to correct the plates of these parts throughout 1809.

4. Vienna—Q & S—ca. 1816-1820: Based upon the text given in the early performance parts (SPH, SW1, SW2/PX1/B1), duplic (SW3/PX3/B3) made for the December 22, 1808 premiere, and a manuscript score in the collection of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (XIII 6149 Q18509). It is likely that more than a single text could be realized here due to the dating of contributions by Q and S and the Vienna score; they represent a text that was performed in Vienna outside the auspices of Beethoven’s authority.

The basis for each reading from the sources is demonstrated in the following description of each state of the text.

**Count Oppersdorff—Early 1808**

The first source for this earliest state of the text (hereafter referred to as Early 1808) is found in Beethoven’s letter to Count Franz von Oppersdorff of March of 1808.

> So all that I will add is that your symphony has been ready for a long time and that I am now sending it to you by the next post – You should add 50 gulden, for the copies [I having made for you come to at least 50 gulden] – But if you don’t want the symphony, let me know this well before the next post day – If you do take it, however, then cheer me up as soon as possible with the 300 gulden which are still due to me – The last movement of the symphony has three...

trombones and a piccolo – and, although, it is true, there are not three kettledrums, yet this combination of instruments will make more noise and, what is more, a more pleasing noise than six kettledrums.\footnote{166}{Anderson, vol. 1, 187-188. The emphases are found in Anderson; Brown, \textit{A New Appraisal}, 44. Bracketed portions are translated by Clive Brown, the grammar is in Beethoven’s original—“welche ich für die Sie machen lassen.”}

Although the work was ultimately dedicated to someone else, it was originally intended for the Count and it seems that the earliest performance materials were prepared for him. Both Brown and Dufner suggest that the “copies” mentioned in this letter may well be the earliest of the Early Orchestral Parts (SPH, SW1, SW2/ PX\textsubscript{1}/B\textsubscript{1}). While it is unclear whether the work was actually performed for Count Oppersdorff, the preparation of parts indicated the intention of a performance. A closer examination of the Autograph and Brown’s description of these sources exposes unique textual variants to this earliest stage of the text. First, as all three editors agree, these parts make up the earliest text of the complete work after the Autograph. Again, this text is established through Beethoven’s act of creating a printed object for an audience (here a set of parts prepared for likely performance under the patronage of Count Oppersdorff). By observing later deleted readings in these parts (SPH, SW1, SW2/ PX\textsubscript{1}/B\textsubscript{1}) in comparison with the Autograph, the earliest established text is visible. Secondly, Beethoven seems to be addressing specific requests of the Count (possibly made in the commission) indicating that elements of the instrumentation may be due in large part to certain features of the Count’s orchestra, namely the availability of three kettledrums.
An example of how this text can be derived from the sources is the fourth movement in mm. 356-357. Both the Autograph and parts (trumpets and timpani) gave the reading seen in Figure 10 before it was vigorously deleted. However, because this variant reading is established in the first performance set, it is an established text and it reflects intentions at a particular point in time, making them available to an audience. This can also be applied at mm. 282-287 in the first movement where a reading that may have been later retracted is also established in the text at this time and demonstrated in the same manner.

_Vienna—Premiere—Late 1808_

This text is established by the performance on December 22, 1808 and can be assembled from the sources prepared for it. The sources that make up this text are 1) later corrections to parts used in _Early 1808_ (SPH, SW1, SW2/PX1/B1) but made before _Vienna—Q & S_, and 2) readings given in the _duplir_ (SW3/PX3/B3) made for the December 22, 1808 premiere.¹⁶⁷ For example, the previously discussed passage within the fourth movement (mm. 356-357) is explicitly omitted in this text. Its retraction is confirmed in the Autograph and early manuscript parts and affects this text because it occurred following _Early 1808_ and prior to a later text established by _Q_ and _S_. Most importantly, the deletion of the brass in the fourth movement at mm. 356-357 distinguishes _Vienna—Premiere_ from _Early 1808._

---

¹⁶⁷ Occasionally the Autograph is referenced for clarification.
The *duplir* (SW3/PX3/B3) only consist of copies of Violin 2, Viola and ‘Cello/Bass made for the December 22, 1808 premiere. The value of these string duplicates is minimal, however they do clarify some readings that were likely changed in the aftermath of an earlier performance and demonstrate the continual development of the text independent of the *Stichvorlage*.

An example is found in the fourth movement just prior to the modified return of the third movement. In m. 145 Beethoven notes in shorthand that Violin 2 should have the same reading as Violin 1 an octave lower, leaving the remaining seven measures blank for Klumpar to complete in the copying of the parts. Although we cannot observe it (the earliest Violin 2 part is missing), this must have created a problem when it came for Klumpar to copy this passage into the parts; written an octave lower, it is well below the range of the instrument from the second half of m. 148 onwards. Beethoven’s eventual realization of this problem is confirmed in the later addition of notes on the third and fourth beats of m. 146, the indication *unis*. in m. 147, and a *Nb* marking in the margin (see Figure 11, from the Autograph, where close examination reveals that the ink of these three additions is a different shade than other entries). The parts copied from the *Stichvorlage* give this corrected reading exactly, while the *duplir* parts give a reading that suggests they were copied from the earliest manuscript parts and not from the Autograph. The *duplir* Violin 2 reading in this passage (see Figure 12, specifically, 168. The passage is shown similarly in the *Stichvorlage*.

\[\text{Figure 11. Beethoven’s Shorthand in the Autograph, 4th mvmt., mm. 145-148. Source: Image from Beethoven, Fünfte Symphonie, Facsimile, ed. Cadenbach, 247.}\]
mm. 146-148, first two beats) is one that could reasonably have arisen as Klumpar’s solution to the range problem while copying the earliest manuscript parts. In the *duplir* reading, Violin 2 becomes unison only when it can no longer play the passage an octave lower.

The examples given here and the variant readings given below in Chapter 5 result in a unique text, evolved from that of *Early 1808* and independent of the *Stichvorlage* and related sources. It is the best rendering of the text likely performed at the infamous December 1808 premiere.

*Figure 12. Excerpt from *duplir* Violin 2, 4th mvmt., mm. 144-160.*
*Source: Image from Brown, A New Appraisal, 98.*

*Leipzig—Breitkopf & Härtel—1809*

This text is established by the publication of parts (ES/P/G) by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1809 and the reception of the reading therein by audiences as indicated by contemporary accounts. The readings found in these parts stem from the *Stichvorlage* and parts that were copied from it (SPS/PY/B₂) and represent a substantive evolution of the text. There is very likely more than one text associated with this stream of sources. Dufner has surmised that a set of manuscript parts must have been created for the early
1809 performances in Leipzig. If they were still extant, they would accurately reflect these performances and the pre-edited text given in the missing pages of the *Stichvorlage*.\(^{169}\)

The earliest discernable text from this stream is found in the readings of ES/P/G and reflects a conception of the work that developed beyond Beethoven’s influence. The readings given below in Chapter 5 reflect the conceptions of the performers in Leipzig (assuming that modifications were made to their manuscript parts), the editors at Breitkopf & Härtel (the *Stichvorlage* attests to changes made after Beethoven’s *Rötel* of September 1808 and were likely entered from the Leipzig parts), and the corrections Beethoven sent throughout 1809 (attested by Beethoven’s letters to Breitkopf & Härtel and the subsequent impressions with changes). Though this text evolves throughout 1809, it does become stable by the end of the year and this is the text given below. George Grove corroborates this text in his research on performance practices of Berlioz and Mendelssohn.\(^{170}\)

\(^{169}\) It might be possible to reveal this earliest *Leipzig* text through the testimony of Schünemann but this would be highly conjectural. The text would likely consist of the text given in the *Stichvorlage* (in many places based upon the report of Schünemann) including corrections in *Rötel*, which are known as corrections made prior to September 1808, and rejecting corrections made at unknown later times by Breitkopf & Härtel.

\(^{170}\) Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies*, 175-176. Grove incorrectly notes that Hoffmann gives the reading matching Beethoven’s letter (August 21, 1810 to Breitkopf & Härtel) in his analysis of the work in the July 11, 1810 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. Hoffmann gives a different passage (mm. 245-252). Hoffmann’s report (see pg. 655-656) may be found at: https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_0t0qAAAAYAAJ#page/n369/mode/2up
The report on the repeat in the third movement by these conductors demonstrates that this text was established and maintained a life for decades. Although the repeat in the third movement is unquestionably absent in this text, the supposed notation of mm. 236-240 in the Stichvorlage leads to an interesting reading that is certainly part of this text. Based upon the report of Schünemann and the 1809 impressions of the parts from Breitkopf & Härtel, the reading in this text (as shown in Figure 13) includes both the first and second ending measures, giving a redundant effect.\textsuperscript{171} While Grove reports that Mendelssohn and the later Leipzig performances present a different reading (see Figure 2, pg. 16), Berlioz and Habeneck’s apparent devotion to this reading, as noted by Grove, establishes the text given here as received by an audience.

The example of mm. 282-287 in the first movement also provides a material demonstration of this text as separate from earlier iterations. While all texts associated with the Vienna source stream give the reading from the Autograph (Figure 8), none of the texts that descend from the Stichvorlage have this reading. The details of the textual developments seem to strengthen the case for separate readings here. For example, S’s later addition of \textit{sf} (to SPH/B\textsubscript{1}) confirms its place in the Vienna source stream. On the other hand, the different reading (in ES/P/G) for Horn 1 in m. 287 demonstrates that this

\textsuperscript{171} Grove terms these measures “redundant bars.” Grove, 175.
change is intentional and that the absence of brass and timpani in the previous measures is not an accidental omission.

While Beethoven wanted still more corrections to the printed parts in 1810, they seem to have been ignored until 1846.\textsuperscript{172} Thus, the text is established through publication in 1809 and the subsequent performance traditions that developed from their readings form the text of \textit{Leipzig—Breitkopf & Härtel—1809} given below in Chapter 5.

\textit{Vienna—Q & S—ca. 1816-1820}

The last of the Viennese texts from Beethoven’s lifetime, this text takes the early manuscript parts and \textit{duplir} (SPH, SW/PX/B\textsubscript{1}, B\textsubscript{5}) and a score (PW/D/H) in the collection of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (XIII 6149 Q18509) as its primary sources. The variants are found in the last layer of modifications to the parts, which were made by \textit{Q} and \textit{S}, and demonstrate a particular practice of performing the work in Vienna outside the influence of Beethoven between 1816 and 1820.\textsuperscript{173} Performances of a similar text in this period are confirmed by entries in Beethoven’s conversation books and the Vienna score (PW/D/H), which must have been assembled for the occasion of a performance.\textsuperscript{174}

\textsuperscript{172} Grove, 175.

\textsuperscript{173} This dating is based upon two pieces of evidence, 1) Clive Brown’s dating of \textit{S}’s contributions, and 2) two entries in Beethoven’s conversation books from April 8 and August 21, 1820. \textit{Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte}, ed. Karl-Heinz Köhler and Dagmar Beck, II (Leipzig, 1976), 53, in Brandenburg, \textit{Once Again}, 197; Brown, \textit{A New Appraisal}, 59.

\textsuperscript{174} Brown demonstrates that it was made from SPH/PX\textsubscript{1}/B\textsubscript{1} and ES/P/G. He also suggests that \textit{Q}’s corrections came early in 1810 as an attempt to bring the early manuscript parts in line with the last impression of the printed parts. Brown, \textit{A New Appraisal}, 54-55.
An instance where this text differs from earlier readings and establishes itself as unique is found in the third movement at mm. 238-239. As demonstrated earlier, *Leipzig/1809* is the first text to give a 3-part form to the third movement and in so doing provides a reading with two “redundant bars” (see Figure 13) that persists for decades. In this case, Brown suggests that from the beginning of his modification to the parts, *S* was aware of the 3-part form in this movement. And although his first cancellation of the repeat includes the “redundant bars,” *S* makes the emendations necessary for their removal to all of the parts before completing his work.¹⁷⁵ This detail is consequential because it serves to clearly establish *Vienna—Q & S* as a separate text from any other historical text.

A second instance is found in the fourth movement where *S*’s modifications again distance his text from that of earlier Vienna texts. The Autograph and early manuscript parts clearly show Beethoven’s indecisiveness regarding the pitch that should be given in m. 319 (Horns) and m. 336 (Piccolo, Oboe 1, Horns). At m. 319 it seems to have first been an *e*, then *g*, and finally in Beethoven’s *Rötel* an *e* (see Figure

---


---

*Figure 14. Horns, *e*¹ or *g*¹, 4th mvmt., m. 319.*
14). From this, Brown hypothesizes that Beethoven forgot to change the corresponding measure (m. 336) to match this final reading. In contrast, S seems to interpret this in a different way, correcting m. 319 to match m. 336. Brown uses this instance and others to assert that S was likely working from the Lost Score Copy, whose contents he presumes included Beethoven’s later thoughts on contested passages. While Brown’s assertion is not clear or verifiable, S’s conception of the work plainly influences the text that he helps to create.

Lastly, because Brown notes that the string staves in the Vienna score are copied from the first edition parts (ES/P/G), it is safe to assume that two texts are present in it. While both texts are likely to have been performed during the same period, the text given below is that which is established by S and his modifications to the early manuscript parts and duplir, the Vienna score is used sparingly and only for clarification.

