

**Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C Major, Op. 21:
Historical, Theoretical and Performance Interpretations**

By Nicholas Alexander Brown

Honors Thesis in Music
Brandeis University, 2010

**Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C Major, Op. 21:
Historical, Theoretical and Performance Interpretations**

By Nicholas Alexander Brown
Honors Thesis in Music, Brandeis University
May 2010

OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
- II. Historical Context
- III. Theoretical Analysis
- IV. Performance Interpretations
- V. Conclusion

I. INTRODUCTION

Ludwig van Beethoven's Symphony No. 1 in C Major, Op. 21 holds a unique place in the symphonic canon, in that it marked the beginning of Beethoven's compositional revolution, linking the classical and romantic styles. The symphony provides the first examples of stylistic, harmonic and structural innovation in Beethoven's orchestral writing, while having a firm origin in the symphonic traditions of Franz Josef Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. In consideration of Symphony No. 1's unique place in the repertoire, it has been host to varying interpretations by the greatest conductors of the twentieth century, leading to countless recordings and major treatises which offer musical instruction for understanding Beethoven's transformational symphony. By means of a thorough study and understanding of Symphony No. 1, historically, stylistically, harmonically and structurally, it is possible for a conductor to form a very unique, though musically accurate interpretation.

II. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Beethoven's Symphony No. 1 proved a turning point in the canon of symphonic music, as it is "the first of that mighty and immortal series which seem destined to remain the greatest

monuments of music,” his symphonies.¹ The earliest sketches that exist of Symphony No. 1 are fragments of the final movement, written as part of a scrapped symphony in C major in 1795.² The majority of the work was written and completed in 1799-1800. Beethoven began the symphony as a young man of twenty-five, and was twenty-nine at the time of its premiere.³ In comparison to his predecessors, Haydn (1732-1809) and Mozart (1756-1791), Beethoven’s symphonic output began rather late in life, though he was already established as a successful composer for keyboard, chamber ensembles (notably the string quartet) and as an improvisational keyboardist.⁴ Haydn’s first symphony was composed by the time he was twenty-seven, while Mozart had composed thirty-six of his forty-one symphonies by age thirty. As a young composer struggling to make a name for himself, Beethoven’s Symphony No. 1 and the concert, or “Academy”, in which it was premiered, served as the event that launched Beethoven onto the scene in Vienna as a significant symphonic composer.

Just five years after Haydn’s final symphony (1795) and Mozart’s *Jupiter* symphony (1788), Beethoven organized a concert on April 2, 1800 at the Burgtheater in Vienna. It was a major risk for him to write a symphony and present a public concert, with the enormous and magnificent works left by Haydn looming over a cultured Viennese music scene.⁵ Since 1790 the idea of private patronage for musicians as the principal source of employment was declining, while public performances were spreading. Beethoven had arrived in Vienna in 1792 at the height of the French Revolution. The shock of the nobility following the execution of King Louis XVI on January 21, 1793 coincided with the decline of the supremacy of the nobility in Viennese cultural life. To establish himself as a symphonic composer in a self-presented public concert,

¹ George Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies* (New York: Dover, 1962), 1.

² Armin Raab, ed. “Symphonie Nr. 1” *Beethoven Werke* Band I, Symphonien I (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 2004), 147-163.

³ Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2003), 147.

⁴ Lockwood, 148.

⁵ Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), 136.

with the First Symphony, was surely Beethoven's attempt to break away from a complete dependence on aristocratic patronage, which tended to suppress his "enlightened political principles".⁶ Ironically, this concert can be seen as the event which "seems to have established his recognition in aristocratic circles,"⁷ evident in the fact that Beethoven's symphonies maintain dedications to aristocratic patrons.

In the 1801 parts published by Simrock Beethoven dedicated Symphony No. 1 to Baron van Swieten, one of his aristocratic patrons.⁸ Van Swieten had previously collaborated with C.P.E. Bach and Mozart, promoting the ideals of the "sublime" style of music, suitable to the nobility. This style of music, which emerged in Germany in the late 18th century, is characterized by expansive and inspired emotions, noble language and imagery, as well as an overall intellectual and dignified creation of grand concepts.⁹ Beethoven would achieve this style in the first symphony, and would gradually expand and develop it into the more expansive works of his heroic period, such as the third symphony, *Eroica*, and the fifth symphony.

The chronological proximity to the final symphonic outputs and lives of Haydn and Mozart, to whom Beethoven was a direct heir in the Viennese school of composition, confirms their influence upon him, with additional confirmation in the musical traditions and ideas whose influence is evident in a thorough structural and harmonic analysis. Beethoven acknowledged these influences by premiering his first symphony and his *Septett*, Op. 20, on the same program as a Mozart symphony, two scenes from Haydn's *The Seasons*, and his own Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15.¹⁰ The influence of Haydn's symphonic writing, which so heavily impacted

⁶ Lockwood, 69-74.

⁷ Carl Dalhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xvii.

⁸ Grove, 3.

⁹ E.A. Bucchianeri, "The Symphonies of Beethoven: Historical and Philosophical Reflections through Music," in *A Compendium of Essays* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2002).

¹⁰ Nicole Kämpken and Michael Ladenburger, "*Alle Noten bringen mich nicht aus den Nöthen!!*" *Beethoven und das Geld* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus Bonn, 2005), 176.

Beethoven's early symphonies, can be traced to the latter's time as a pupil to Haydn in Vienna, the then most important composer in Austria.

Beethoven's time as a student of Haydn lasted only 14 months, from November 1792 to January 1794, and was cut short by a falling out between the two over Beethoven's finances and him pursuing studies with Johann Schenk and Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, with whom he studied the rules of counterpoint, behind Haydn's back, after it was insisted he exclusively study with him.¹¹ The tensions that ensued and Beethoven's desire to gain a unique voice as a composer led him to disdain being regarded as a "pupil of Haydn," feeling Haydn's influence would hold back his individuality.¹² Nonetheless, Beethoven gained from Haydn fundamentals of composing, such as "principles of formal organization, the nature of sonata writing, the handling of tonal forces, the techniques by which dynamic contrasts could be achieved, the alternation of emotional moods consistent with artistic unity, thematic development, harmonic structure—in short, the whole range of ideas and techniques of the Classical style."¹³

Sir Donald Tovey suggests that the legacy can be extended back from Haydn to Bach, Händel and Gluck, with Beethoven's early symphonic style deriving from the "dramatic music style" in Gluck's operas.¹⁴ This lineage is what comprises the Viennese Classical style, in which Beethoven's Symphony No. 1 is clearly rooted. Despite its clear connection to the classical style, and the fact that the symphony was written in the throes of the 18th century, Symphony No. 1 is a "fitting farewell to the eighteenth century."¹⁵ Beethoven's harmonic and structural language suggests a desire to depart from the traditional style and break out into something new and more expressive. The origins of Beethoven's symphonic revolution from the classical to romantic

¹¹ Lockwood, 82.

¹² Solomon, 89.

¹³ Solomon, 93.

¹⁴ Solomon, 127.

¹⁵ Solomon, 137.

styles are found in Symphony No. 1, in which the score “declares its allegiance to a new aesthetic, one with large-scale intellectual aesthetic concerns.”¹⁶ Recognizing its vital role in marking the beginning of Beethoven’s compositional evolution, Kretzschmor calls the symphony “the instrumental swan-song of the eighteenth century,”¹⁷ as a culmination of the stylistic traditions of the classical period and the breaking ground for the new expansive ideas of the romantic period. The early symphonies of Beethoven mark a period “during which Beethoven achieved maturity as a composer and witnessed his own reputation skyrocket.”¹⁸

III. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

[I. Adagio molto-Allegro con brio]

Beethoven’s twelve measure introduction to Symphony No. 1 marks his choice “to begin his career as a symphonist with a mood of heightened expectation and a surprise as rude as it is representative.”¹⁹ These few measures serve to build up a dominant tension, relative to the tonal center of G, which first resolves at the *Allegro con brio*. The dominant tension he creates is an overarching trademark of the entire symphony and plays a role in each movement. The opening C dominant seventh chord, which functions as the secondary dominant of F major, relaxes through the effect of the fortepiano into the F major triad, suggesting it as the tonic of the movement. The harmonic motion in m. 2 pushes through a G dominant seventh chord, with deceptive motion to a minor (the relative minor to the home key of C major). M. 3 holds a solid secondary dominant chord of G major with the first sure cadential point coming on the downbeat of m. 4, as a root position G major chord. These opening four measures, which suggest a

¹⁶ Irvin Godt, “Beethoven’s Symphony No. 1: Tactics and Strategy,” *The Beethoven Journal* 14.2 (1999): 87.

¹⁷ Edwin Evans, *Beethoven’s Symphonies Described and Analyzed* Vol. 1: 1-5 (London: New Temple, 1923), 1-60.

¹⁸ Jon Ceander Mitchell, *The Braunschweig Scores-Felix Weingartner and Erich Leinsdorf on the First Four Symphonies of Beethoven* (United States: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), iii.

¹⁹ Richard Osborne, “The Beethoven Symphonies,” in accompanying booklet, *Beethoven Symphonies* performed by the Wiener Philharmoniker conducted by Simon Rattle, EMI Classics 5 57445 2, 2003, compact disc, 10.

harmonic center of G major, create a tension that is not resolved until the true arrival of the C major tonic at m. 13, the *Allegro con brio* section. The dominant tension of these opening chords is enhanced by their rhythmic displacement, with the seventh chords falling on the downbeats and resolving to stronger chords on beat three, rather than resolving on downbeats as would be considered the norm. In m. 1 the C7 chord resolves to an F major triad on beat three, and the G7 chord of m. 2 resolves in a deceptive cadence to A minor. The G major triad and scale are expanded through mm. 5-7 and again at m. 11.

The C major chord in m. 8 is the strongest tonic arrival thus far in the introduction. This tonic arrival is overshadowed by the tonic arrival at the *Allegro con brio*, which is the moment of resolution of the dominant tension that is developed in the introduction. The instance of C major at m. 8 functions as the subdominant of G major, which is being tonicized. D minor and C major triads in first inversion are followed by chromatic motion in the bass from G to A, leading to A minor and F major chords that precede the dominant G major chord at m. 11. The glorious expansion of G major through the horn arpeggiations in m. 11 and the G major scale played by the strings in m. 12 is the culmination of the harmonic tension of the *Adagio molto* introduction, as the one “proper dominant” establishing C major as the tonic, through the authentic cadence arrival into m. 13. This dominant to tonic relationship is a clear harmonic parallel with the beginning cadence from C dominant seven to F in m. 1.²⁰ The downbeats of mm. 8 and 10, C major and A min respectively, are weakened by a deliberate omission of tenuto markings, whereas the remaining notes in each bar all have tenutos. This represents an intentional weakening of the chords that would suggest C major as the solid tonic, a continued push towards the perceived tonic of G major. Beethoven manages to fool the listener into feeling G major as the tonic, despite the fact that he has already arrived at a root position C major chord. This

²⁰ Antony Hopkins, *The Nine Symphonies of Beethoven* (Seattle: Henemann Educational Books, 1981), 11-12.

harmonic deception contributes to the power of the true cadential arrival at C major at the *Allegro con brio*.

Overall, “the harmonic function of the introduction is to create a dominant tension which will lead into, and be resolved by the beginning of the *Allegro con brio*.”²¹ While this harmonic device is evident to any modern musician or critic, it did generate some controversy and discussion following the symphony’s premier. The opening of Beethoven’s first symphony “was audacious, and amply sufficient to justify the unfavorable reception which it met.”²² Referring to its premier, one critic wrote “such a beginning is not suitable for the opening of a grand concert in a spacious opera house,” referring to the Burgtheater in Vienna.²³ For such a vital work in Beethoven’s unveiling to the public as a symphonist, a portion of the public found the harmonies of the opening unsatisfactory. It was a clear break from traditional symphonic writing, codified by Haydn and Mozart, with a clear statement of the tonic in the introduction of the first movement.

Their unfavorable experience of the opening harmonies are understandable in the sense that prejudices and preconceptions of the symphonic form were not satisfied, though Beethoven was certainly not the first composer to begin a symphony somewhere other than on tonic. His predecessor Haydn began the Quartet in B-flat (No. 42) with a 6-4-2 discord.²⁴ In the opening of Cantata BWV 54, *Wiederstehe doch der Sünde*, Bach delays the tonic arrival by eight measures from the downbeat. In the introduction of *Die Schöpfung* Haydn dramatically prolongs the clear tonic arrival by eighty-six slow measures, arriving at the tonic “together with the explosion of

²¹ Basil Deane, “The Symphonies and Overtures,” in *The Beethoven Companion*, ed. Enis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), 282.

²² Grove, 4.

²³ Christopher Gibbs, program notes, *Notes on Beethoven’s First Symphony* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Orchestra Association, 2006), <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5442651> (accessed December 9, 2008).

²⁴ Grove, 4.

‘light’.”²⁵ Beethoven’s use of the C dominant seven to F motion in the first measure was not “harmonic audacity,” as considered by a critic reacting to the symphony years after its premiere, but rather an example of musical innovation used by the composer in order to have an expanded, tension-filled drive towards the establishment of the C major tonic in m. 13.²⁶ The device of delaying the tonic arrival brilliantly serves to create a far stronger sense of C major as the tonal center at m. 13, than if it were laid out plainly at the beginning of the *Adagio molto* introduction. The powerful dominant tension created in these few measures shows Beethoven’s expansion upon the idea that “the emotional force of the classical style is clearly bound up with this contrast between dramatic tension and stability.”²⁷ While still rooted in the styles of his classical predecessors, it is clear that Beethoven yearns to achieve new bounds of symphonic writing. This type of harmonic innovation, as well as the rhythmic, thematic and motivic ideas Beethoven uses throughout the symphony earn him a mighty place as a symphonist, which is most likely he what he intended when he broke away from the mold of a bland root position tonic opening to a symphony.

The first movement of Symphony No. 1 is an example of “a maximum of information relayed through minimal means,” with the slow introduction serving not as a “dispensable curtain-raiser but rather as an organic cell feeding the rest of the movement.”²⁸ The first theme (see Figure 1), which is fanfare-like, repetitive and features motives that are transformed

Figure 1
Allegro con brio

sequentially, is made effective as an arrival point from the dominant tension of the introduction.²⁹ Melodically rather mundane, as its pitches are the arpeggiation of a C major7 chord, the twenty bar statement of the first theme establishes the movement as being rhythm-driven. Serving as evidence of Beethoven's training in the classical style, this simple principal theme represents the "short, periodic, articulated phrase" that is one of the clearest elements unique to that style, and traces Beethoven's lineage from Haydn and Mozart.³⁰ The principal rhythmic motive (see Figure 2) propels the music forward melodically and harmonically, offering clues to the harmonic progression of the movement

Figure 2



when it is not emphasizing the tonic of C, as in mm. 13-15. When the first theme is raised by a whole step in pitch in m. 19, arriving on the ii (D minor), the wheels begin to turn for the gradual tonicization of G major in the second theme. An additional rhythmic motive evident in the principal theme is that of the sixteenth-note pick-ups into a new phrase fragment. The pick-ups into the *Allegro con brio* (see Figure 3), a heated point of contest in performance interpretation of the symphony in terms of their tempo, mark the first instance of this motive. As pick-ups to m. 19, the motive is combined with the harmonic motion, building excitement and forward energy.

Figure 3



²⁹ Godt, 87.

³⁰ Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: Norton, 1997), 57.