**Conclusion**

Taking a different approach from previous urtext editions, this chapter provides an assortment of historically coexistent readings of the work that reveal intentionality beyond that of Beethoven. These readings demonstrate that any manifestation of the work is always a reading that reflects the conception and intention of the editor or performer. For the case at hand, it means that Beethoven’s Symphony is a manifestation not only of Beethoven’s intention but also of those involved in its performance. These historical texts demonstrate that this co-intentionality can never be eliminated; the variants aren’t problems, they are part of the work. This is no better demonstrated than in the urtext editions of Brown, Del Mar and Dufner. But it may be expanded to
readings that explicitly modify the text such as that of Weingartner\textsuperscript{176} because they allow us to hear the work through the ears and values of a different culture and time. Even if a source miraculously surfaced, providing Beethoven’s \textit{fassung letzter hand}, we still have abundant evidence that his Symphony was performed many different ways during his own lifetime. Therefore, the \textit{urtext} is actually not historically appropriate. Rather, these different ways of performing this music are artifacts of the time in which Beethoven lived and composed this work, and are, in this way, more authentic to Beethoven and the work than our own culture’s \textit{urtext} approach.

The four separate historical texts presented demonstrate the myriad of creative possibilities for the work through comparison of their variants. Furthermore, the establishment of disputed readings such as that of \textit{Leipzig/1809} and the “redundant” bars forces one to grapple with the idea that what seem to be obvious mistakes in the score did not seem problematic to contemporaneous eyes and ears. Are the repeated bars Beethoven’s rejection of the repeat as a formal of scherzo? Does the absence of the repeat disrupt the expectation of the listener? Is this Beethoven’s way of saying, “O Freunde, nicht diese Wiederholung”? At the very least, this reading accentuates the ghostly quality of the final part of the movement and changes the shape of the movement. In this way, I hope this document forces readers to creatively consider how these readings might have been and could still be heard.

Finally, I hope this solution results in the recognition of the intentionality on the part of interpreters of the text. Therefore, I deliberately have not given preference to any particular reading or \textit{urtext} edition. I think that the variants force us to consider that

\textsuperscript{176} Felix Weingartner, \textit{On the Performance of Beethoven’s Symphonies and Other Essays} (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2004);
aspects of the work varied in the conception of the composer and its early interpreters. Thus, we might better serve Beethoven and the work by considering these variants and allowing them to change our own conception of the work. Instead of refusing to recognize that performers must make choices, we should acknowledge their role and expect them to responsibly embrace the indeterminacy that is inherent in this work. The act of interpreting and performing can also be a creative one.
Chapter 5: The Fifth Symphony: A Guide to Four Historical Texts

As asserted in the previous chapters, the urtext editions fail to accurately relate the true textual state of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 5. By applying the historically anachronistic concept of FLH to the work, they assert their own conceptions of the work via their textual decisions. To restore the role of textual interpreter to the performer in this work, the following concordance of variants reconstructs four historical texts of the work and represents the convergence of the studies undertaken in Chapters 3 and 4. While the historical authenticity of these texts is validated by the evidence in Chapter 4, their musical value is left to the eyes and ears of the interpreter.

A particular historical text is realized by making the given changes to any of the three urtext editions discussed in this study. If one of the urtext editions gives a conflicting reading to a particular state of the text, the variant is listed. Anything not listed here means the three editions are in agreement. These commentaries are not designed for use with other published scores. When, based upon the collected reports of all three editors, a consensus for a singular historical reading in all texts is found, that reading is given in each commentary and identified with an asterisk.

The following system is used for the identification of pitches:

Figure 15. Pitch Identification System

177. The commentaries are in most places based solely upon the reports of Clive Brown, Jonathan Del Mar and Jens Dufner. My document is indebted to their scholarship.
Count Oppersdorff—Early 1808

Metronome markings do not belong to this text.

Movement 1: Allegro con brio

12-13 Viola, should read slur from m. 12 to m. 13.

56 Flute 1, should read $g\text{-}flat^3$.

83 Horns, should read without $p$.

83-92* Clarinet 1, should tie from m. 83 to m. 92.

94-95* Trumpets, should read rests for both measures. Per Brown, Klumpar copied these measures as rests due to an error by Beethoven in the Autograph. The error was reproduced in all historical texts.

97 Clarinet 1, reads $b\text{-}flat^1$ in both Autograph and manuscript parts.

98 Trumpets, Timpani, should read without dynamic markings.

142-145 ‘Cello/Bass, should read crescendo (hairpin) to $pp$. Viola, should read crescendo (hairpin) to $p$.

156-157 Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, should read without slurs.

175 Timpani, should read without $più f$.

233 Oboe 1, should read $p$.

240* ‘Cello/Bass, $ff$ should be located on second note in the measure.

242-245 Bass, should read as given in Figure 5 (pg. 34).

248 Trumpets, Timpani, should read without $ff$.

254 Oboe 1, should read without $p$. 
Clarinets should be tied/slurred from m. 257 to m. 258. While neither the Autograph nor Stichvorlage give this reading, a slur/tie is given in early manuscript and printed parts.

Clarinets, should read tie/slur from m. 261-262.

Bassoons, are not slurred. Despite Brown’s editorial suggestion, neither the Autograph nor Stichvorlage give slurs and Brown does not provide a source for this suggestion in his commentary.

Trumpets and Timpani should read \textit{p} (267) and \textit{f} (268). The \textit{f} in m. 267 derives from \textit{S} (per Brown), and is therefore a later reading.

Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Timpani, should read \textit{f} (the \textit{ff} clearly stems from \textit{S}). Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Timpani, should not read \textit{staccato} for the same reason.

Viola, should read without tie from m. 272 to m. 273.

Clarinet 1, Bassoons, Horns, should read without \textit{p}.

Trumpets, Timpani, should read without \textit{f}.

Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read as follows:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure16.png}
\caption{Early 1808, Horns, Trumpets and Timpani, 1st mvmt., mm. 282-287. Sources: Data from Brown, \textit{Symphonie Nr.} 5, 12.}
\end{figure}
283-287 Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1. Brown gives an intriguing account of how the reading found in the early manuscript parts may have come to be.\textsuperscript{178}

288 Violin 2, Viola, should read like m. 289. These measures are clearly not \textit{come sopra} in the Autograph and this is confirmed in the early manuscript parts.

290-291 Violin 1, should read as follows:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure17.png}
\caption{Early 1808, Violin 1, 1\textsuperscript{st} mvmt., mm. 290-291. Sources: Data from Brown, \textit{Symphonie Nr. 5}, 12.}
\end{figure}

The Autograph clearly shows that \textit{come sopra} does not begin until m. 292.

300 Violin 2, should read \textit{a}.

311-322* Oboe 1, slurs should extend for sets of two measures, not four.

311-330 Bassoons, slurring here is inconsistent in Autograph and early manuscript parts. Bassoons should certainly slur in four bar groups mm. 323-326, but mm. 311-314, and others in this passage seem to be a later reading.

325-330 Violin 1, The Autograph is unclear in these passages. Del Mar makes a strong argument for the deletion and restitution of mm. 325-326 and 329-330 (Dufner concurs and Brown is silent); nevertheless, all later sources give these bars as rest. Because the

\textsuperscript{178} Brown, \textit{A New Appraisal}, 50.
earliest copies of Violin 1 are missing, a definitive reading in these bars cannot be given.

336-345 Bassoons, should read as ties from mm. 336-339, mm. 340-341, mm. 342-345. Despite Del Mar’s argument against, this is the reading given in the early manuscript parts.

337-345 Viola, slurs should read as follows: mm. 337-338, no slurs; slur over m. 339; slur over mm. 340-341; slur over mm. 342-345.

353* Flute 1, slur should extend over last three eighth-notes of the measure.

375-382 Winds, Brass and Timpani, should read without *sf* and *ff*. These are additions by S and represent a later reading.

386 Flute 1, should read *a-flat³*.

395 Flutes, should read 1-*a-flat³*; 2-*e-flat³*.

396-422 In this passage the only dynamic markings given should be: Flutes (*f*, 396), Viola and ‘Cello (*f*, 398), Bass (*f*, 399). The duration of dynamics are worth considering here.

402, 406 Clarinet 1, Horn 1, should read without slur in these measures. The Autograph and early manuscript parts do not have a slur here. However, Beethoven rewrote this passage several times always intending the same rhythm but at different pitch levels. A slur given for a previously deleted version is visible and one might infer that Beethoven simply forgot to copy it.

421-422 Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1.
422 Horn 2, should read unis. with Horn 1.

423, 425, 427 Tutti Orchestra, Only Violin 1 and 2 should read \textit{sf} in mm.

423/425. All other \textit{sf}'s are later entries by \textit{S} and should be struck.

429-430 Oboe 2, Clarinet 1, should read without ties.

439, 456 Trumpets and Timpani, no dynamic marking should be given here.

440-452 Horns, Trumpets and Timpani, no stacatti should be given.

455 Horns, Horn 1 should have a slur and Horn 2 should not. Though the Autograph does not show any slurs, Beethoven added the Horn 1 slur in his early \textit{Rötel} proofing to the early manuscript parts.

457 Winds and Horns, no \textit{sf} in this bar. The addition is by \textit{S} and belongs to a later reading.

458, 466 Oboe 1, should read without a tie in these measures.

463-464 Winds, Brass and Timpani, only Horns should read \textit{sf} (in both measures). All other dynamic markings in these bars should be struck.

465 Horns, should read without slur in this measure.

467 Trumpets, should read as rest in this measure.

472-475* Winds, slur that begins in this bar should extend to downbeat of m. 475. In the Autograph, m. 475 begins a new page and the slur on the previous page clearly extends beyond the barline. This is confirmed in the early manuscript parts.
‘Cello/Bass, \textit{ff} should be located on second eighth-note of this measure instead of first beat of m. 473.

Trumpets and Timpani, no dynamics should be given here. The addition of \textit{ff} is by \textit{S} and belongs to a later reading.

Timpani, should not read \textit{tenuto}, it was added when the extra measure was inserted.

Violin 2, should read unison with Violin 1 for this bar. Although awkward, this reading is due to the large deletion that Beethoven made following this bar.

Tutti Orchestra, these measures do not belong to this text.

\textbf{Movement 2: Andante con moto}

Flute 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from last beat of m.19 to first beat of m. 20. This is clear in Autograph and the misreading stems from poor copying in these measures by Klumpar, Brown notes that the \textit{come sopra} in mm. 68-69 of the early manuscript parts gives the slur across the barline.

Clarinet, Bassoons, slur from second beat of mm. 23/25 to first beat of mm. 24/26. Beethoven’s slurs are unclear in the Autograph but this reading is given in the early manuscript parts and in the First Edition Parts.

Clarinet, ‘Cello, Bass, Timpani, no staccato marks. Brown only gives this as editorial suggestion based upon context.
Oboes, Horns, Trumpets, the staccato mark on the last note of the bar is found only in early manuscript Oboe part, but is in Beethoven’s hand. Brown suggests this marking disambiguates the passage from its prior slurred counterpart to the performer.

Timpani, *sf* should appear on second note in these measures, not the first note.

Violin 2, Viola, no slur between measures 41-42. Violin 2, a tie between mm. 43-44 is given based upon analogous reading in mm. 92-93.

Violin 2, a slur from m. 44 to m. 47 is given by in *Rötel* by Beethoven in the early manuscript parts.

Violin 1, should slur to m. 48. Slurs from m. 47 to m. 48 are clear in the Autograph but not translated to the early parts; Violin 1, Bassoon 2 and ‘Cello/Bass clearly slur to m. 48 (pace Del Mar) and the analogous passage mm. 96-97 shows Bassoon 1 slur across the barline. Only Del Mar reports that the slur from m. 47 is “taken in all later sources as extending to 48.”

Clarinet 1, no slur from mm. 53-54 and in m. 55. Del Mar makes a convincing argument, noting the absence of the slur in early manuscript parts and its absence in the analogous passage, m. 102.

Oboes, should read eighth-note followed by two eighth-rests.

179. Del Mar, *Critical Commentary*, 47.
57-59 Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1 beginning on second sixteenth-note of m. 57.

65-71 Autograph reads come sopra (mm. 16-22) for all voices except Violin 1. Readings given above for these bars apply here.

72-75* Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from second beat of mm. 72/74 to first beat of mm. 73/75. Again, neither source is clear, but the slurs extend well beyond the final notes of the bar (mm. 72/74) in the Autograph implying this reading.

73-75 Viola, thirty-second-notes should be slurred in groups of four.

75-77 Violin 1, slurs only on last two notes of mm. 75, 76. An analogous slur is implied in m. 77 from the Flute, Oboe and Bassoon slurs shown in the Autograph.

78-85 Autograph reads come sopra (mm. 29-36) for all winds, brass and Timpani. Readings given above for these bars apply here.

93-96 Violin 2, Viola, should have slur extending from m. 93 to m. 96. See note on mm. 44-47 above.

97 ‘Cello, strike ff, no dynamic given on the second note in Autograph, early manuscript parts, or First Edition Parts.

104 Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no slur within the bar. It can be inferred from the Flute 1 slur which is correct, but no sources show a systematic correct reading here.

120 Horn 2, first note should read g'.

123 Bassoon 2, should be unis. with Bassoon 1; e-flat'.
127-128* Clarinet 1, m. 127 slur should only extend over last 2 notes of the measure. A staccato marking should appear on the first note of m. 128.

129-130 Bassoon 1, m. 129 slur should extend from third beat of the measure to first beat of m. 130. A staccato marking should appear on the first note of m. 130.

142* Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, cresc. should extend from prior measures to third note of m. 142. This reading is clear and consistent in early manuscript parts.

157-159 Violin 1, Viola, slurs on third beat should only extend to following first beat in across the m. 157/158 barline.

176 Tutti Orchestra, no staccato marks. These markings only appear in sources derived from Stichvorlage.

185-190 Flute 2, Clarinet 2, Bassoon 2, these bars should read as rests. Unis. is added later in early manuscript parts by Klumpar and added to the Autograph by Beethoven with the marking Nb., which denotes a later proofing.

187-188 Flute 1, Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, slurs in mm. 187-188 should be struck.

188-190 Oboe 2, no slurs. Flute 1, Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, no slurs in mm. 189-190.