The development section combines both thematic and transitional material from the exposition in altered forms, in order to push away from the tonic home of C major. Material from the first theme comprises the principal melodic line at the beginning of the development (m. 110) in the first violins. This is used in a sequence, pushing first to A, then D, and lastly G. The arpeggio figure in the fifth measure of the principal theme (m. 16), is taken out of its original C major form and used as a road map for the harmonic motion of the development. First found in m. 122 outlining C minor⁷, the arpeggio is later expanded, inverted and played in voices other than the first violins, who introduced the idea in the exposition. Harmonically the altered arpeggiations move through F minor, B-flat major (acting as the dominant of f minor) and E-flat major. At m. 136 the transition material that links the two themes of the exposition takes control of the melodic motion. Used antiphonally between the winds and low strings in the transition from mm. 45-52, this motive returns with a brief tease of canonic imitation and rich unisons in the strings, falling back into a duet between the first and second violins in mm.136-146.

Beethoven layers fragments of the principal rhythmic motive on top of the transitional material being played in the violins at m. 144. Passed through the woodwinds, these fragments outline an emphasis of E-flat. The strings become involved, with the celli and basses taking the motive from E-flat to F minor, G minor (m. 152), D minor (m. 155) and A minor (m. 156), the relative minor of the tonic. From m. 160 to m. 172 altered fragments of the first theme bounce the harmony from E major (the dominant of A minor) and A minor. This harmonic emphasis on A minor brings the harmonic journey home to C major, a device used frequently by Haydn,³¹ with a shift through F major (IV), D minor (ii), the dominant G major (V), arriving at C major with an authentic cadence into m. 178. Though this development section is the shortest and most compact of Beethoven's symphonic development sections, it is a fine example of his ability to

³¹ Deane, 283.

alter the simple motives he used as principal thematic material in the exposition. Through changes in voicing, altering of rhythmic patterns, harmonic adjustments and situations when all of these tools are used at the same time, Beethoven creates a sense of magic and forward motion in the first movement, which reaches a climax with the arrival of C major at the recapitulation (m. 178).

The arrival of C major at m. 178 is the strongest emphasis of C as the tonic up to that point. Deane considers this restatement of the theme Beethoven's "stroke of individual genius and underlines his sense of the importance of this point in the movement," only to be followed by the coda, which is a "culmination of the movement."³² The principal theme is played by the whole orchestra, save the brass and timpani, in a *tutti fortissimo*, compared to the very subtle first statement of the theme at m. 13, which was *piano* in dynamic and played only by the first violins. A greater sense of drama is created with these changes in dynamics, allowing for a *subito piano* jump away from *fortissimo* in m. 182, which becomes a brilliant *crescendo* into a restatement of the theme in D minor at m. 184. The sixteenth-note pick-up motive, which links the *Adagio molto* to the *Allegro con brio* and the development section to the recapitulation, combines with a soaring line in the woodwinds (beginning in m. 188) to attempt another departure from C major, making it seem like Beethoven's joke in this movement is to deprive the listener of the satisfaction of remaining in the clear tonic of C major for too long. Passing through F major, E major, A minor, B-flat major, G major, A major, D minor and D major, the transition rests in G major at m. 198. The sixteenth-note motive continuing to propel the music forward until the return to C major at m. 206, the restatement of the second theme, which was centered around the dominant of G major in the exposition and is now centered on C major. This adheres to the traditional rules of harmonic progress and the restatement of themes in

³² Deane, 284.

recapitulation sections of sonata form movements, which require thematic material that was not in the tonic key in the exposition to appear in the tonic in the recapitulation.

The coda to the first movement satisfies the requirement of sonata form to have “a long, firm, and unequivocally resolved section in tonic at the end, dramatic if need be, but clearly reducing all the harmonic tensions of the work.”³³ This concluding section breaks off from five strong dominant-tonic statements, the last of which is a powerful authentic cadence into m. 259. Fragments of the principal theme outline C major, with tonicizations of D minor, G major and A minor, culminating in twenty-one measures (mm. 277-297) of C major. The tonic is emphasized through by restatements of the theme, fanfare-like arpeggiations in the brass, and the final five blows of C major which conclude the movement. This coda section, and especially the unrelenting pounding of C major at the very end, is incredibly effective in that it is the true arrival and culmination of a voyage around C major, which was never truly grounded, from the dominant-tension-filled introduction, to the weak piano first statement of the first theme, and the harmonic departures from C major in the development section. From the tonic arrival that marks the beginning of the recapitulation there is a constant thrilling propulsion to ground the music and the listener in the key of C major, made so much more powerful by the fact that Beethoven avoided a bland statement of the tonic at the beginning of the introduction. The movement is truly a drama, characterized by tension, mystery, joy and ecstasy as the tonal home is reached and secured by the end of the coda.

As seen in the first movement of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 1, the sonata form offered the composer “new unexplored possibilities: thematic condensation; more intense, extended, an dramatic development; and the infusion of richer fantasy and improvisatory materials into and

³³ Rosen, 75.

even more highly structured classicism.”³⁴ Through a careful exploration of the organic germination of the principal motives throughout the first movement, it is clear that “the rhythm is the form,” as it forms the basis of the melodic and structural material, while collaborating with the harmonic motion in order to achieve the satisfaction afforded by the impregnable force of C major in the coda.³⁵ Beethoven’s writing in Symphony No. 1 optimizes the notion that “the classical style is a style of reinterpretation” as he focuses on “its ability to give an entirely new significance to a phrase by placing it in another context.”³⁶ This “reinterpretation” of musical material sets Beethoven apart from his predecessors, in his consistent mastery of developing simple ideas into some of the grandest and most powerful works in the symphonic repertoire. He certainly “remained within the classical framework, even while using it in startlingly radical and original ways,”³⁷ as evidenced in the motivic orchestration used throughout the first movement of Symphony No. 1, and several of his later works.

Though not necessarily a direct influence upon Beethoven, the technique of motivic orchestration was used by Mozart in the second subject of the first movement of his Symphony No. 40 in G minor.³⁸ The antiphonal solo winds in m. 53, when combined, comprise the second theme, which is solidly in G major (see Figure 4). This is an

Figure 4

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: Flute and Oboe. The Flute part is on the top staff and the Oboe part is on the bottom staff. Both parts are in G major. The Flute part begins with a piano (p) dynamic and features a melodic line with slurs and accents. The Oboe part begins with a piano (p) dynamic and features a rhythmic line with slurs and accents. Both parts transition to a fortissimo (sf) dynamic in the final two measures.

additional example of disjointed rhythmic fragments combining to form important thematic material. The cello and bass line in the episode the follows the second theme (mm. 77-87) is

³⁴ Solomon, 141.

³⁵ Evans, 1-60.

³⁶ Rosen, 78.

³⁷ Rosen, 384.

³⁸ Deane, 283.

another melodic line created by a repeated rhythmic pattern. The arrival point of the episode at m. 88 features a clear G dominant harmony, followed by a return of the principal theme being challenged by altered fragments of the second theme in the first violins, flutes and clarinets, which carry the exposition into its repeat and later the development section (see figure 5).

Figure 5



Beethoven was one to reuse techniques that worked in his compositions, though there was always an expansion of how they were used. In Symphony No. 5 in C Minor, Op. 67, motivic orchestration is evident through the role of the principal rhythmic motive (see Figure 6).

Figure 6



As the basis of the entire first movement of the symphony, and embedded throughout the other three movements, this motive is passed through different instruments in varying patterns. In the first iteration of the theme (beginning at m. 6) the motive is passed from Violin II to Viola and Violin I, repeating in the same sequence. The second statement of the principal theme (m. 25) features a sequence of Violin I-Violin II-Viola-Celli/Double Bass, with the first oboe, clarinet and bassoons entering to strengthen the tonic arrival after the second sequence. The third instance of the theme being altered orchestrally is at m. 129 in the development section, which is the first time the motivic dialogue involves a wind instrument, here the clarinets, as a principal voice. The pattern of instrument here is Violin II-Clarinets-Violin I-Celli/Double Bass. With this most altered iteration, the principal motive and accompaniment drives the development section into the departure from the tonic home of C minor, to F minor, G major, D major, G

major, and lastly E-flat major and ultimately G minor, which are the transitional keys into the recapitulation. The consistent use of motivic orchestration in Symphony No. 5 in C Minor, op. 67 is also prevalent in the second movement of Symphony No. 7 in A major, Op. 92. Here the rhythmic motive Beethoven uses as the melodic foundation of the movement is a simple figure

Figure 7



of quarter notes and eighth notes (see Figure 7). This third major instance of the motivic orchestration technique marks Beethoven as a true compositional genius, for his ability to transform the simplest motives and ideas into melodic material by their germination through the orchestra in altered forms, different orchestrational patterns and a close correlation to the evolving harmonic materials.

In addition to the harmonic misdirection Beethoven offers within the first movement, the harmonic relationship between the four movements speaks to his subtle ingenuity as master of using traditional harmonic patterns and structures in a way that breaks from the stylistic norm, set by Haydn for example. Emerging from the conclusion of the first movement is a sense of satisfaction that the tonic of C major was finally achieved, despite the whirlwind of tonicizations around the subdominant and dominant. As soon as this home key is achieved Beethoven shifts to F major in the second movement, *Andante cantabile con moto*, revealing the relationship between the two movements in the overall tonal structure of the symphony. The first note of the movement is a middle C in the second violins, arriving at the new tonic note of F on the first downbeat. This sol-do, or V-I relationship, what connects the first movement to the second, as that fulfilling sense of the C major tonic dissipates while acts as the dominant to the new tonic of F major. The ensuing iterations of the theme, in the first violins, violas and cello, repeat this new

harmonic idea for C major the dominant. It is only the entrance of the double bass and bassoons in mm. 10-11 that demonstrates a V-I motion from G to C, though here C is again acting as the dominant to F, the clear tonic of the movement from the very first measure.

[II. Andante cantabile con moto]

The sonata form of the *Andante cantabile con moto* is based on a principal theme and two subordinate thematic figures which are used both melodically when combined and in fragments when serving as transition material later in the movement. The principal theme begins with a strong impetus on the pickup to the first full measure (see Figure 8). The slur marking and the

Figure 8



fact that beats one and two of the first measure are to be played

detached suggest the weight belongs on the upbeat, removing the emphasis from the downbeat, which is the traditional strong beat in music of a triple meter such as this movement. This relocation of the rhythmic emphasis succeeds in removing some of the sense of rhythmic regularity, giving the music circular and forward motion. Beethoven also uses careful placement of sforzandi to alter and excite the rhythmic structure of the movement. In mm. 20 the flute and violins have a sforzando on beat one, which is challenged sforzandi marked on beat three in the oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns and low strings. This technique is repeated and used in varying ways throughout the movement, contributing to the sense of *con moto* that is instructed in Beethoven's tempo indication. Mm. 22 repeats the same sforzando pattern as mm. 20, though in the next two measures the sforzando in the flutes and violins is shifted to the second beat. This strengthens and makes more powerful the tutti forte arrival on the downbeat of mm. 25.

Harmonically the *Andante cantabile con moto* follows the traditions of sonata form. The exposition sees a shift from the tonic of F major to C major as its dominant. The beginning of the development section (mm. 65) hints at C minor, the parallel minor to the C major dominant, with fragments of the principal theme. The minor key is never truly established, with almost immediate statements of the flat-VI of F major. C major returns in mm. 81 as the dominant, with the transition to the recapitulation that begins at mm. 93 displaying a chromatic line in the first violins. In combination with chordal statements of C dominant (in third inversion) the principal theme returns in the second violins in mm. 100, this time with a new counter-subject in the celli. This opening section of the recapitulation is very similar to the opening of the exposition, in that the statements of the principal theme are laid out imitatively, with staggered thematic statements and the use of counter-subjects. Perhaps he does this to confuse or tease the listener, in the same vain as the harmonic tease in the introduction to the *Adagio molto-Allegro con brio*, representing the inherent humor in Beethoven's writing. Hopkins considers this slow movement to be "not so much a slow movement as an old-fashioned minuet pretending to be a fugue."³⁹ The emphasis on the C pedal from mm. 81-95 and mm. 153-161 also serves a harmonic tease. Though C major is the clear dominant key of this F major movement, the G major timpani pedal from mm. 53-60, and the fact that the timpani are pitched at C and G, suggests the underlying tonic home of C major.

The two motives that form the basis of the slow movement are the strong-weak figure that opens the principal theme (see Figure 9) as well as the dotted-sixteenth note to thirty-second

Figure 9

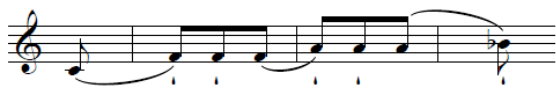
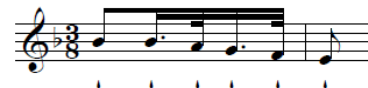


Figure 10



³⁹ Hopkins, 20.

note rhythmic pattern (see Figure 10), which is manifested in the principal theme, the first subordinate theme and the accompaniment. The first motive, a transformation of the principal rhythmic motive in the first movement (see Figure 8), is vital to the forward propulsion of the *Andante cantabile con moto*. The oboes, clarinets and bassoons play altered versions of the first motive from mm. 19-23 at the same time as the celli and double basses. It appears in the development section, from the entrance of the first violins at mm. 65 to the alternating woodwind statements from mm. 70-85 and also closes the *Andante cantabile con moto*, creating “the nearest thing to a wink you could expect to find in music.”⁴⁰

The second motive is present in the third measure of the principal theme, appears in fragmented form in the first subordinate theme (mm. 42-43), and is the principal accompaniment to the second subordinate theme (mm. 53-61), as played by the timpani. This motive also plays a critical role in the development as transition material that, in combination with the first motive being played in the woodwinds (mm. 71-80), drives the energy and harmonic motion. The melodies, in combination with the unorthodox rhythmic impulses and use of motivic fragments, produce a slow movement so refined, beautiful and subtle that is matched by few slow movements in symphonies of the classical era. The *Andante cantabile con moto* is “comic and seditious,”⁴¹ and “clearly the work of a Haydn pupil,” whereas the *Menuetto*, Beethoven’s first symphonic scherzo, “shows the pupil at his most headstrong, blowing convention to the winds.”⁴² The unique slow movement and revolutionary treatment of the *Menuetto* as a scherzo exemplifies Beethoven’s genius in Symphony No. 1, combining symphonic traditions of the past with his own voice as a composer.

⁴⁰ Hopkins, 23.

⁴¹ Osborne, 10.

⁴² Hopkins, 20.

[III. Menuetto and Trio]

Though the third movement bears the title of *Menuetto and Trio*, it is the first appearance of a scherzo in a symphony, making Symphony No. 1 in C major a landmark work in the development of the 19th century romantic tradition of scherzo movements in symphonic works. A scherzo, which translates as “joke” from Italian, is typically in a fast 3/4 tempo and varies in character more than a than a standard minuet. This type of movement traces to the Baroque period, during which it referred to a specific single work of “lighter character.” Evolving during the 19th century through works or movements for solo instruments, especially keyboard, the scherzo became a “standard movement-type introduced as a replacement for the minuet in multi-movement cycles.”⁴³ Haydn included scherzo movements in his op. 33 string quartets, followed by Beethoven’s use of the scherzo in the Wind Octet, op. 103, and the Piano Trios, op. 1.⁴⁴ It was Beethoven’s writing that truly differentiated the scherzo from the minuet, breaking away from the conservatism of the classical era’s sublime style. His transformation of the symphony is one ingredient in Beethoven’s influence as the catalyst between classical and romantic eras. The unnamed scherzo of Symphony No. 1 broke “free from traditional binary proportions,”⁴⁵ and as recognized by Hector Berlioz in his studies of the work, broke the mold and achieved a new ground in symphonic writing.⁴⁶

Despite the emphasis of the F major tonic in the second movement and the gradual arrival of a solid authentic cadence on C major in the first movement, the *Menuetto and Trio* offers an unequivocal exploration of the C major scale as the tonic from the beginning of the movement, with sections leaning on G major in its dominant relationship to C. The very opening phrase

⁴³ Don Michael Randel, ed., *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* Fourth Edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 761.