192 Viola, no e-flat in first chord.

193 Flute 1, first note should be eighth-note.
Oboes, first note m. 194 should read $e^\flat/c$ for Oboe 1 and 2 respectively. This is an earlier version of Autograph, confirmed in early manuscript parts. Oboe 2 from third beat of m. 194-199 should read unis. with Oboe 1.

Violin 2, should read as follows:

![Figure 18. Early 1808, Violin 2, 2nd mvmt., m. 204. Source: Data from Dufner, Studienpartitur, 34.]

The Autograph is unclear, the earliest manuscript part is missing and none of the editors report the contents of the duplir parts. Therefore, the reading is given as shown in the Autograph.

Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no staccato marking given in the sources for this text.

Horn 2, should read $g^2$.

Clarinet 1, rest on third beat should read $a^1$. Clarinet 2, beat 2 should include $f$. Oboes should read $f$ not $ff$.

Bassoons, should read as shown:

![Figure 19. Early 1808, Bassoons, 2nd mvmt., mm. 225-225. Source: Data from Dufner, Studienpartitur, 35.]

Beethoven clearly deletes a first version of mm. 225-226 in the Autograph and inserts a new version on the following page,
which for the Bassoons begins with rests. I concur with Brown’s logic that Beethoven forgot to remove the Bassoons in m. 224.

All three editors come to different solutions for this problematic passage. This reading is a literal reproduction of the Autograph, early manuscript parts, and First Edition Parts.

225-226 Violins, Viola, slurring is inconsistent in these measures and a reading cannot be ascertained.

229-233 Clarinets and Bassoons, m. 229, slur from third beat to end of m. 230; m. 231, slur extends over third beat and not to first note of m. 231. The Autograph is difficult to read in m. 230 because there is some variety to the color of ink on the page. Del Mar demonstrates that no clear reading for consistency between Bassoon and Clarinet ever develops in this passage.

233-234 Violin 1, slur from third beat of m. 233 to first beat of m. 234. Clearly given this way in Autograph.

234-235* Violin 2, slur from third beat of m. 234 to first beat of m. 235. There are no slurs in the Autograph, but all other voices clearly slur/tie over this barline. This reading is based on previous measure Violin 1 and all following measures in Viola, ‘Cello/Bass.

238-239* Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, slur from third beat of m. 238 to first note of m. 239. This reading is clear in all early sources except the
Autograph, which shows the slur extending well beyond the last note of m. 238.

240
Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read without $f$. Only later added to early manuscript parts by S.

240*
Viola, last 2 sixteenth-notes should read $c, e_{flat}'$, unison with Violins. While the Autograph shows a different reading, all the other early sources show this reading.

244
Oboe 2, last note should read $g'$. The $b_{flat}'$ entered into the early manuscript parts derives from a later source.

Movement 3: Allegro

4/238-239
Tutti Orchestra, a repeat within this movement is established in the early manuscript parts, which give the repeat written out in full (i.e., 612 measures, no repeat signs). Measures 238-477 were retracted later (Brown, Del Mar and Dufner all give their own accounts), but it is certainly established for this earliest reading. There is no easy way to alter the urtext editions to give the reading as it was first established (adding 240 measures to give the repeat in full seems impractical). The following shows how to alter Del Mar to make this text possible (Dufner and Brown give it as an option).
1) All voices resting will need to alter their rests as follows:

a) At the opening of the movement, the following changes to the rests should be made (up to either the first fermata or an instrument’s first entrance):

Figure 20. Early 1808, 3rd mvmt., mm. 1-8. 
Source, Data from Dufner, Studienpartitur, 37.
b) At m. 237, the following changes to the rests should be made (up to either the first fermata or an instrument’s first entrance):

Figure 21. *Early 1808, 3rd mvmt., mm. 237-244.*
*Source:* Data from Dufner, *Studienpartitur*, 47.
2) ‘Cello/Bass will need to insert the following in their parts:

a) A repeat sign should be inserted in m. 4 as shown:

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{repeat_sign.png}
\end{center}

Figure 22. Early 1808, 3rd mvmt., mm. 1-4, ‘Cello/Bass.
Source: Dufner, Studienpartitur, 37.

b) The following figure should be inserted at m. 237:

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure23.png}
\end{center}

Figure 23. Early 1808, 3rd mvmt., mm. 237-239b, ‘Cello/Bass.
Source: Dufner, Studienpartitur, 47.

13 ‘Cello/Bass, should read $sf$ with diminuendo hairpin for the duration of the measure. The insertion of a $p$ seems likely to have been entered later, after the repeat was deleted.\(^{180}\)

27-31 Flutes, should read in octaves as Violin 1. This reading is clear in the early manuscript parts.

38 Clarinets, should read $g^1(1)$ and $e^1(2)$ dotted-half-notes. Though the Autograph is nearly illegible, Clive Brown provided scans of the early manuscript parts which show this reading.

---

\(^{180}\) Brown, A New Appraisal, 78.
Flutes, Oboes, should read \textit{sf} on the third beat. Though unconvincing, shown in early manuscript parts. In the Autograph \textit{sf} only appears on the third beat in the Clarinet/Bassoon voice and is possibly an error of Klumpp. Confirmed in the analogous passage later.

Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, should read without \textit{sf}.

Bassoon 2, no tie across this barline. Matches Horns at mm. 7-8 and ‘Cello/Bass in mm. 51-52.

‘Cello/Bass, slur from m. 55 ends on first note of m. 56 and new slur begins on same note (first note of m. 56). There is some disagreement between the editors on this slur over the exact reading in the early manuscript parts. But the reading given here (and by Brown) is confirmed in the Stichvorlage giving credence to the reading.

Winds, Brass, Timpani, only Flutes should read \textit{ff}. This is very clear in the Autograph and the addition of this marking to Brass/Timpani is by S and a later reading.

Strings, only Violin 1 should read \textit{ff}. This is very clear in the Autograph and confirmed in early manuscript parts.

Trumpets, should read \textit{p} without \textit{dimin.}, as given in the Autograph and early manuscript parts.

‘Cello, third note might read \textit{pizz}. This is not given in the Autograph but is given in the early manuscript parts. It is
impossible to ascertain to which of the Viennese texts this 
reading belongs.

111 Bassoons, \( p \) should be struck. It is not present in the Autograph 
and is added to the early manuscript parts by Beethoven later 
(part of an assumed later proofing since not in \( Rötel \)).

114 Viola, no slur in this measure. The slur was added after the \textit{duplir} 
were made and must be a later addition.

115-116 Violins, Viola, no staccato markings.

114-130 ‘Cello, Bassoons, slur begins on last note of m. 114 and 
continues, unbroken, until the last note of m. 130.

131 Flutes, rest on first beat; second and third beats as given. 
Beethoven’s addition of the notes on first beat is clearly shown as 
a later addition in darker ink in the Autograph.

154* Violin 1, should read \textit{ff}.

157 Flute 1, should read \textit{ff}.

157-158* Oboes, should read \textit{f} in both measures.

158, 160 Bassoon 1, should read \( d^1 \) in m. 158 and \textit{b-flat} in m. 160.

158 Horns, no dynamic marking should be given.

161 ‘Cello/Bass, no dynamic marking should be given.

169 Viola, no dynamic marking should be given.

181 Trumpets, Timpani, no dynamic marking should be given.

181-183 Oboe 2, should rest from third beat of m. 181 to second beat of 
m. 183.
Horns, should read $d'$.  
Horns, no dynamic marking should be given.  
Oboe 1, should read slur across barline. No slurs for Clarinets and Bassoons.  
Bassoons, ties should read mm. 218-219, mm. 220-223. Beethoven and Klumpar’s markings in the early manuscript parts are conflicting here and this reading is given based upon Beethoven’s Rötel in Bassoon 1.  
Oboes, Clarinets, slur should end at on first note of m. 224. The markings are inconsistent in all contemporary sources.  
Horn 1, no slur to m. 242. Clarinet 2, no slur to m. 242. Bassoon 2, should read dotted half-note (m. 241) tied to quarter-note (m. 242).  
Violin 2, Viola, no dynamic marking should be given.  
Violin 2, Viola, ‘Cello, no dynamic marking should be given.  
Viola, should read \textit{sempre pianissimo}.  
Bassoon 1, should read $p$.  
‘Cello, should read rest on third beat.  
Horn 1, should read $p$. Brown is incorrect, the Autograph clearly gives this reading.  
Oboe 1, likely reads $p$. The Autograph gives no marking here and the \textit{pp} given in the early manuscript parts is by $S$. This reading is inferred from Horn 1 in m. 286.
289* All Strings, only Viola should read *sempre pp.*

293 Bassoon 1, first note should read $f'$ as given by Klumpar in the early manuscript parts. The Autograph does not clarify here, as there is no clear ledger line upon which to base a reading of $a\text{-}flat'$.

295 Horn 1, should read *pp.*

324 Timpani, should read *pp.*

336* Violin 2, should read *pp* only.

337 Violin 1, Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, Timpani, *sempre pp* should be located in this bar.

366 Bassoons, should might read c and c$'$ from m. 339. The reading in the Autograph and early manuscript parts is difficult to ascertain with certainty.

369-370 Oboe 1, reading should include tie across the barline.

Movement 4: *Allegro*

The earliest manuscript Contra-bassoon part is missing. Therefore, readings are almost always based upon ‘Cello/Bass entries in this text.

The issue of slurs over the triplets in this movement is an unsolvable problem.

See Del Mar’s discussion on pg. 67 of his commentary.

1 Tutti Orchestra, no staccato marks are given in this text.

6 Bassoon 2, last three notes should read as rests.

17 Piccolo, Flutes, Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Violin 1, staccato marks are only given for Piccolo, Flutes and Violin 1.
Piccolo, Flutes, Oboes, Violin 1, slurs should read as follows:

![Figure 24. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 18-21. Source: Dufner, Studienpartitur, 55.](image)

Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, slurs should extend from second note of mm. 26, 30 to last note of mm. 27, 31.

Contrabass, Contrabassoon, passage should read as follows:

![Figure 25. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., m. 32. Source: Data from Dufner, Studienpartitur, 57.](image)

Bassoon 1, half note on first beat should be tied to quarter note on third beat.

Violin 2, 1st note should read g².

Bassoon 1, slurs should extend over the entire measure.

Tutti Orchestra, ff only given for Violin 1. Viola, should read sf on fifth note of the measure. No other dynamic markings given for the measure.

Bassoon 2, seventh note of the measure should read e¹.

Horns, tie should extend from m. 45-46.

Flute 2, should read b².

‘Cello/Bass, Contra-bassoon, no slur should be given over the triplets.
Tutti Orchestra, should read slur over triplets on last beat of the measure. While Beethoven’s markings in the Autograph are clearly entered to clarify that these are triplets and not slurred. It seems to have always been translated as a slur in all historical texts.

Winds, Brass, Timpani, no dynamics should be given.

Bassoon 2, should read $d^i$.

Oboes, Bassoons, No slur should extend from mm. 55-56. A tie/slur should extend from mm. 56-57.

Timpani, should read as m. 58.

Flute 2, should read $a^2$.

Tutti Orchestra, should read without staccato markings. Beethoven only marked this in one of the early manuscript parts and they are found nowhere else in the sources.

Clarinets, Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello, slurs extend from quarter-note on fourth beat to the second quarter-note of the following measure.

Violin 1, slurs should extend only to the last sixteenth-note of the measures.

Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello, no portato markings are given in this text for Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, or ‘Cello. Viola only reads portato in m. 67. Brown’s testimony on this passage in unclear, the Autograph only gives portato for Viola in
m. 67, so we are left to assume that some parts, but not the early manuscript wind parts, include the portato in this passage. In the Stichvorlage, the portato seems to have been added later and on this basis it is excluded from the earliest text.

68* Clarinet 2, Bassoon 1, no *sf* is given in any text after the Autograph.

68 Violin 2, should read *sfp* in this measure.

70* Clarinet 1, Viola, ‘Cello, slur should read from first note of the measure. Oboe 1, Bassoons, slur should read from second note of the measure.

74 Tutti Orchestra, only Violins read *sf*.

85a Clarinet 2, last two notes should read *b* and *g*.

85b Trumpets, should read as rest for the duration of the measure.

89* Bassoon 1, last note should read *b*.

90 Piccolo, no reading here may be ascertained. None of the editors report on the status of the triplet slurs for the piccolo in the early manuscript parts.

91-95* Viola, ‘Cello, slurs should extend from last note of m. 91 to first note of m. 93 and last note of m. 93 to first note of m. 95.

96-99 Violins, Viola, slurs should extend from first note of m. 96 to first note of m. 97. In m. 98 slurs should only extend to second half-note of the measure and not to the first note of m. 99.
102-103* Violin 2, no historical text gives a tie from fourth quarter-note of m. 102 to first note of m. 103.

103* Bassoon 1, no slur should extend over the triplet.

103-104 Oboe 1, no slurs.

107 Viola, no dynamic marking should be given.

108* Violin 2, first note should read a.

112-116* ‘Cello, no slurs should extend over the triplets in these measures.

118-119 Flutes, Oboes, Bassoons, only Oboes should slur from last beat of m. 118 to end of m. 119. Flutes and Bassoons slur extends only the duration of m. 119 with no slurs in m. 118.

118 Violins, no staccato marking on last note of this measure.

118-119 ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, should read tie from last note of m. 118 to m. 119.

121* Bassoons, no slur or staccato marking in this measure.

122* Horn 1 and 2, should read c² and c'.

122-123* Tutti Strings, più f, for Violins should be located in m. 122 between first and second notes; for Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-bassoon should be located on second note in m. 123.

128, 129* Trombone 3, should read e-flat.

134* Piccolo, no slur.