⁴⁴ Randel, 762.

⁴⁵ Deane, 284.

⁴⁶ Evans, 1-60.

indicates the power of what is to come. Kinderman comments “the dynamic tension is evident from the very first phrase, in which a rising scale pattern in iambic rhythm drives with a crescendo to an emphatic cadence in the dominant.”⁴⁷ The “vigorous rhythmic character of a scherzo” is established from this first strain, which propels and increases in intensity until it arrives at the five forte chords which shift to the five tutti forte chords that establish the dominant of G.⁴⁸ Beethoven immediately departs from any semblance of a minuet form with his irregular seventy-one bar second strain of the *Menuetto*. If this movement were a true minuet the second section would answer the regular eight measure first phrase with a proportional phrase of sixteen or thirty-two measures.⁴⁹ In this second section Beethoven shows off his compositional flare with brief, intense and rapid harmonic motion that grasps the neck of the listener.

The second section of the *Menuetto* begins in E-flat major, the flat-VI of the tonic C. A sequence which outlines B-flat minor arrives at D-flat major in m. 26, bringing the thematic material into a repetition of the ii-I-V harmony (in D-flat major) to the relative B-flat minor by m. 35. From m. 35 to the tonic arrival at m. 43 chromatic motion connects the B-flat minor to the tonic C major with a rush of energy in the four measure crescendo from mm. 41-44, arriving at the tutti forte of m. 45. Similar chromatic alternations between D-flat and D occur above a C major pedal from mm. 58-66. Rhythmic propulsion with the displacement of the accented beat from the downbeat (mm. 59, 61) to the second beat (mm. 62-64), as suggested by the sforzando markings and the hemiola in the violin melody in the closing statement of the *Menuetto*, comes to a glorious statement of the C major tonic with the tutti fortissimo in the last four measures. This gritty and satisfying tonic arrival is heard up to four times, depending on how many times

⁴⁷ William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 63.

⁴⁸ Godt, 88.

⁴⁹ Hopkins, 24.

the section is repeated after the *da capo* is observed. It serves as the final arrival of C major before declamatory G major chord that opens the *Finale*.

The *Trio* is calmer and less vigorous than the *Menuetto*, save for the second half of the second section (mm. 122-137), which are links to the repeat of the *Menuetto*. It features minimal harmonic motion, basically passing from I-V-V/V-I-IV-V-I, a huge contrast from the first part of the movement, which was in constant harmonic upheaval. Beginning with a repeated C major first inversion triad in the winds, the violins interject with an outlining of C major that includes a raised 4th to emphasize the G major dominant. The same interjection after the second statement of triads in the winds focuses on the D major scale, functioning as the dominant of G major, which is arrived at in m. 96 and remains the principal key into the second part of the trio.

The second section features a reduction of forces at first, with the call and response occurring in short bursts between the first violins and the winds, which comprise only of the clarinets and horns in mm.103-117. The G major chord that is stated at m. 104 is gradually departed from in the violins which emphasize B, the leading tone to C major, and D, the dominant of G major. From D the violins play through a C major scale, is grasped by the winds, low strings and percussion and exalted in a tutti fortissimo statement of C tonic in m. 127. The *Trio* is a perfect combination of playfulness, achieved through the interplay between the winds and strings, and the most delicate setting of the fundamental harmonies of tonal music.

Kretzschmar remarks that Beethoven “has done without theme or melody altogether, relying on the delivery of his rhythm by the solemn harmony of the wind instruments” (Evans). This is especially the case in the *Menuetto and Trio*, which is built upon scalar movement rather than thematic material, making the harmonic motion the only thing that makes this movement powerful, and that it certainly is. Lockwood accurately surmises that “no other composer at the

time could have written even a phrase of the *Menuetto*,⁵⁰ which entralls the listener from the first moment to the last, despite its lack of a true melody or theme.

[IV. *Finale. Adagio-Allegro molto e vivace*]

Sir George Grove is rather critical of the *Finale*, stating “it is unquestionably the weakest part of the work, and its frequent imitations and progressions of scale passages give it here and there an antiquated flavor of formality or over-regularity which is not characteristic of our Beethoven, and is strangely in contrast with the novelty of the third movement.”⁵¹ Lewis Lockwood similarly criticizes that the movement “fails to impress,” is a “trial run” and “memory of an earlier attractive and domesticated Beethoven.”⁵² These harsh comments have a foundation in the fact that this movement is the most-Haydnesque of the symphony and perhaps the least innovative, though Beethoven continues to use the same techniques of motivic orchestration that he so clearly mastered in the previous movements. If anything, this movement serves to solidify and further emphasize C major as the tonic, despite beginning in G major. The *Finale* is “distinctly characteristic of its composer,”⁵³ and must be examined in the same vein as the first three movements, which are decidedly unique to Beethoven and rich in innovation despite their roots in the deeply traditional classical style.

The *Finale* is closely related to the *Menuetto and Trio* in that a rhythmicized G major scale is the basis of the thematic material, though “it rhythmicizes it in a totally different manner” taking the *Menuetto*’s scale as a “point of departure”. Godt considers the final two movements to be a melodic tease, whereas the first two movements are a harmonic tease, forming the overall “aesthetic strategy” of arriving at an immensely satisfying ending to a C

⁵⁰ Lockwood, 148.

⁵¹ Grove, 15.

⁵² Lockwood, 148.

⁵³ Deane, 284.

major symphony. Following the opening tutti G major chord, the first violins tease melodically with their comical attempt to create a cliffhanger by delaying the completion of the fragmented G scale for five measures, going up by one step in each iteration of the “tantalizing hesitations.”⁵⁴ Beethoven is “clearly playing a game” with the devoted and high-brow audience of 1800 Vienna, utilizing the idea of musical pranks so prevalent in the works of Haydn,⁵⁵ such as the abrupt four measure pause in the Finale of Symphony No. 90. That moment can cause an audience to believe the performance is over, only to be awakened by a shift in harmony and glorious return to the fun. Beethoven’s innate comedic sense triumphed, causing conductor Türk, conductor of the Musical Society at Halle in 1809, to omit the introductory passage out of fear that the audience would laugh.⁵⁶ Humor has had a crucial role in the magic of Symphony No. 1, with the harmonic deception of the *Adagio molto-Allegro con brio* and the brash and youthful intelligent *Menuetto* which successfully challenged and departs from the more mundane minuet form through harmonic innovations and the more than abnormal for the classical era seventy-one measure second section of the *Menuetto*.

The main thematic subject of the *Finale* is a sixteen-measure spirited run through the G major scale, with a lowered seventh (see Figure 11). Not until m. 13 does the leading tone F#

Figure 11



appear in the second violins to strengthen the G major arrival at m. 14. The idea of a rhythmicized scale connects the *Finale* to the *Adagio molto-Allegro con brio*, which is

⁵⁴ Godt, 89.

⁵⁵ Hopkins, 27.

⁵⁶ Grove, 13.

arrives at the G dominant in m. 78. The subsequent transitional phrase (mm. 78-85) features rhythmic displacement with alternating sforzandi entrances on the second eighth note of each measure. Yet another example of rhythmic displacement creating forward motion, Beethoven's excellence as a composer is clear with his ability to take seemingly simple rhythmic and thematic material, transforming it into engaging, innovative music that is characterized by a perpetual sense of forward motion and energy. Both examples of rhythmicization as the means to overall intensification are repeated in the recapitulation.