146-149 Violin 2, should read as follows:

Figure 26. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 146-149.
Source: Data from Brown, A New Appraisal, 98.
175-183 Oboe 1, no slurs should be given, only the ties between g’s.
184-206 Clarinets, should read $f'\text{1}(1)$ and $d'\text{1}(2)$ in mm. 184-197 and mm. 200-206. In mm. 198-199, they should read $d'\text{1}(1)$ and $b(2)$.
203-204 ‘Cello, both measures should read as rests.
208-231 Tutti Orchestra, written as *come sopra* in the Autograph. All comments for mm. 2-25 apply to mm. 208-231.
232-238 See comment on corresponding mm. 26-32.
234-235* ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, staccato markings should appear on all separated eighth-notes.
238 See note on corresponding passage in m. 32.
240-241 Trombone 2, should read $c'$. 
242 Violins, slur begins on the second note of the measure.
247-249 Horns and Trumpets, should read ties from m. 247 to m. 249.
250-251 Flute 1, should read tie between last note of m. 250 and first note of m. 251.
250 Bassoon 2, first note should read $d'$. 
253-254 Violins, Viola, a decision regarding slurs over the triplets here can only be made based upon inference from the corollary passage (mm. 44-45).
253* Bassoons, should read as rests in this measure.
257 See note to m. 48.
257-258 Flutes, should read as follows:

![Flute谱](image)

**Figure 27. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 257-258.**  
*Source: Data from Del Mar, Symphony No. 5, 96.*

258 Tutti Winds, no staccato markings in this measure. Brown infers them from Beethoven’s marking in only the Oboe 1 part. As Del Mar asserts, this is “too isolated to be convincing.”

260-261* Viola, no tie from m. 260 to m. 261. First note of m. 261 should read $f^1$.

262-263 Bassoons, no slur across the barline. Slur should extend from first to last note of m. 263. Viola, no tie from m. 262 to m. 263.

267 Flutes, should read as follows:

![Flute谱](image)

**Figure 28. Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 267.**  
*Source: Data from Del Mar, Symphony No. 5, 98.*

267 Timpani, should read sixteenth-notes throughout the measure.

273-278 See notes on the corollary passage at mm. 64-69.

279 Oboe 1, slur should extend from second note of m. 279 into the next measure.
287-288 Trumpets, should read as rest for all of m. 287 and first quarter-note of m. 288.

289 Timpani, should read G quarter-note on first beat of the measure.

290-291 Note of clarification: ties do not apply to Flute 2, Oboe 2, Clarinet 2, Bassoon 2.

296 Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read f.

299-302* Flute 1, Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no slurs in these measures.

319 Horns, should read e'.

321-322 Flute 1, slur should not begin in m. 321, but on the first note of m. 322. This is the literal reading given by Klumpar in the early parts, despite the Autograph which clearly shows a slur (doesn’t seem to have been added later) beginning in m. 321.

322-326 Viola, slurs should only extend for the duration of each individual measure.

325 Piccolo, should read without cresc. and without slur into m. 326.

327* Bassoon 2, should read rest for first quarter-note of the measure.

‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, slur should extend from first note of the measure.

328 Violin 2, the earliest version of this measure is so obliterated in the Autograph that a clear reading is impossible.

328 Viola, should read only f on third beat.

329 Piccolo, no staccato markings in this measure.

336 Piccolo, Oboe 1, Horns, should read e'.
341 Bassoons, should read *p cresc.*

353 Bassoon 1, first note should read *c*. Oboe 1, second note should read *c*².

353 Tutti Orchestra, tempo direction should read *sempre più allo.*

351-357 Trumpets, Timpani, should read as follows:

Figure 29. *Early 1808, 4th mvmt., mm. 351-357.*

378 Trumpets, Timpani, should read without *p*.

440 Trombone 2, should read *c*⁰.

444 Timpani, should read as whole-note with *tr.*
Vienna—Premiere—Late 1808

Metronome markings do not belong to this text.

Movement 1: *Allegro con brio*

12-13  Viola, should read slur from m. 12 to m. 13.

56  Flute 1, should read $g$-$flat^3$.

83  Horns, should read without $p$.

83-92*  Clarinet 1, should tie from m. 83 to m. 92.

94-95*  Trumpets, should read rests for both measures. Per Brown, Klumpar copied these measures as rests due to an error by Beethoven in the Autograph. The error was reproduced in all historical texts.

97  Clarinet 1, reads $b$-$flat'$ in both Autograph and manuscript parts.

98  Trumpets, Timpani, should read without dynamic markings.

142-145  ‘Cello/Bass, should read crescendo (hairpin) to $pp$. Viola, should read crescendo (hairpin) to $p$.

156-157  Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, should read without slurs.

175  Timpani, should read without $più f$.

233  Oboe 1, should read $p$.

240*  ‘Cello/Bass, $ff$ should be located on second note in the measure.

242-245  Bass, should read as given in Figure 5 (pg. 34).

248  Trumpets, Timpani, should read without $ff$.

254  Oboe 1, should read without $p$. 
257-258*  Clarinets should be tied/slurred from m. 257 to m. 258. While neither the Autograph nor Stichvorlage give this reading, a slur/tie is given in early manuscript and printed parts.

261-262*  Clarinets, should read tie/slur from mm. 261-262.

262-267*  Bassoons, are not slurred. Despite Brown’s editorial suggestion, neither the Autograph nor Stichvorlage give slurs and Brown does not provide a source for this suggestion in his commentary.

267-268  Trumpets and Timpani should read $p$ (267) and $f$ (268). The $f$ in m. 267 derives from $S$ (per Brown), and is therefore a later reading.

268  Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Timpani, should read $f$ (the $ff$ clearly stems from $S$). Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Timpani, should not read staccato for the same reason.

272-273  Viola, should read without tie from m. 272 to m. 273.

274-275*  Clarinet 1, Bassoons, Horns, should read without $p$.

278  Trumpets, Timpani, should read without $f$.

282-287  Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read as given in Figure 16 (pg. 74).

283-287  Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1. See note on these measures in Early 1808.

288  Violin 2, Viola, should read like m. 289. These measures are clearly not come sopra in the Autograph and this is confirmed in the early manuscript parts.
Violin 1, should read as shown in Figure 17 (pg. 75).

The Autograph clearly shows that *come sopra* does not begin until m. 292.

Violin 2, should read *a*.

Oboe 1, slurs should extend for sets of two measures, not four.

Bassoons, slurring here is inconsistent in Autograph and early manuscript parts. Bassoons should certainly slur in four bar groups mm. 323-326, but mm. 311-314, and others in this passage seem to be a later reading.

Violin 1, The Autograph is unclear in these passages. Del Mar makes a strong argument for the deletion and restitution of mm. 325-326 and 329-330 (Dufner concurs and Brown is silent); nevertheless, all later sources give these bars as rest. Because the earliest copies of Violin 1 are missing, a definitive reading in these bars cannot be given.

Bassoons, should read as ties from mm. 336-339, mm. 340-341, mm. 342-345. Despite Del Mar’s argument against, this is the reading given in the early manuscript parts.

Viola, slurs should read as follows: slur over m. 337; slur over m. 338; slur over mm. 339-340; slur over m. 341; slur over mm. 342-345.

Flute 1, slur should extend over last three eighth-notes of the measure.
Winds, Brass and Timpani, should read without \textit{sf} and \textit{ff}. These are additions by \textit{S} and represent a later reading.

Flute 1, should read \textit{a-flat}$^3$, Beethoven’s \textit{Rotel} in the Autograph could be a later correction, though both he and Klumpar seem to be making simple errors with ledger lines.

Flutes, should read \textit{1-a-flat}$^3$; \textit{2-e-flat}$^3$ as given in early manuscript parts.

In this passage the only dynamic markings given should be: Flutes \textit{(f, 396)}, Viola and ‘Cello \textit{(f, 398)}, Bass \textit{(f, 399)}. The duration of dynamics are worth considering here. Depending upon how long one considers the \textit{ff} (m. 390), this may have more meaning.

Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1.

Horn 2, should read unis. with Horn 1.

Tutti Orchestra, Only Violin 1 and 2 should read \textit{sf} in m. 423 and m. 425. All other \textit{sf}'s are later entries by \textit{S} and should be struck.

Oboe 2, Clarinet 1, should read without ties.

Trumpets and Timpani, no dynamic marking should be given here.

Horns, Trumpets and Timpani, no stacatti should be given.

Horns, Horn 1 should have a slur and Horn 2 should not. Though the Autograph does not show any slurs, Beethoven added the
Horn 1 slur in his early Rötel proofing to the early manuscript parts.

457 Winds and Horns, no sf in this bar. The addition is by S and belongs to a later reading.

458, 466 Oboe 1, should read without a tie in these measures.

463-464 Winds, Brass and Timpani, only Horns should read sf (in both measures). All other markings in these bars should be struck.

465 Horns, should read without slur in this measure.

467 Trumpets, should read as rest in this measure.

472-475* Winds, slur that begins in this bar should extend to downbeat of m. 475. In the Autograph, m. 475 begins a new page and the slur on the previous page clearly extends beyond the barline. This is confirmed in the early manuscript parts.

478 ‘Cello/Bass, ff should be located on second eighth-note of this measure instead of first beat of m. 473.

478 Trumpets and Timpani, no dynamics should be given here. The addition of ff is by S and belongs to a later reading.

482 Timpani, should read tenuto.

499 Violin 2, should read as follows:

![Figure 30. Late 1808, 1st mvmt., m. 499.](source: Data from Del Mar, Symphony No. 5, 24.)
Movement 2: *Andante con moto*

19-20 Flute 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from last beat of m. 19 to first beat of m. 20. This is clear in Autograph and the misreading stems from poor copying in these measures by Klumpar, Brown notes that the *come sopra* in mm. 68-69 of the early manuscript parts gives the slur across the barline.

23-26* Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from second beat of mm. 23/25 to first beat of mm. 24/26. Beethoven’s slurs are unclear in the Autograph but this reading is given in the early manuscript parts and in the First Edition Parts.

30 Clarinets, ‘Cello, Bass, Timpani, no staccato marks. Brown only gives this as editorial suggestion based upon context.

31 Oboes, Horns, Trumpets, the staccato mark on the last note of the bar is found only in early manuscript Oboe part, but is in Beethoven’s hand. Brown suggests this marking disambiguates the passage from its prior slurred counterpart to the performer.

35* Timpani, *sf* should appear on second note in these measures, not the first note.

41-44 Violin 2, Viola, no slur between mm. 41-42. Violin 2, no tie is given between mm. 43-44 is given based upon analogous reading in mm. 92-93.

44-47 Violin 2, slur should extend from m. 44 to m. 45.
47-48* Violin 1, should slur to m. 48. See comment on these measures in *Early 1808*.

53-55 Clarinet 1, no slur from mm. 53-54 and in m. 55. Del Mar makes a convincing argument, noting the absence of the slur in early manuscript parts and its absence in the analogous passage, m. 102.

57 Oboes, should read eighth-note followed by two eighth-rests.

57-59 Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1 beginning on second sixteenth-note of m. 57.

65-71 Autograph reads *come sopra* (mm. 16-22) for all voices except Violin 1. Readings given above for these bars apply here.

72-75* Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from second beat of mm. 72/74 to first beat of mm. 73/75. Again, neither source is clear, but the slurs extend well beyond the final notes of the bar (mm. 72/74) in the Autograph implying this reading.

73-75 Viola, thirty-second-notes should be slurred in groups of four.

75-77 Violin 1, slurs only on last two notes of mm. 75, 76. An analogous slur is implied in m. 77 from the Flute, Oboe and Bassoon slurs shown in the Autograph.

78-85 Autograph reads *come sopra* (mm. 29-36) for all winds, brass and Timpani. Readings given above for these bars apply here.

93-96 Violin 2, Viola, see note on mm. 44-47 above.
‘Cello, strike **ff**, no dynamic given on the second note in Autograph, early manuscript parts, or First Edition Parts.

Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no slur within the bar. See note on these measures in *Early 1808*.

Horn 2, first note should read *g*.

Bassoon 2, should be unis. with Bassoon 1; *e-flat*.

Clarinet 1, m. 127 slur should only extend over last 2 notes of the measure. A staccato marking should appear on the first note of m. 128.

Bassoon 1, m. 129 slur should extend from third beat of the measure to first beat of m. 130. A staccato marking should appear on the first note of m. 130.

Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, cres. should extend from prior measures to third note of m. 142. This reading is clear and consistent in early manuscript parts.

Violin 1, Viola, slurs on third beat should only extend to following first beat in across the m. 157/158 barline.

Tutti Orchestra, no staccato marks. These markings only appear in sources derived from *Stichvorlage*.

Flute 1, Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, slurs in mm. 187-188 should be struck.

Oboe 2, no slurs. Flute 1, Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, no slurs in mm. 189-190.
192 Viola, no e-flat in first chord.

193 Flute 1, first note should be eighth-note.

204* Violin 2, should read as given in Figure 18 (pg. 82). See comment to these measures in *Early 1808*.

210-212 Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no staccato marking given in the sources for this text.

216 Horn 2, should read g².

218 Clarinet 1, rest on third beat should read a¹. Clarinet 2, second beat should include f. Oboes should read f not ff.

224-225* Bassoons, should read as given in Figure 19 (pg. 82). See comment to these measures in *Early 1808*.

225-226 Violins, Viola, slurring is inconsistent in these measures and a reading cannot be ascertained.

229-233 Clarinets and Bassoons, m. 229, slur from third beat to end of m. 230; m. 231, slur extends over third beat and not to first note of m. 231. See note regarding these measures in *Early 1808*.

233-234 Violin 1, slur from third beat of m. 233 to first beat of m. 234. Clearly given this way in Autograph.

238-239* Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, slur from third beat of m. 238 to first note of m. 239. This reading is clear in all early sources except the Autograph, which shows the slur extending well beyond the last note of m. 238.
Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read without $f$. Only later added to early manuscript parts by S.