The harmonic structure of the *Finale* is rather basic and traditional. The movement begins with an emphasis of the G dominant and arrives at the C major home rather quickly, with only subsequent tonicizations of the relative minor and secondary dominant. The *Adagio* introduction to the *Finale*, with its playful tease through the G major scale, is the last of Beethoven's jokes in Symphony No. 1. After deceiving the listener of the "normal", or aurally expected, classical harmonic structure from the downbeat of the entire symphony, Beethoven's *Finale* must have afforded the first listeners a sigh of relief. The closing movement is Beethoven laughing at the audience as he shakes his finger at them for doubting he would give a clear tonic ending to the symphony. The harmonic adventure that pushed the boundaries of symphonic composition at the time makes the very basic harmonic arrival in the *Finale* incredibly satisfying, perhaps much more than satisfying than if the downbeat of the *Adagio molto* had been a root position C major chord.

IV. Performance Interpretations

Beethoven's nine symphonies hold a very important place in the western canon, as works that transformed classical music, linking the classical and romantic eras. As a result his

symphonies have been subject to an enormous amount of scholarship, recorded history and interpretation by conductors, orchestras and musicologists. The question of performance practice and adherence to Beethoven's markings in the scores is at the root of this musical output, especially in Symphony No. 1, for which there are no surviving sketches or manuscripts.⁵⁷ Conductors are faced with choices that call into question conducting tradition, editorial markings in published scores and most importantly a duty to be true to the composer's written instructions in the music.

Through an examination of recordings of Symphony No. 1 made by the foremost conductors of the 20th century trends and traditions in interpretation can be observed. Guidance to the modern conductor's interpretation can be found in Felix Weingartner's landmark book *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies and Other Essays*, which informed and influenced many 20th Century conductors. The debate about purism in interpretation is brought to light by the interpretations of Weingartner, Leinsdorf and Toscanini, who claimed to be purists and true to the intention of Beethoven, while making editorial changes for the sake of fulfilling their understanding of what Beethoven's desires would be with the changes in orchestral playing, such as the technological developments in wind instruments and the acoustic power of modern orchestras. The question of authenticity in performance is entirely subjective and objectivity is virtually impossible due to the various topics of contention, such as instrument technology, Beethoven's metronome markings, and acoustics, to name a few. Nonetheless, it is valuable to examine performance and recording history so as to gain different understandings of a work.

In Beethoven's Symphony No. 1, the *Adagio molto-Allegro con brio* movement brings the most controversy and discussion among conductors. This first movement, as well as the final

⁵⁷ Jonathan Del Mar, Preface to *Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21 Urtext* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1997).

movement, can play a fundamental role in the training of a young conductor. Issues of conducting technique and musical interpretation are aplenty in navigating these two movements. How a conductor approaches these topics in Symphony No. 1 can largely reflect their identity when it comes to performance practice. The issue of tempo in the *Adagio molto-Allegro con brio* is the first challenge a conductor must contend with in developing their understanding of this score. Beethoven's tempo markings of *Adagio molto* and *Allegro con brio* are standard tempo markings for the first movement of a symphony in sonata form which includes a slow introduction, a trend started by Haydn in his late symphonies. The traditionally accepted concept behind tempi in a symphony of the classical style is that of tactus, a "specified 'beat'" or "unit of time"⁵⁸ which would remain constant in the tempi of both the *Adagio molto* and the *Allegro con brio*. Given that principle, the eighth note pulse of the *Adagio molto* serves as the tactus in Beethoven's first movement, continuing as the pulse of the half note in the *Allegro con brio*.

At issue with the concept of tactus and tempo relationships in Beethoven's symphonies are his metronome markings, which were added to the score of Symphony No. 1 in 1817,⁵⁹ 17 years after its premiere. He instructs a tempo of 88 to the eighth note for the *Adagio molto* and 112 to the half note for the *Allegro con brio*. If the idea of tactus were to be observed, the half note of the *Allegro con brio* would have a metronome marking of 88, rather slow and uncharacteristic of a section entitled *Allegro con brio*. Beethoven's metronome markings indicate a departure from the tradition of strict tempo relationships. The importance is instead given to the character of the music in the *Allegro con brio*, jovial, youthful, energetic and teasing. The tempo, in conjunction with the techniques of motivic orchestration and harmonic playfulness, serves to create a happy and joyful mood.

⁵⁸ "Tactus." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev., edited by Michael Kennedy. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e10048> (accessed May 11, 2010).

⁵⁹ Del Mar.

Conductors of the 20th century through the present have had varied interpretations of Beethoven's tempi and markings in the first movement of Symphony No. 1. The following table shows the results of a study of nineteen interpretations of tempi in the *Adagio molto-Allegro con brio* (see Table 1). Sir John Eliot Gardiner's 1993 recording with his period instrument Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique most closely follows Beethoven's metronome markings, capturing the character that Beethoven intended, at least when he added the specified markings in 1817. Other recordings which are close, but not as exact as Gardiner's, include Leinsdorf, Norrington, Rattle and Solti. In the recordings that were studied, it is clear that conductors take a great deal of liberty with the tempo in the *Adagio molto*, perhaps for dramatic effect. Their tempi feature a certain sense of elasticity, which can only be accomplished successfully by using Beethoven's tempo indications as the basis for the musicality and flexibility in tempo.

Table 1

Conductor	Orchestra	Year	Adagio Eighth Note=	Allegro Half Note=
Abbado	Berlin Philharmonic	2001	68-78	108-112
Bernstein	Vienna Philharmonic	1980	68-78	100-106
Fürtwängler	Vienna Philharmonic	1952	72-76	88-100
Gardiner	Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique	1993	88-90	112
Harnoncourt	Chamber Orchestra of Europe	1991	66-74	100-104
Karajan	Berlin Philharmonic	1961	66-84	92-102
Klemperer	Philharmonia	1965	70-94	98-104
Krips	London Symphony	1960	84-92	94-96
Leinsdorf	Boston Symphony	1969	80-88	112-120
Norrington	London Classical Players	1988	88-92	108
Rattle	Vienna Philharmonic	2002	80-96	104-112
Scherchen	Wiener Staatsoper	1954	78-88	88-108
Skrowaczewski	Sarbrücken Radio Symphony	2007	72-84	112-116
Solti	Chicago Symphony	1989	82-88	112-120
Szell	Cleveland Orchestra	1964	82-88	98-100
Toscanini	BBC Symphony	1937	78-82	108-112
Toscanini	NBC Symphony	1939	82-88	118-124
Wand	NDR Symphony Hamburg	1986	78-82	106-112
Weingartner	Vienna Philharmonic	1937	66-72	112

Harnoncourt, Karajan and Weingartner reach the slowest tempi of the surveyed recordings, having at times an eighth note speed of 66, well below the instructed 88. Weingartner honors Beethoven's metronome marking of 112 for the *Allegro con brio*, whereas Harnoncourt and Karajan keep a slower pace which reaches 102-104 at its quickest moments.

Felix Weingartner, in his essay for conductors on conducting the first symphony, suggests an interpretation of the tempi which honors the principle of tactus as well as Beethoven's metronome markings. He believes the tempo relationship of the tactus must hold, with the eighth note of the *Adagio molto* equal to the half note of the *Allegro con brio*. In theory, this tactus is at 88 beats per minute, though Weingartner's 1937 recording with the Vienna Philharmonic stays well below that, peaking at 72 in the *Adagio molto*. His solution for achieving the tempo of half note=112 in the *Allegro con brio* is to begin the section with the steady tactus of the *Adagio molto* and *accelerando* gradually until the full speed of 112 is reached at m. 31. In the repeat of the exposition the full speed is to be maintained from the beginning, with no *accelerando*. Weingartner emphasizes that this adjustment of tempo, which is not an explicit instruction from Beethoven, is "concerned with fluctuations, not with any dislocation of the time of the piece. An intentionally slow beginning of the *Allegro* would be...displeasing." He finds the preparatory holding back of the opening of the *Allegro con brio* "pleasing and effectual."⁶⁰ This very specific treatment of tempi in the first movement is one effective way of honoring Beethoven's tempo markings, at least for the *Allegro con brio*, though at root it is not faithful to the wishes of the composer as indicated in the score. His metronome markings are so specific, and they influence the feel and character of the music to such an extent that they must

⁶⁰ Felix Weingartner, *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies and Other Essays* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969) 67.

be observed. As a result, Gardiner's recording can be considered the most accurate interpretation of Beethoven's written guidance.