Viola, last 2 sixteenth-notes should read $c$, e-$\flat_1$, unison with Violins. While the Autograph shows a different reading, all the other early sources show this reading.

Oboe 2, last note should read $g^1$. The $b-$flat$^1$ entered into the early manuscript parts derives from a later source.

Movement 3: Allegro

Tutti Orchestra, a repeat within this movement is established in the early manuscript parts. See the note on these measures in Early 1808. Figures 20, 21, 22, and 23 (pgs. 85-87) show how to alter Del Mar to make this text possible (Dufner and Brown give it as an option).

‘Cello/Bass, should read $sf$ with diminuendo hairpin for the duration of the measure. See the note on this measures in Early 1808.

Flutes, should read in octaves as Violin 1. This reading is clear in the early manuscript parts.

Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, should read without $sf$.

Bassoon 2, no tie across this barline. Matches Horns at mm. 7-8 and ‘Cello/Bass in mm. 51-52.
55-56  ‘Cello/Bass, slur from m. 55 ends on first note of m. 56 and new
       slur begins on same note (first note of m. 56). See note on these
       measures in Early 1808.

79    Winds, Brass, Timpani, only Flutes should read ff. This is very
       clear in the Autograph and the addition of this marking to
       Brass/Timpani is by S and a later reading.

83    Strings, only Violin 1 should read ff. This is very clear in the
       Autograph and confirmed in early manuscript parts.

96    Trumpets, should read p without dimin., as given in the
       Autograph and early manuscript parts.

104, 108  ‘Cello, third note might read pizz. It is impossible to ascertain to
          which of the Viennese texts this reading belongs.

111   Bassoons, should read p. It is not present in the Autograph, but
       was added to the early manuscript parts by Beethoven later (part
       of an assumed later proofing since not in Rötel).

114   Viola, no slur in this measure. The slur was added after the duplir
       were made and must be a later addition.

115-116 Violins, Viola, no staccato markings.

114-130 ‘Cello, Bassoons, slur begins on last note of m. 114 and
       continues, unbroken, until the last note of m. 130.

131   Flutes, rest on first beat; second and third beats as given.
       Beethoven’s addition of the notes on beat 1 is clearly shown as a
       later addition that never became part of the Vienna texts.
154* Violin 1, should read **ff**.

157 Flute 1, should read **ff**.

157-158* Oboes, should read **f** in both measures.

158, 160 Bassoon 1, should read **d^1** in m. 158 and **b-flat** in m. 160.

158 Horns, no dynamic marking should be given.

161 ‘Cello/Bass, no dynamic marking should be given.

169 Viola, no dynamic marking should be given.

181 Trumpets, Timpani, no dynamic marking should be given.

181-183 Oboe 2, should rest from third beat of m. 181 to second beat of m. 183.

186 Horns, should read **d^1**.

188 Horns, no dynamic marking should be given.

213-214* Oboe 1, should read slur across barline. No slurs for Clarinets and Bassoons.

218-224 Bassoons, ties should read m. 218-219, 220-223. Beethoven and Klumpar’s markings in the early manuscript parts are conflicting here and this reading is given based upon Beethoven’s **Rötel** in Bassoon 1.

223-224 Oboes, Clarinets, slur should end at on first note of m. 224. The markings are inconsistent in all contemporary sources.

241-242 Horn 1, no slur to m. 242. Clarinet 2, no slur to m. 242. Bassoon 2, should read dotted half-note (m. 241) tied to quarter-note (m. 242).
Violin 2, Viola, no dynamic marking should be given.

Violin 2, Viola, ‘Cello, no dynamic marking should be given.

Viola, should read *sempre pianissimo*.

Bassoon 1, first read *p* and then *pp*. It is impossible to tell if this change belongs to *Vienna—Q & S* or this text.

‘Cello, could read rest on third beat. It is impossible to tell if this change belongs to *Vienna—Q & S* or this text.

Horn 1, first read *p* and then *pp*. The likely reading here is *p* based upon the evidence of *S*’s addition of *pp* for Oboe 1 in the following measure.

Oboe 1, likely reads *p*. The Autograph gives no marking here and the *pp* given in the early manuscript parts is by *S*. This reading is inferred from Horn 1 in m. 286.

All Strings, only Viola should read *sempre pp*.

Bassoon 1, first note should read *f/^1/ as given by Klumpar in the early manuscript parts. The Autograph does not clarify here, as there is no clear ledger line upon which to base a reading of *a-flat/^1/.*

Horn 1, should read *pp*.

Timpani, should read *pp*.

Violin 2, should read *pp* only.

Violin 2, should read *pp* only.
Violin 1, Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, Timpani, _sempre pp_ should be located in this bar.

Oboe 1, reading should include tie across the barline.

**Movement 4: Allegro**

The earliest manuscript Contra-bassoon part is missing. Therefore, readings are almost always based upon ‘Cello/Bass entries in this text.

The issue of slurs over the triplets in this movement is an unsolvable problem.

See Del Mar’s discussion on pg. 67 of his commentary.

1  Tutti Orchestra, no staccato marks are given in the sources for this text.

6  Bassoon 2, last three notes should read as rests.

17  Piccolo, Flutes, Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Violin 1, staccato marks are only given for Piccolo, Flutes and Violin 1.

18-21*  Piccolo, Flutes, Oboes, Violin 1, slurs should read as given in Figure 24 (pg. 92).

26-28, 30-32  Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, slurs should extend from second note of mm. 26, 30 to last note of mm. 27, 31.

32  Contrabass, Contrabassoon, passage should read as given in Figure 25 (pg. 92).

35, 37  Bassoon 1, half note on first beat should be tied to quarter note on third beat.

38  Violin 2, first note should read g².

39-40  Bassoon 1, slurs should extend over the entire measure.
Tutti Orchestra, **ff** only given for Violin 1. Viola, should read **sf** on fifth note of the measure. No other dynamic markings given for the measure.

Bassoon 2, seventh note of the measure should read **e'**.

Horns, tie should extend from mm. 45-46.

Flute 2, should read **b^2**.

‘Cello/Bass, Contra-bassoon, no slur should be given over the triplets.

Tutti Orchestra, should read slur over triplets on last beat of the measure. While Beethoven’s markings in the Autograph are clearly entered to clarify that these are triplets and not slurred. It seems to have always been translated as a slur in all historical texts.

Winds, Brass, Timpani, no dynamics should be given.

Bassoon 2, should read **d'**.

Oboes, Bassoons, No slur should extend from mm. 55-56. A tie/slur should extend from mm. 56-57.

Timpani, should read as m. 58.

Flute 2, should read **a^2**.

Tutti Orchestra, should read without staccato markings. Beethoven only marked this in one of the early manuscript parts and they are found nowhere else in the sources.
Clarinet, Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello, slurs extend from quarter-note on fourth beat to the second quarter-note of the following measure.

Violin 1, slurs should extend only to the last sixteenth-note of the measures.

Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello, no portato markings are given in this text for Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, or ‘Cello. Viola only reads portato in m. 67. See note on these measures in *Early 1808*.

Clarinet 2, Bassoon 1, no *sf* is given in any text after the Autograph.

Violin 2, should read *sfp* in this measure.

Clarinet 1, Viola, ‘Cello, slur should read from first note of the measure. Oboe 1, Bassoons, slur should read from second note of the measure.

Tutti Orchestra, only Violins read *sf*.

Clarinet 2, last two notes should read *b* and *g*.

Trumpets, should read as rest for the duration of the measure.

Bassoon 1, last note should read *b*.

Piccolo, no reading here may be ascertained. None of the editors report on the status of the triplet slurs for the piccolo in the early manuscript parts.
91-95* Viola, ‘Cello, slurs should extend from last note of m. 91 to first note of m. 93 and last note of m. 93 to first note of m. 95.

96-99 Violins, Viola, slurs should extend from first note of m. 96 to first note of m. 97. In m. 98 slurs should only extend to second half-note of the measure and not to the first note of m. 99.

102-103* Violin 2, no historical text gives a tie from fourth quarter-note of m. 102 to first note of m. 103.

103* Bassoon 1, no slur should extend over the triplet.

103-104 Oboe 1, no slurs.

107 Viola, no dynamic marking should be given.

108* Violin 2, first note should read a.

112-116* ‘Cello, no slurs should extend over the triplets in these measures.

118-119 Flutes, Oboes, Bassoons, only Oboes should slur from last beat of m. 118 to end of m. 119. Flutes and Bassoons slur extends only the duration of m. 119 with no slurs in m. 118.

118 Violins, no staccato marking on last note of this measure.

118-119 ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, should read tie from last note of m. 118 to m. 119.

121* Bassoons, no slur or staccato marking in this measure.

122* Horn 1 and 2, should read c² and c¹.

122-123* Tutti Strings, piu f, for Violins should be located in m. 122 between first and second notes; for Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-bassoon should be located on second note in m. 123.
128, 129* Trombone 3, should read e-flat.

134* Piccolo, no slur.

146-149 Violin 2, should read as given in Figure 26 (pg. 95).

175-183 Oboe 1, no slurs should be given, only the ties between g’s.

184-206 Clarinets, should read $f^1(1)$ and $d^1(2)$ in mm. 184-197 and mm. 200-206. In mm. 198-199, they should read $d^1(1)$ and $b(2)$.

203-204 ‘Cello, both measures should read as rests.

208-231 Tutti Orchestra, written as *come sopra* in the Autograph. All comments for mm. 2-25 apply to mm. 208-231.

232-238 See comment on corresponding mm. 26-32.

234-235* ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, staccato markings should appear on all separated eighth-notes.

238 See note on corresponding passage in m. 32.

240-241 Trombone 2, should read $c^1$.

242 Violins, slur begins on the second note of the measure.

247-249 Horns and Trumpets, should read ties from m. 247 to m. 249.

250-251 Flute 1, should read tie between last note of m. 250 and first note of m. 251.

250 Bassoon 2, first note should read $d^1$.

253-254 Violins, Viola, a decision regarding slurs over the triplets here can only be made based upon inference from the corollary passage (mm. 44-45).

253* Bassoons, should read as rests in this measure.
See note to m. 48.

Flutes, should read as given in Figure 27 (pg. 97).

Tutti Winds, no staccato markings in this measure. See note on this measure in Early 1808.

Viola, no tie from m. 260 to m. 261. First note of m. 261 should read f\textsuperscript{\textprime}.

Bassoons, no slur across the barline. Slur should extend from first to last note of m. 263. Viola, no tie from m. 262 to m. 263.

Flutes, should read as given in Figure 28 (pg. 97).

Timpani, should read sixteenth-notes throughout the measure.

See notes on the corollary passage at mm. 64-69.

Oboe 1, slur should extend from second note of m. 279 into the next measure.

Trumpets, should read as rest for all of m. 287 and first quarter-note of m. 288.

Timpani, should read G quarter-note on first beat of the measure.

Note of clarification: ties do not apply to Flute 2, Oboe 2, Clarinet 2, Bassoon 2.

Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read f\textsuperscript{\textprime}.

Flute 1, Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no slurs in these measures.

Horns, should read g\textsuperscript{\textprime}.

Flute 1, slur should not begin in m. 321, but on the first note of m. 322. This is the literal reading given by Klumpar in the early
parts, despite the Autograph which clearly shows a slur (doesn’t seem to have been added later) beginning in m. 321.

322-326 Viola, slurs should only extend for the duration of each individual measure.

325 Piccolo, should read without cresc. and without slur into m. 326.

327* Bassoon 2, should read rest for first quarter-note of the measure. ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, slur should extend from first note of the measure.

328 Violin 2, should read quarter-notes ($c'$, $g'$, $a'$, $g'$) with markings for sixteenth-notes.

328 Viola, should read only $f$ on third beat.

329 Piccolo, no staccato markings in this measure.

336 Piccolo, Oboe 1, Horns, should read $g'$. 

341 Bassoons, should read $p$ cresc.

353 Bassoon 1, first note should read $c$. Oboe 1, second note should read $c^2$.

353 Tutti Orchestra, tempo direction should read sempre più allo.

378 Trumpets, Timpani, should read without $p$.

444 Timpani, should read as whole-note with $tr$. 

119
Much of this reading matches the First Edition Parts published by Breitkopf & Härtel which is available in reprint from Broude Brothers.\textsuperscript{181}

Metronome markings do not belong to this text.

Movement 1: \textit{Allegro con brio}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Additional Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>Viola, should read without slur from m. 12 to m. 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Flute 1, should read $e$-$flat^1$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Trumpets, should read rest in this measure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83-92*</td>
<td>Clarinet 1, should tie from m. 83 to m. 92.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Oboe 1, should read half-note tied from previous measure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Flute 1, first note should read $e$-$flat^3$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94-95*</td>
<td>Trumpets, should read rests for both measures. Per Brown, Klumpar copied these measures as rests due to an error by Beethoven in the Autograph. The error was reproduced in all historical texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Clarinet 1, reads $c^2$ in all early printed editions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Trumpets, Timpani, should read $f$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156-157</td>
<td>Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, should read with slurs from m. 156 to m. 157.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

‘Cello/Bass, \textit{ff} should be located on second note in the measure.

Trumpets, should read without \textit{ff}.

Clarinets should be tied/slurred from m. 257 to m. 258. While neither the Autograph nor \textit{Stichvorlage} give this reading, a slur/tie is given in early manuscript and printed parts.

Clarinets, should read tie/slur from m. 261-262.

Bassoons, are not slurred. Despite Brown’s editorial suggestion, neither the Autograph nor \textit{Stichvorlage} give slurs and Brown does not provide a source for this suggestion in his commentary.

Trumpets and Timpani should read \textit{p} (267) and \textit{f} (268). The \textit{f} in m. 267 derives from \textit{S} (per Brown), and is therefore a later reading.

Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Timpani, should read \textit{f} (the \textit{ff} clearly stems from \textit{S}). Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Timpani, should not read \textit{staccato} for the same reason.

Viola, should read with tie from m. 272 to m. 273.

Clarinet 1, Bassoons, Horns, should read without \textit{p}.

Bassoons, should read \textit{f'} and \textit{d'}. 

Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read as rests for these measures.

Violin 2, Viola, should read like m. 51.
Violin 1, should read as follows:

\[\text{Figure 31. Leipzig/1809, 1st mvmt., m. 499.} \]
\[\text{Source: Data from Del Mar, Studienpartitur, 12.} \]

Violin 2, should read \textit{f-sharp}.

Oboe 1, slurs should extend for sets of two measures, not four.

Bassoons, slurring here is inconsistent in Autograph and early
manuscript parts. Bassoons should certainly slur in four bar
groups mm. 323-326, but mm. 311-314, and others in this
passage seem to be a later reading.

Flute 1, should read as rests in these measures.

Violin 1, mm. 325-326 and mm. 329-330 should read as rests.

Bassoons, should read as ties from mm. 336-345.

Viola, slurs should read as follows: slur over m. 337; slur over
mm. 338-339; slur over mm. 340-341; slur over mm. 342-343;
slur over mm. 344-345.

Flute 1, slur should extend over last three eighth-notes of the
measure.

Winds, Brass and Timpani, should read without \textit{sf} and \textit{ff}. These
are additions by \textit{S} and represent a later reading.

In this passage the only dynamic markings given should be:

Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons (\textit{f}, 396); Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello (\textit{f},
398), Bass (\textit{f}, 399).
423, 425, 427 Tutti Orchestra, Only Violin 1 and 2 should read *sf* in m. 423 and m. 425. All other *sf*’s are later entries by *S* and should be struck.

429-430 Oboe 2, Clarinet 1, should read with ties extending from m. 429 to m. 430.

439, 456 Trumpets and Timpani, no dynamic marking should be given here.

440-452 Horns, Trumpets and Timpani, no stacatti should be given.

455 Horns, should not have a slur.

457 Clarinets, no *sf* in this bar.

458, 466 Oboe 1, should read with a tie from first to second beats in these measures.

463-464 Winds, Brass and Timpani, only Horns should read *sf* in m. 463. All other markings in these bars should be struck.

464 Bassoon 2, second note should read *e-flat*.

472-475* Winds, slur that begins in this bar should extend to downbeat of m. 475. In the Autograph, m. 475 begins a new page and the slur on the previous page clearly extends beyond the barline. This is confirmed in the early manuscript parts.

478 Trumpets and Timpani, no dynamics should be given here. The addition of *ff* is by *S* and belongs to a later reading.

482 Timpani, should read *tenuto*.

499 Violin 2, should read as given in Figure 30 (pg. 104).
Movement 2: *Andante con moto*

19-20  Flute 1, Clarinet 2, slur should not extend from last beat of m. 19 to first beat of m. 20. Slur should only extend over the last beat of m. 19.

23-26*  Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from second beat of mm. 23/25 to first beat of mm. 24/26. Beethoven’s slurs are unclear in the Autograph but this reading is given in the early manuscript parts and in the First Edition Parts.

26-28  Violin 1, slurs over the last two notes of these measures should extend to the first note of the following measures.

30  ‘Cello, Bass, Timpani, no staccato marks. Brown only gives this as editorial suggestion based upon context.

31  Oboes, Horns, Trumpets, no staccato mark on the last note of the measure.

35*  Timpani, $sf$ should appear on second note in these measures, not the first note.

41-44  Violin 2, Viola, no slur between mm. 41-42. Violin 2, no tie is given between mm. 43-44 is given based upon analogous reading in mm. 92-93.

44-47  Violin 2, slur should extend from m. 44 to m. 45.

47-48*  Violin 1, should slur to m. 48. See comment on these measures in *Early 1808.*

53-55  Clarinet 1, should slur from mm. 53-54.
65-71  Autograph reads *come sopra* (mm. 16-22) for all voices except
Violin 1. Readings given above for these bars apply here.

72-75* Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from second beat of mm. 72/74 to first
beat of mm. 73/75. Again, neither source is clear, but the slurs
extend well beyond the final notes of the bar (mm. 72/74) in the
Autograph implying this reading.

73-75  Viola, thirty-second-notes should be slurred as follows: m. 73,
8+4; m. 74, slur over all; m. 75, 4+4.

75-76  Violin 1, slurs should extend from third beat of mm. 75/76 to first
beat of mm. 76/77.

78-85  Autograph reads *come sopra* (mm. 29-36) for all winds, brass and
Timpani. Readings given above for these bars apply here.

93-96  Violin 2, Viola, see note on mm. 44-47 above.

93-94  Bassoon 1, should read without slur from m. 93 to m. 94.

97    ‘Cello, strike *ff*, no dynamic given on the second note in
      Autograph, early manuscript parts, or First Edition Parts.

104  Flute 1, no slur within the bar. It can be inferred from the Oboe
1/Bassoon 1 slur which is correct, but no sources show a
systematic correct reading here.

113  Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, should read without staccato marking on
third note.

120  Horn 2, first note should read *g*².
127-128*  Clarinet 1, m. 127 slur should only extend over last 2 notes of the measure. A staccato marking should appear on the first note of m. 128.

129-130  Bassoon 1, m. 129 slur should extend from third beat of the measure to first beat of m. 130. No staccato marking should appear on the first note of m. 130.

142*  Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, cresc. should extend from prior measures to third note of m. 142. This reading is clear and consistent in early manuscript parts.

157-159  Violin 1, Viola, slurs on third beat should extend to following first beat in all three measures.

162  Violin 1, Viola, slur should extend over the entire measure, not in groups of 4.

176  Violins, Clarinets, Bassoons, are the only voices that should read staccato markings in this measure.

185  Viola, should read without e-flat.

186-188  Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, slurs in mm. 186-188 should be struck.

188-190  Oboe 2, should read slurs from first to second beats in mm. 189-190. Flute 1, Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, no slurs in mm. 189-190.

193  Flute 1, first note should be sixteenth-note.

204*  Violin 2, should read as given in Figure 18 (pg. 82), see comment to these measures in Early 1808.
210-212  Oboe 1, should read with a staccato marking on the eighth-note in this measure. No staccato marking is given for Bassoon 1.

216  Horn 2, should read as rest for the entire measure.

218  Clarinet 1, should read rest on third beat. Clarinet 2, second beat should read without dynamic marking on fourth note. Oboes should read $f$ not $ff$.

218-219  Bassoon 1, should read as given for Bassoon 2 is all 3 urtext editions.

224-225*  Bassoons, should read as given on Figure 19 (pg. 82). See comment to these measures in Early 1808.

224-226  Violins, Viola, slurs should read as follows: Violins, the 2 sixteenth-notes on first beat should be slurred together, not to second beat; Viola, should read without slurs as the First Edition Parts give no slurs in these measures.

229-233  Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, should read slur from third beat of mm. 229/231 to first note of mm. 230/232. Clarinet 2, Bassoon 2, slurs should not extend over the barline, only over the 2 sixteenth-notes on third beat.

233-234  Violin 1, slur should not extend from third beat of m. 233 to first beat of m. 234. Slur should only extend over third beat in m. 233.

238-239*  Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, slur from third beat of m. 238 to first note of m. 239. This reading is clear in all early sources except the
Autograph, which shows the slur extending well beyond the last note of m. 238.

240  Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read $f$.

240* Viola, last 2 sixteenth-notes should read $c$, $e$-$flat^1$, unison with Violins. While the Autograph shows a different reading, all the other early sources show this reading.

244 Oboe 2, last note should read $g^1$. The $b$-$flat^1$ entered into the early manuscript parts derives from a later source.

Movement 3: Allegro

4/238-239 Tutti Orchestra, the repeat in this movement is not established in this text. A variant reading which inserts two “redundant” measures is authentic to this text. The following shows how to alter Del Mar to make this text possible. Dufner and Brown may be altered to give this reading by playing both first and second ending measures without a repeat.

1) ‘Cello/Bass should insert the following figure at m. 237:

![Figure 32. Leipzig/1809, 3rd mvmt., `Cello/bass, mm. 237-239b. Source: Data from Dufner, Studienpartitur, 47.](image)

2) All voices resting will need to alter their rests as follows:

At m. 237, the following changes (Figure 33) to the rests should
be made (up to either the fermata or an instrument’s first entrance):

\[\text{Figure 33. Leipzig/1809, 3rd mvmt., mm. 237-239b.} \]
\[\text{Source: Data from Dufner, Studienpartitur, 47.}\]

13 ‘Cello/Bass, should read \textit{sfp}.

42-43 Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, should read \textit{sf} on first note of the measure.

51-52* Bassoon 2, no tie across this barline. Matches Horns at mm. 7-8 and ‘Cello/Bass in mm. 51-52.
55-56 ‘Cello/Bass, slur from m. 55 ends on first note of m. 56 and new slur begins on same note (first note of m. 56).

79 Winds, Brass, Timpani, only Flutes and Oboes should read ff. This is very clear in the Autograph and the addition of this marking to Brass/Timpani is by S and a later reading.

83 Strings, only Violin 1 should read ff.

96 Trumpets, should read p dimin. pp.

104, 108 ‘Cello, third note should read as rest.

111 Bassoons, p should be struck.

114 Viola, no slur in this measure. The slur was added after the duplir were made and must be a later addition.

115-116 Violin 2, Viola, staccato markings on last 2 quarter notes of each measure. Violin 1, no staccato markings in m. 115.

114-130 ‘Cello, Bassoons, slurs run from last note of m. 114 to first note of m. 118, last note of m. 118 to first note of m. 122, last note of m. 122 to last note of m. 130. Brown notes that these breaks in the slur not found in any other reading also coincide with page turns in the Stichvorlage.

131 Flute 1, third beat should read f\textsuperscript{3}.

154* Violin 1, should read ff.

157 Flute 1, should read ff.

157-158* Oboes, should read f in both measures.

161 ‘Cello/Bass, no dynamic marking should be given.
Viola, no dynamic marking should be given.

Timpani, should read *f*. No dynamics are given for the trumpets here, but one may apply the timpani marking to them by extension.

Horns, should read *d'/.

Horns, should read *sf.*

Oboe 1, should read slur across barline. No slurs for Clarinets and Bassoons.

Bassoons, ties should read mm. 218-223.

Oboes, Clarinets, slur should end at on first note of m. 224. The markings are inconsistent in all contemporary sources. This reading is clearly a part of this text.

Horn 1, slur to m. 242. Clarinet 2, no slur to m. 242. Bassoon 2, should read quarter-note (third beat of m. 241) tied to quarter-note (first beat of m. 242).

Violin 2, Viola, should read pp.

Viola, ‘Cello, no dynamic marking should be given. Violin 2 should read *sempre p.*

Viola, should read *sempre pianissimo.* Some readings give *sempre più pianissimo.*

Bassoon 1, should read *p.*

‘Cello, could read rest on third beat.

Horn 1, should read *p.*
Oboe 1, should read $p$.  

All Strings, only Viola should read *sempre pp*.  

Bassoon 1, first note should read $a$-flat'.  

Horn 1, should read $p$.  

Timpani, should read *pp*.  

Violin 2, should read *pp* only.  

Violin 1, Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, Timpani, *sempre pp* should be located in m. 337.  

Violin 1, slurs should read as given from first printed edition.  

These markings descend from the *Stichvorlage*.  

---  

**Figure 34. Leipzig/1809, 3rd mvmt., mm. 352-366.**  

Bassoons, should read $g^i(1)$ and $g(2)$.  

Oboe 1, reading should include tie across the barline.  

Movement 4: *Allegro*  

1 Violins, Flutes, Piccolo, staccato marks on the quarter notes in this measure.  

17 Piccolo, Flutes, Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Violin 1, staccato marks are given for these instruments in this measure. They are
extended to Clarinets and Bassoons based upon Beethoven’s insertion of staccato markings in Oboes in the *Stichvorlage.*

18-21* Piccolo, Flutes, Oboes, Violin 1, slurs should read as given in Figure 24 (pg. 92).

26-28, 30-32 Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, slurs should extend from first note of mm. 26, 30 to last note of mm. 27, 31.

32 Contrabass, Contrabassoon, passage should read as follows:

Figure 35. *Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., m. 32.*

Sources: Data from Brown, *Symphonie Nr. 5,* 55.

38 Violin 2, first note should read $g^1$.

39-40 Bassoon 1, slurs should extend over only the last 3 notes in each measure. However, the *Stichvorlage* reads as the Viennese texts, extending the slur over the entire measure.

41 Tutti Orchestra, *ff* only given for strings. No other dynamic markings given for the measure.

45-46 horns, no tie should extend from m. 45-46.

46 Flute 2, should read $d^3$.

46 ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-bassoon, a slur should be given over the triplets.

48 Tutti Orchestra, should read slur over triplets on last beat of the measure. While Beethoven’s markings in the Autograph are clearly entered to clarify that these are triplets and not slurred. It
seems to have always been translated as a slur in all historical
texts.

49 Winds, Brass, Timpani, dynamics should be given as $f$.

55-57 Oboes, Bassoons, A slur should extend from m. 55-56. No
tie/slur should extend from m. 56-57.

62 Flute 2, should read $a'$.  

62* Tutti Orchestra, should read without staccato markings. 
Beethoven only marked this in one of the early manuscript parts 
and they are found nowhere else in the sources.

64, 66, 68 Clarinets, Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello, slurs extend from dotted half-
note on first beat to the second quarter-note of the following 
measure.

65, 67, 69-71 Violin 1, slurs should extend to first note of the following 
measures.

65, 67, 69 Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello, no portato markings 
are given in this text for Clarinets, Bassoons, or ‘Cello in these 
measures. Only Viola reads portato in m. 67. Viola and Oboe 1 
read portato in m. 69.