The most well-known debate that arises out of the relationship between the introductory *Adagio molto* and the *Allegro con brio* surrounds how to interpret the pick-up notes into the *Allegro con brio* (see Figure 13). The slurred thirty-second notes that fall on the final eighth note before the *Allegro con brio* are can be interpreted in two general ways. The first interpretation suggests that these four notes must be played in the tempo of the *Adagio molto*, eighth note=88. Weingartner argues in favor of this interpretation, declaring that "the four

Figure 13 *Allegro con brio*

demisemiquavers... must have exactly the value of a quaver."⁶¹ If Beethoven's metronome markings are observed then this interpretation of the final four notes in the *Adagio molto* prohibits them from being in the character of the *Allegro con brio*. This figure, though technically in the introduction section, introduces one of the rhythmic motives that is a crucial part of the identity of the thematic material. At m. 18 the exact figure of four falling notes preceding the principal theme is repeated, though now represented by sixteenth notes, rather than the thirty-second notes of m. 12. This creates another question about the tempo relationship of between in the introduction and the exposition. If the tactus of the eighth-note from the *Adagio molto* is equal to the half note of the *Allegro con brio*, then the sixteenth note from the preceding

⁶¹ Weingartner, 67.

would be equal to the quarter note of the *Allegro con brio*. Therefore duration of the pick-up notes to m. 13 must be equal to that of the pick-ups to m. 19. The only problem with that understanding of the tempo relationship and the pick-ups into the *Allegro con brio*, is that it is not possible if Beethoven's metronome markings are observed.

Observing the given tempo of half-note=112 at the *Allegro con brio* is the basis of the second interpretation of the pick-up notes to m. 13. In order to create a relationship between the motivic introduction to the exposition and the motives that create the principal theme, the figure in question must be played as pick-ups in the new tempo of the *Allegro con brio*. This helps establish the two unrelated tempi, by using the last beat of the *Adagio molto* as the pivotal moment of transition into the new section and tempo. Table 2 reveals an overwhelming propensity among conductors to practice the second interpretation of this pick-up figure, to be played in the new tempo of the *Allegro con brio*. Of the sampling of recordings reflected below,

Table 2

Conductor	Orchestra	Year	Tempo of Pick-ups to Allegro con brio
Abbado	Berlin Philharmonic	2001	Allegro
Bernstein	Vienna Philharmonic	1980	Allegro
Fürtwängler	Vienna Philharmonic	1952	Allegro
Gardiner	Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique	1993	Allegro
Harnoncourt	Chamber Orchestra of Europe	1991	Allegro
Karajan	Berlin Philharmonic	1961	Allegro
Klemperer	Philharmonia	1965	Adagio
Krips	London Symphony	1960	Allegro
Leinsdorf	Boston Symphony	1969	Allegro
Norrington	London Classical Players	1988	Adagio
Rattle	Vienna Philharmonic	2002	Allegro
Scherchen	Wiener Staatsoper	1954	Allegro
Skrowaczewski	Sarbrücken Radio Symphony	2007	Allegro
Solti	Chicago Symphony	1989	Allegro
Szell	Cleveland Orchestra	1964	Allegro
Toscanini	BBC Symphony	1937	Adagio
Toscanini	NBC Symphony	1939	Adagio
Wand	NDR Symphony Hamburg	1986	Adagio
Weingartner	Vienna Philharmonic	1937	Adagio

the majority of the conductors interpret the pick-ups to m. 13 as being in the tempo of the *Allegro con brio*.

It is no surprise that the great conductors who are known for precise interpretations of the composers' scores, especially Weingartner, Toscanini and Norrington, maintain the pick-up figure in the tempo of the *Adagio molto*, which is technically the only correct reading of what is printed in the score. Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos, in a performance with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, observed the tactus relationship, eighth note of *Adagio molto* = half note of *Allegro con brio*, keeping the pick-ups in the tempo of the tactus.⁶² What these conductors neglect is how vital the pick-up figure is in introducing the theme of the *Allegro con brio*. Modern pedagogues Jorma Panula and Markus Lehtinen, both of the Finnish school of conducting, agree that the pick-ups to the exposition must be treated in the tempo of the *Allegro con brio*, as they connect the two sections and are a fragment of the principal theme.⁶³ To play the pick-ups in the tempo of the *Adagio molto* would require ignoring the fact that the figure is part of the theme.

Overall, arguments that are valid and have merit can be made for either interpretation of the pick-up notes into m. 13. Each interpretation has such different implications for the treatment of the principal theme in the *Allegro con brio*. Maintaining the tempo of the *Adagio molto*, while being wholly faithful to the score, makes the entry of the new tempo and section much more abrupt and does not serve as a satisfying transition. Because motivic orchestration, in this specific instance rhythmic, is at the core of Beethoven's writing and the thematic material of this movement, it is equally legitimate to treat the final beat of the *Adagio molto* as a pick-up to the *Allegro con brio* in the new tempo. Both interpretations make musical sense and are correct as long as the conductor understands and is able to defend and explain his musical choices.

⁶² Live Performance, Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos conducts *Beethoven Symphony No. 1* with Boston Symphony Orchestra. Symphony Hall Boston, October 23, 2009.

⁶³ Interview with Jorma Panula and Markus Lehtinen. Avenue Hotel, Copenhagen, Denmark (January 7, 2010).

Interpretation of a symphonic score is ultimately at the discretion of the conductor, whose single most important duty is to honor the intentions of the composer. This ideal attempt for objectivity is unfortunately impossible as there is no way to know exactly what the composer imagined in his head when writing the music and how that relates to early performances, limitations of musicians and instruments and if the composer would adjust things given modern instruments and ensembles. When there are specific instances in which the composer's markings are contradictory, such as the discussed question of tempi with regards to the pick-ups into m. 13, then the conductor's interpretation is the only way of navigating the question as it fits into the context of the overall musical vision for a given work. Beethoven's emphasis on motivic orchestration is so explicit in first movement of Symphony No. 1 there is virtually no way to argue against the interpretation of the pick-up figure to m. 13 being in the tempo of the *Allegro con brio*.

Conducting tradition and performance practice informs an additional tempo related discussion in the *Adagio molto-Allegro con brio*. The episode which begins at m. 77, featuring a cantabile descending subsidiary thematic line in the celli and basses with a counter-subject in the oboe and bassoon, is a key landmark in the tempo scheme in the first movement. Here, it is traditional to observe a slight slowing of the tempo, a *poco meno mosso*. This subtle change in speed creates a tasteful contrast between the legato transitory episode and the energetic passages based on the principal theme that precede and succeed it. Weingartner instructs the conductor to observe a *poco meno mosso* at m. 77, followed by a "gradual increase of speed which lasts for three bars," beginning at m. 85 and arriving at the tempo primo at m. 88.⁶⁴ Of the studied recordings, only Josef Krips chooses not to observe a *poco meno mosso* or slackening of tempo at m. 77, while the other eighteen recordings feature some form of a slower tempo in the

⁶⁴ Weingartner, 70.

mentioned episode. Table 3 offers a comparison of the main *Allegro con brio* tempi and the tempi observed at m. 77. Though Krips is technically in accordance with the lack of a written *meno mosso* from the conductor, his tempo in the *Allegro con brio*, half-note=94-96, is significantly slower than Beethoven's metronome marking, creating a rather static and relatively uninteresting performance.