68* Clarinet 2, Bassoon 1, no $sf$ is given in any text after the 
Autograph.

68 Violin 2, should read $fp$ in this measure.
70* Clarinet 1, Viola, ‘Cello, slur should read from first note of the measure. Oboe 1, Bassoons, slur should read from second note of the measure.

74 Tutti Orchestra, only Violins and ‘Cello/Bass read sf.

89* Bassoon 1, last note should read $b$.

90 Piccolo, no slurs over the triplets given in this text.

91-95* Viola, ‘Cello, slurs should extend from last note of m. 91 to first note of m. 93 and last note of m. 93 to first note of m. 95.

96-99 Violins, Viola, slurs should extend from first note of m. 96 to first note of m. 97 for Violin 1 only. Violin 2 and Viola slurs in m. 96 should only extend to second half-note of the measure. The same reading applies for slurs in mm. 98, 99.

102-103* Violin 2, no historical text gives a tie from fourth quarter-note of m. 102 to first note of m. 103.

103* Bassoon 1, no slur should extend over the triplet.

106 ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, no staccato marking on last note.

108* Violin 2, first note should read $a$.

112-116* ‘Cello, no slurs should extend over the triplets in these measures.

118-119 Flutes, Oboes, Bassoons, should slur from last beat of m. 118 to the end of m. 119.

118-119 ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, should read without a tie from last note of m. 118 to m. 119.

121* Bassoons, no slur or staccato marking in this measure.
122* Horn 1 and 2, should read $c^2$ and $c'$.  

122-123* Tutti Strings, *più f*, for Violins should be located in m. 122 between first and second notes; for Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-bassoon should be located on second note in m. 123.  

128, 129* Trombone 3, should read *e-flat*.  

134* Piccolo, no slur.  

184-206 Clarinets, should read $f^1(1)$ and $d^1(2)$ in mm. 184-206.  

203-204 ‘Cello, both measures should read as does mm. 205-206, but *pp* instead of *cresc*.  

208-231 Tutti Orchestra, written as *come sopra* in the Autograph. All comments for mm. 2-25 apply to mm. 208-231.  

232-238 See comment on corresponding mm. 26-32.  

234-235* ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, staccato markings should appear on all separated eighth-notes.  

238 See note on corresponding passage in m. 32.  

242 Violins, slur begins on the first note of the measure.  

250-251 Flute 1, no tie between last note of m. 250 and first note of m. 251.  

250 Bassoon 2, first note should read $d^1$.  

253-254 Violins, Viola, a decision regarding slurs over the triplets here can only be made based upon inference from the corollary passage (mm. 44-45).  

253* Bassoons, should read as rests in this measure.
257  See note to m. 48.

257-258  Flutes, should read as follows:

Figure 36. Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., mm. 257-258. 
Source: Data from Dufner, Studienpartitur, 85-86.

258  Tutti Winds, no staccato markings in this measure. Brown infers them from Beethoven’s marking in only the Oboe 1 part. As Del Mar asserts, this is “too isolated to be convincing.”

260-261*  Viola, no tie from m. 260 to m. 261. First note of m. 261 should read $f^1$.

267  Flutes, should read as follows:

Figure 37. Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., m. 267. 
Sources: Data from Brown, Symphonie Nr. 5, 84.

273-278  See notes on the corollary passage at mm. 64-69.

279  Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, slur should extend from first note of m. 279 into the next measure.

290-291  Note of clarification: ties do not apply to Flute 2, Oboe 2, Clarinet 2, Bassoon 2.

296  Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read $sf$. 

137
Violin 2, should read as does Violin 1 for the first 3 beats, an octave lower.

Flute 1, Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no slurs in these measures.

Trumpet 1, last note of the measure should read $c'$. 

Horns, should read $e'$. 

Viola, slurs should only extend for the duration of each individual measure. 

Bassoon 2, should read rest for first quarter-note of the measure. ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, slur should extend from first note of the measure. 

Violin 2, should read quarter-notes ($c', g', a', a'$) with markings for sixteenth-notes. 

Piccolo, Oboe 1, Horns, should read $e'$. 

Bassoons, should read cresc. 

Bassoon 1, first note should read $c$. Oboe 1, second note should read $c^2$. 

Tutti Orchestra, tempo direction should read sempre più stretto. 

Timpani, should read as follows:

Figure 38. Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt., m. 391.
Sources: Data from Brown, A New Appraisal, 88.

Figure 39. Leipzig/1809, 4th mvmt. m. 444.
Sources: Data from Brown, Symphonie Nr. 5, 103.
Vienna—Q & S—ca. 1816-1820

Metronome markings do not belong to this text.

Both Brown and Del Mar note the use of Ripieno/Solo markings in Viennese performances with large orchestras. The performer is directed to the volumes by Brown and Del Mar which detail these markings and their use.\(^\text{182}\)

Movement 1: *Allegro con brio*

12-13 Viola, should read slur from m. 12 to m. 13.

56 Flute 1, should read g-flat\(^3\).

83 Horns, should read without \(p\).

83-92* Clarinet 1, should tie from m. 83 to m. 92.

94-95* Trumpets, should read rests for both measures. Per Brown, Klumpar copied these measures as rests due to an error by Beethoven in the Autograph. The error was reproduced in all historical texts.

97 Clarinet 1, reads \(b\)-flat\(^1\) in both Autograph and manuscript parts.

98 Trumpets, Timpani, should read without dynamic markings.

142-145 ‘Cello/Bass, should read crescendo (hairpin) to \(pp\). Viola, should read crescendo (hairpin) to \(p\).

156-157 Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, should read without slurs.

175 Timpani, should read without \(più f\).

229-232 Flute 1, Trumpet 1, Viola, S added *staccato* here. Brown believes this marking merely cautions the performer not to tie notes of the same pitch.

233 Oboe 1, should read *p*.

240* ‘Cello/Bass, **ff** should be located on second note in the measure.

242-245 Bass, should read as given in Figure 5 (pg. 34).

248 Trumpets, should read without **ff**.

250 Timpani, should read **ff** as added by *S*.

254 Oboe 1, should read without *p*.

257-258* Clarinets should be tied/slurred from m. 257 to m. 258. While neither the Autograph nor *Stichvorlage* give this reading, a slur/tie is given in early manuscript and printed parts.

261-262* Clarinets, should read tie/slur from m. 261-262.

262-267* Bassoons, are not slurred. Despite Brown’s editorial suggestion, neither the Autograph nor *Stichvorlage* give slurs and Brown does not provide a source for this suggestion in his commentary.

267-268 Trumpets and Timpani should read **f** (m. 267 and m. 268).

268 Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Timpani, should read **ff**. Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Timpani, should also read *staccato* for the same reason.

272-273 Viola, should read with tie from m. 272 to m. 273.

274-275* Clarinet 1, Bassoons, Horns, should read without *p*.

278 Trumpets, Timpani, should read without **f**.
282-287  Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read as follows:

![Image of musical notation]

**Figure 40. Vienna/Q & S, 1st mvmt., mm. 282-287.**

*Sources:* Data from Brown, *Symphonie Nr. 5*, 12.

283-287  Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1. See note on these measures in *Early 1808*.

288  Violin 2, Viola, should read like m. 289. These measures are clearly not *come sopra* in the Autograph and this is confirmed in the early manuscript parts.

290-291  Violin 1, should read as shown in Figure 17 (pg. 75).

The Autograph clearly shows that *come sopra* does not begin until m. 292.

300  Violin 2, should read *a*.

311-322*  Oboe 1, slurs should extend for sets of two measures, not four.

311-330  Bassoons, slurring here is inconsistent in Autograph and early manuscript parts. Bassoons should certainly slur in four bar groups mm. 323-326, but mm. 311-314, and others in this passage seem to be a later reading.

325-330  Violin 1, The Autograph is unclear in these passages. Del Mar makes a strong argument for the deletion and restitution of mm. 325-326 and 329-330 (Dufner concurs and Brown is silent);
nevertheless, all later sources give these bars as rest. Because the earliest copies of Violin 1 are missing, a definitive reading in these bars cannot be given.

336-345 Bassoons, should read as ties from mm. 336-339, mm. 340-341, mm. 342-345. Despite Del Mar’s argument against, this is the reading given in the early manuscript parts.

337-345 Viola, slurs should read as follows: slur over m. 337; slur over m. 338; slur over mm. 339-340; slur over m. 341; slur over mm. 342-345.

353* Flute 1, slur should extend over last three eighth-notes of the measure.

375-382 Winds, Brass and Timpani, should read sf in mm. 375, 377, 379, 381 and ff in m. 382.

386 Flute 1, should read a-flat, Beethoven’s Rötel in the Autograph could be a later correction, though both he and Klumper seem to be making simple errors with ledger lines.

395 Flutes, should read 1-a-flat; 2-e-flat as given in early manuscript parts.

396-422 In this passage the only dynamic markings given should be: Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons (f, m. 396); Viola, ‘Cello (f, m. 398); Bass (f, m. 399); Bassoons, Viola (sf mm. 399, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405).

421-422 Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1.
Horn 2, should read unis. with Horn 1.

Tutti Orchestra, Violin 1 and 2 should read \textit{sf} in m. 423. Flutes, Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read \textit{sf} in mm. 423, 425, 427.

Oboe 2, Clarinet 1, should read without ties.

Trumpets and Timpani, should read \textit{ff}.

Trumpets and Timpani, should read \textit{sf}.

Horns, Trumpets and Timpani, stacatti should be given on all notes in these measures.

Horns, Horn 1 should have a slur and Horn 2 should not. Though the Autograph does not show any slurs, Beethoven added the Horn 1 slur in his early Rötel proofing to the early manuscript parts.

Clarinets, no \textit{sf} in this bar.

Oboe 1, should read without a tie in these measures.

Horns, should read without slur in this measure.

Trumpets, should read as rest in this measure.

Winds, slur that begins in this bar should extend to downbeat of m. 475. In the Autograph, m. 475 begins a new page and the slur on the previous page clearly extends beyond the barline. This is confirmed in the early manuscript parts.

‘Cello/Bass, \textit{ff} should be located on second eighth-note of this measure instead of first beat of m. 473.
Trumpets, no dynamics should be given here. Timpani, should read **ff** in m. 478 instead of m. 479.

Timpani, should read *tenuto*.

Violin 2, should read as given in Figure 30 (pg. 104).

**Movement 2: Andante con moto**

19-20 Flute 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from last beat of m. 19 to first beat of m. 20. This is clear in Autograph and the misreading stems from poor copying in these measures by Klumpar, Brown notes that the *come sopra* in mm. 68-69 of the early manuscript parts gives the slur across the barline.

23-26* Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from second beat of mm. 23/25 to first beat of mm. 24/26. Beethoven’s slurs are unclear in the Autograph but this reading is given in the early manuscript parts and in the First Edition Parts.

30 Clarinets, ‘Cello, Bass, Timpani, no staccato marks. Brown only gives this as editorial suggestion based upon context.

31 Oboes, Horns, Trumpets, the staccato mark on the last note of the bar is found only in early manuscript Oboe part, but is in Beethoven’s hand. Brown suggests this marking disambiguates the passage from its prior slurred counterpart to the performer.

35* Timpani, *sf* should appear on second note in these measures, not the first note.
41-44 Violin 2, Viola, no slur between mm. 41-42. Violin 2, no tie is given between mm. 43-44 is given based upon analogous reading in mm. 92-93.

44-47 Violin 2, slur should extend from m. 44 to m. 45.

47-48* Violin 1, should slur to m. 48. See comment on these measures in *Early 1808*.

53-55 Clarinet 1, no slur from mm. 53-54 and in m. 55. Del Mar makes a convincing argument, noting the absence of the slur in early manuscript parts and its absence in the analogous passage, m. 102.

57 Oboes, should read eighth-note followed by two eighth-rests.

57-59 Bassoon 2, should read unis. with Bassoon 1 beginning on second sixteenth-note of m. 57.

65-71 Autograph reads *come sopra* (mm. 16-22) for all voices except Violin 1. Readings given above for these bars apply here.

72-75* Clarinets, Bassoons, slur from second beat of mm. 72/74 to first beat of mm. 73/75. Again, neither source is clear, but the slurs extend well beyond the final notes of the bar (mm. 72/74) in the Autograph implying this reading.

73-75 Viola, thirty-second-notes should be slurred in groups of four.

75-77 Violin 1, slurs only on last two notes of mm. 75, 76. An analogous slur is implied in m. 77 from the Flute, Oboe and Bassoon slurs shown in the Autograph.
Autograph reads *come sopra* (mm. 29-36) for all winds, brass and Timpani. Readings given above for these bars apply here.

Violin 2, Viola, see note on mm. 44-47 above.

‘Cello, strike *ff*, no dynamic given on the second note in Autograph, early manuscript parts, or First Edition Parts.

Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no slur within the bar. It can be inferred from the Flute 1 slur which is correct, but no sources show a systematic correct reading here.

Horn 2, first note should read $g^\prime$.

Bassoon 2, should be unis. with Bassoon 1; $e\text{-flat}^\prime$.

Clarinet 1, m. 127 slur should only extend over last 2 notes of the measure. A staccato marking should appear on the first note of m. 128.

Bassoon 1, m. 129 slur should extend from third beat of the measure to first beat of m. 130. A staccato marking should appear on the first note of m. 130.

Flute 1, Oboe 1, Clarinets, *cresc.* should extend from prior measures to third note of m. 142. This reading is clear and consistent in early manuscript parts.

Violin 1, Viola, slurs on third beat should only extend to following first beat in across the m. 157/158 barline.

Tutti Orchestra, no staccato marks. These markings only appear in sources derived from *Stichvorlage.*
187-188 Flute 1, Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, slurs in mm. 187-188 should be struck.

188-190 Oboe 2, no slurs. Flute 1, Clarinet 1, Bassoon 1, no slurs in mm. 189-190.

192 Viola, no $e$-flat in first chord.

193 Flute 1, first note should be eighth-note.

204* Violin 2, should read as given in Figure 18 (pg. 82), see comment to these measures in *Early 1808*.

210-212 Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no staccato marking given in the sources for this text.

216 Horn 2, should read $g^2$.

218 Clarinet 1, rest on third beat should read $a^\flat$. Clarinet 2, second beat should include $f$. Oboes should read $f$ not $ff$.

224-225* Bassoons, should read as given in Figure 19 (pg. 82), see comment to these measures in *Early 1808*.

225-226 Violins, Viola, slurring is inconsistent in these measures and a reading cannot be ascertained.

229-233 Clarinets and Bassoons, m. 229, slur from third beat to end of m. 230; m. 231, slur extends over third beat and not to first note of m. 231. See note regarding these measures in *Early 1808*.

233-234 Violin 1, slur from third beat of m. 233 to first beat of m. 234. Clearly given this way in Autograph.
Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, slur from third beat of m. 238 to first note of m. 239. This reading is clear in all early sources except the Autograph, which shows the slur extending well beyond the last note of m. 238.

240

Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read $f$.

240*

Viola, last 2 sixteenth-notes should read $c$, $e\text{-}flat^{1}$, unison with Violins. While the Autograph shows a different reading, all the other early sources show this reading.

244

Oboe 2, last note should read $b\text{-}flat^{1}$.

Movement 3: Allegro

4/238-239

Tutti Orchestra, the repeat within this movement is not established in this text. Del Mar gives this reading as his text and this reading is given in Dufner and Brown by performing only the second ending measures. An interesting note in Grove mentions a performance tradition of playing the first ending measures (instead of the second ending) without the repeat.183

13

‘Cello/Bass, should read $sf > p$.

27-31

Flutes, should read in octaves as Violin 1. This reading is clear in the early manuscript parts.

42-43

Bassoons, Horns, should read $sf$ on first note of the measure. Clarinets, should read without $sf$.

---

183. Grove, 176.
51-52* Bassoon 2, no tie across this barline. Matches Horns at mm. 7-8 and ‘Cello/Bass in mm. 51-52.

55-56 ‘Cello/Bass, slur from m. 55 ends on first note of m. 56 and new slur begins on same note (first note of m. 56). See earlier note on these measures in Early 1808.

79 Winds, Brass, Timpani, only Flutes, Horns, Trumpets, Timpani should read ff.

83 Strings, only Violin 1 should read ff. This is very clear in the Autograph and confirmed in early manuscript parts.

96 Trumpets, should read p without dimin., as given in the Autograph and early manuscript parts.

104, 108 ‘Cello, third note might read pizz. This is not given in the Autograph but is given in the early manuscript parts. It is impossible to ascertain to which of the Viennese texts this reading belongs.

111 Bassoons, should read p. It is not present in the Autograph, but was added to the early manuscript parts by Beethoven later (part of an assumed later proofing since not in Rötel).

114 Viola, should read slur from between first and second notes. This is given in ink in the early manuscripts parts and was added after the duplir were copied, thus linking it to this text.

115-116 Violin 2, Viola, staccato markings on last 2 quarter notes of each measure. Violin 1, no staccato markings in m. 115.
114-130 ‘Cello, Bassoons, slur begins on last note of m. 114 and continues, unbroken, until the last note of m. 130.

131 Flutes, rest on first beat; second and third beats as given.

Beethoven’s addition of the notes on beat 1 is clearly shown as a later addition that never became part of the Vienna texts.

154* Violin 1, should read ff.

157-158 Flutes, should read ff for their respective entrances. Flute 1 still reads f in m. 156.

157-158* Oboes, should read f in both measures.

158, 160 Bassoon 1, should read d\textsuperscript{1} in m. 158 and b-flat in m. 160.

158 Horns, no dynamic marking should be given.

161 ‘Cello/Bass, no dynamic marking should be given.

169 Viola, should read f.

181 Trumpets, Timpani, no dynamic marking should be given.

181-183 Oboe 2, should rest from third beat of m. 181 to second beat of m. 183.

186 Horns, should read e\textsuperscript{1}.

188 Horns, should read sf. Del Mar connects this insertion to S.

213-214* Oboe 1, should read slur across barline. No slurs for Clarinets and Bassoons.

218-224 Bassoons, ties should read mm. 218-219, mm. 220-223.

Beethoven and Klumpar’s markings in the early manuscript parts
are conflicting here and this reading is given based upon

Beethoven’s Rötel in Bassoon 1.

223-224 Oboes, Clarinets, slur should end at on first note of m. 224. The markings are inconsistent in all contemporary sources.

241-242 Horn 1, no slur to m. 242. Clarinet 2, no slur to m. 242. Bassoon 2, should read dotted half-note (m. 241) tied to quarter-note (m. 242).

255 Violin 2, Viola, should read **pp** as added by S.

257 Violin 2, Viola, ‘Cello, no dynamic marking should be given.

259 Viola, should read **sempre pianissimo**.

267 Bassoon 1, first read **p** and then **pp**. It is impossible to tell if this change belongs to Vienna—Premiere or this text.

268 ‘Cello, should read **e-flat** on third beat.

286 Horn 1, should read **pp**.

287 Oboe 1, should read **pp** as given by S.

289* All Strings, only Viola should read **sempre pp**.

293 Bassoon 1, first note should read **f’** as given by Klumpar in the early manuscript parts. The Autograph does not clarify here, as there is no clear leger line upon which to base a reading of **a-flat’**.

295 Horn 1, should read **pp**.

324 Timpani, should read **ppp** as given by S.

336* Violin 2, should read **pp** only.
Violin 1, Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, Timpani, *sempre pp* should be located in this bar.

Oboe 1, reading should include tie across the barline.

**Movement 4: Allegro**

1. Tutti Orchestra, no staccato marks are given in the sources for this text.

6. Bassoon 2, last three notes should read as rests.

17. Piccolo, Flutes, Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Violin 1, staccato marks are only given for Piccolo, Flutes and Violin 1.

18-21*. Piccolo, Flutes, Oboes, Violin 1, slurs should read as given in Figure 24 (pg. 92).

26-28, 30-32. Oboes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, slurs should extend from second note of mm. 26, 30 to last note of mm. 27, 31.

32. Contrabass, Contrabassoon, passage should read as given in Figure 25 (pg. 92).

35, 37. Bassoon 1, half note on first beat should be tied to quarter note on third beat.

38. Violin 2, first note should read $g^2$.

39-40. Bassoon 1, slurs should extend over the entire measure.

41. Tutti Orchestra, *ff* only given for Violin 1. Viola, Clarinet 1 should read *sf* on second eighth-note of third beat in the measure.

No other dynamic markings given for the measure.

42. Bassoon 2, seventh note of the measure should read $e^1$. 
45-46 Horns, tie should extend from mm. 45-46.

46 Flute 2, should read $b^2$.

46 ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-bassoon, no slur should be given over the triplets.

48 Tutti Orchestra, should read slur over triplets on last beat of the measure. While Beethoven’s markings in the Autograph are clearly entered to clarify that these are triplets and not slurred. It seems to have always been translated as a slur in all historical texts.

49 Winds, Brass, Timpani, dynamics should be given as $f$ only for Flutes, Oboes, and Bassoons.

50 Bassoon 2, should read $d^1$.

55-57 Oboes, Bassoons, No slur should extend from m. 55-56. A tie/slur should extend from m. 56-57.

59 Timpani, should read as m. 58.

62 Flute 2, should read $a^2$.

62* Tutti Orchestra, should read without staccato markings. Beethoven only marked this in one of the early manuscript parts and they are found nowhere else in the sources.

64, 66, 68 Clarinets, Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello, slurs extend from quarter-note on fourth beat to the second quarter-note of the following measure.
65, 67, 69-71 Violin 1, slurs should extend only to the last sixteenth-note of the measures.

65, 67, 69 Oboe 1, Clarinets, Bassoons, Viola, ‘Cello, no portato markings are given in this text for Oboe 1, Clarinets, or Bassoons. Viola and ‘Cello read portato in these measures. See earlier note on these measures in Early 1808. Based upon Brown’s testimony, I assume the markings stem from Q or S.

68* Clarinet 2, Bassoon 1, no sf is given in any text after the Autograph.

68 Violin 2, should read sfp in this measure.

70* Clarinet 1, Viola, ‘Cello, slur should read from first note of the measure. Oboe 1, Bassoons, slur should read from second note of the measure.

74 Tutti Orchestra, should read sf for all but Trombones and Viola.

85a Clarinet 2, last two notes should read b and g.

85b Trumpets, should read as rest for the duration of the measure.

89* Bassoon 1, last note should read b.

90 Piccolo, no reading here may be ascertained. None of the editors report on the status of the triplet slurs for the piccolo in the early manuscript parts.

91-95* Viola, ‘Cello, slurs should extend from last note of m. 91 to first note of m. 93 and last note of m. 93 to first note of m. 95.
Violins, Viola, slurs should extend from first note of m. 96 to first note of m. 97. In m. 98 slurs should only extend to second half-note of the measure and not to the first note of m. 99.

Violin 2, no historical text gives a tie from fourth quarter-note of m. 102 to first note of m. 103.

Bassoon 1, no slur should extend over the triplet.

Oboe 1, no slurs.

‘Cello, no slurs should extend over the triplets in these measures.

Flutes, Oboes, Bassoons, only Oboes should slur from last beat of m. 118 to end of m. 119. Flutes and Bassoons slur extends only the duration of m. 119 with no slurs in m. 118.

Violins, no staccato marking on last note of this measure.

‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, should read tie from last note of m. 118 to m. 119.

Bassoons, no slur or staccato marking in this measure.

Horn 1 and 2, should read $c^2$ and $c^1$.

Tutti Strings, $\text{più f}$, for Violins should be located in m. 122 between first and second notes; for Viola, ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-bassoon should be located on second note in m. 123.

Trombone 3, should read $e$-flat.

Piccolo, no slur.

Violin 2, should read as given in Figure 26 (pg. 95).

Oboe 1, no slurs should be given, only the ties between g’s.
184-206 Clarinets, should read $f^1(1)$ and $d^1(2)$ in mm. 184-197 and 200-206. In mm. 198-199, they should read $d^1(1)$ and $b(2)$.

203-204 ‘Cello, both measures should read as rests.

208-231 Tutti Orchestra, written as *come sopra* in the Autograph. All comments for mm. 2-25 apply to mm. 208-231.

232-238 See comment on corresponding mm. 26-32.

234-235* ‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, staccato markings should appear on all separated eighth-notes.

238 See note on corresponding passage in m. 32.

240-241 Trombone 2, should read $c^1$.

242 Violins, slur begins on the second note of the measure.

247-249 Horns and Trumpets, should read ties from m. 247 to m. 249.

250-251 Flute 1, should read tie between last note of m. 250 and first note of m. 251.

250 Bassoon 2, first note should read $d^1$.

253-254 Violins, Viola, a decision regarding slurs over the triplets here can only be made based upon inference from the corollary passage (mm. 44-45).

253* Bassoons, should read as rests in this measure.

257 See note to m. 48.

257-258 Flutes, should read as given in Figure 27 (pg. 97).
Tutti Winds, no staccato markings in this measure. Brown infers them from Beethoven’s marking in only the Oboe 1 part. As Del Mar asserts, this is “too isolated to be convincing.”

Viola, no tie from m. 260 to m. 261. First note of m. 261 should read $f^\prime$.

Bassoons, no slur across the barline. Slur should extend from first to last note of m. 263. Viola, no tie from m. 262 to m. 263.

Flutes, should read as given in Figure 28 (pg. 97).

Timpani, should read sixteenth-notes throughout the measure.

See notes on the corollary passage at mm. 64-69.

Oboe 1, slur should extend from second note of m. 279 into the next measure.

Trumpets, should read as rest for all of m. 287 and first quarter-note of m. 288.

Timpani, should read $G$ quarter-note on first beat of the measure.

Note of clarification: ties do not apply to Flute 2, Oboe 2, Clarinet 2, Bassoon 2.

Horns, Trumpets, Timpani, should read $f$.

Flute 1, Oboe 1, Bassoon 1, no slurs in these measures.

Horns, should read $g^\prime$.

Flute 1, slur should not begin in m. 321, but on the first note of m. 322. This is the literal reading given by Klumpar in the early
parts, despite the Autograph which clearly shows a slur (doesn’t seem to have been added later) beginning in m. 321.

322-326 Viola, slurs should only extend for the duration of each individual measure.

325 Piccolo, should read without cresc. and without slur into m. 326.

327* Bassoon 2, should read rest for first quarter-note of the measure.

‘Cello/Bass, Contra-Bassoon, slur should extend from first note of the measure.

328 Violin 2, should read quarter-notes ($c'\cdot g', a', g'$) with markings for sixteenth-notes.

328 Viola, should read only $f$ on third beat.

329 Piccolo, no staccato markings in this measure.

336 Piccolo, Oboe 1, Horns, should read $e'$. 

341 Bassoons, should read $p$ cresc.

353 Bassoon 1, first note should read $c$. Oboe 1, second note should read $c^2$.

353 Tutti Orchestra, tempo direction should read sempre più allo.

378 Trumpets, Timpani, should read without $p$.

444 Timpani, should read as whole-note with $tr$. 
Bibliography

Articles and Book Chapters


http://scholarship.claremont.edu/ppr/vol2/iss2/2


**Books**


Dissertations

http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/docview/302931671?accountid=12964

Historical Scores

Beethoven-Haus Bonn. “Ludwig van Beethoven, Sinfonie Nr. 5 (c-moll) op. 67.” Beethoven-Haus Digital Archives, accessed August 9, 2015,  


Urtext and Critical Editions


Websites and other media sources