Table 3

Conductor	Orchestra	Year	Allegro Half Note=	Meno Mosso (Y/N)	If Yes, Half Note=
Abbado	Berlin Philharmonic	2001	108-112	Y	104-108
Bernstein	Vienna Philharmonic	1980	100-106	Y	92-98
Fürtwängler	Vienna Philharmonic	1952	88-100	Y	88
Gardiner	Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique	1993	112	Y	108
Harnoncourt	Chamber Orchestra of Europe	1991	100-104	Y	96-100
Karajan	Berlin Philharmonic	1961	92-102	Y	92-104
Klemperer	Philharmonia	1965	98-104	Y	96-98
Krips	London Symphony	1960	94-96	N	-
Leinsdorf	Boston Symphony	1969	112-120	Y	104-112
Norrington	London Classical Players	1988	108	Y	96-100
Rattle	Vienna Philharmonic	2002	104-112	Y	104
Scherchen	Wiener Staatsoper	1954	88-108	Y	94
Skrowaczewski	Sarbrücken Radio Symphony	2007	112-116	Y	104-112
Solti	Chicago Symphony	1989	112-120	Y	102-112
Szell	Cleveland Orchestra	1964	98-100	Y	92
Toscanini	BBC Symphony	1937	108-112	Y	100-106
Toscanini	NBC Symphony	1939	118-124	Y	108-112
Wand	NDR Symphony Hamburg	1986	106-112	Y	102-106
Weingartner	Vienna Philharmonic	1937	112	Y	104

The second movement of Symphony No. 1 is one of Beethoven's finest slow movements, evoking the melodic subtleties and musical warmth typically associated with the slow movements of Haydn's late symphonies. Beethoven's unique compositional voice separates the *Andante cantabile con moto* from his predecessor. The imitative repetitions of the principal theme and the displacement of the rhythmic emphasis makes this music truly magical. Grove recalls the influence the "strict contrapuntal school of Albrechtsberger" had on Beethoven's writing in this movement, while maintaining "an elegance and beauty about it far above any

school, and worth any amount of elaborate ornamentation; as well as continual little sallies of fun and humour.”⁶⁵ The most important interpretational understanding a conductor must have in order to achieve Beethoven’s musical intentions in the *Andante cantabile con moto* is that of the displaced rhythmic emphasis. Traditionally a movement in a triple meter evokes a rhythmic emphasis on beat one, as triple meters are typically associated with dances that are based on a strong downbeat, such as the minuet. Beethoven begins the movement on a pick-up note which slurs into the downbeat of the first full bar. The first downbeat of the movement, as well as the second eighth note in m. 1, have staccato or wedge markings, depending on the printed edition of the score. As a result of this very explicit set of articulation markings, the rhythmic emphasis is placed on the third beat of each bar. This interpretation of the rhythmic figure, which is one of the key motives in the movement as discussed previously, is agreed upon in all nineteen of the studied recordings.

Weingartner’s text criticizes the propensity for the principal theme to fall “prey to the...trivial manner of execution” which places an accent on the downbeat of each bar. He recommends giving “as delicate an accent as possible to the upbeat,” which must be repeated in similar passages when the same rhythmic motive reappears, such as at the beginning of the development, the pick-up into m. 65.⁶⁶ Arturo Toscanini marked the same accents in his miniature score of Symphony No. 1, to erase any doubt from the placement of the rhythmic emphasis.⁶⁷ The durational difference between the unaltered, straight eighth note pick-up and the staccato or wedge eighth note of the downbeat and second beat leaves no question that the rhythmic emphasis is on beat three. Rhythmic displacement creates the subtle humor in this

⁶⁵ Grove, 8.

⁶⁶ Weingartner, 75.

⁶⁷ Arturo Toscanini, Eulenberg Score to *Beethoven Symphony No. 1*, in “The Toscanini Legacy Series C Miniature Scores, Marked,” New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (accessed June 2009).

movement, in this main motive and also the sequence of sforzando markings throughout the movement which occur on different beats in different voices at the same time, affecting a constant circular motion in the rhythmic, which fuels the forward motion so characteristic of this entire symphony.

The *Menuetto and Trio* is subject to another debate about tempi, similar to the question of the observed poco meno mosso of the episode in the first movement. Only Sir John Eliot Gardiner's maintains a constant tempo between the *Menuetto* and *Trio* sections, dotted half note=108, Beethoven's exact metronome marking. The rest of the interpretations incorporate at the very least a slight easing up of the tempo, ranging from Norrington's slowing to 104 from 108 to Weingartner's shift from 120 in the *Menuetto* to 92-100 in the *Trio*. Table 4 reveals each conductor's interpretation of tempi in the third movement. The shift in tempo at the *Trio* does offer extra melodic contrast, as is the intention behind slowing for the cello episode in the *Allegro con brio*, however it is quite unnecessary, as is the case in the previous instance which brings to light this same issue. The contrast between sections, whether a transitory passage compared to a thematic statement or a trio in relation to a minuet section, is inherent in the music as laid out on the page by Beethoven. To include these shifts in tempi, which are not indicated in the score, is to ignore what is, or is not, clearly expressed by the composer.

Table 4

Conductor	Orchestra	Year	Tempo of Menuetto	Tempo of Trio
Abbado	Berlin Philharmonic	2001	98-102	92-96
Bernstein	Vienna Philharmonic	1980	112-120	104-108
Fürtwängler	Vienna Philharmonic	1952	104	92
Gardiner	Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique	1993	108	108
Harnoncourt	Chamber Orchestra of Europe	1991	108-112	98-102
Karajan	Berlin Philharmonic	1961	94-100	84-88
Klemperer	Philharmonia	1965	96-98	88-92
Krips	London Symphony	1960	98-102	88-94
Leinsdorf	Boston Symphony	1969	108	88-96
Norrington	London Classical Players	1988	108	104
Rattle	Vienna Philharmonic	2002	116	104
Scherchen	Wiener Staatsoper	1954	104-108	90
Skrowaczewski	Sarbrücken Radio Symphony	2007	108-112	102-108
Solti	Chicago Symphony	1989	104-108	100-102
Szell	Cleveland Orchestra	1964	98-102	88-96
Toscanini	BBC Symphony	1937	120-128	118-120
Toscanini	NBC Symphony	1939	108-120	106-114
Wand	NDR Symphony Hamburg	1986	108-112	92-96
Weingartner	Vienna Philharmonic	1937	120	92-100

Adding drama and unmerited emotional affect is not the job of the conductor, whose foremost duty it is to honor the wishes of the composer, as expressed in the printed score to the best of his or her ability. There are no conductors who intentionally shy away from this fundamental tenet of the art of conducting, however too much speculation in the quest for being “objective” can be detrimental and misguided. Slight tempo modifications are always acceptable in fostering the natural flow of the music, which is unique to each individual performance of any work. That does not however give free license to stray far from the composer’s indications, which are at times explicit, such as Beethoven’s metronome markings in the score for Symphony No. 1. Curiously, Weingartner does not give attention to his jarringly unorthodox interpretation of tempi in the third movement in his writings on conducting the symphony. His tempo of 120 to the dotted half note is 12 beats faster than indicated by Beethoven, and his slowing down in the

Trio section is at some points 28 beats slower than his tempo in the *Menuetto*. The lack of commentary on this clearly deliberate departure from the composer's markings is surprising, since Weingartner is so careful to specify his rationale for making adjustments in orchestration, articulation, dynamics and tempi for the other movements.

In the glorious and playful *Finale* to Symphony No. 1 conductors have the opportunity to create very unique interpretations of the music, especially regarding the treatment of the fermatae, at mm 1, 6, 235 and 237. The transitions out of these held chords, combined with additions of various ritardandi, give each studied performance a special and individual flavor, inspired by the conductors. Table 5 compares the length of space after each fermata, as well as the inclusion, or lack thereof, of ritardandi in the approaches to the second and third fermatae. Factors such as acoustics potentially play a role in the determination of how long breaks should be after the fermatae, such as in m. 1 where the held G major chord is marked fortissimo, and is released into a line in the first violins marked piano. Here some sort of breath or lift must occur in order to have an audible differentiation between the declamatory downbeat chord and the pick-ups into m. 2. Three general treatments of this break are offered, a quick lift to reset the bows of the violins, a short caesura or a long caesura. Only Toscanini and Scherchen opt for a long caesura after this first fermata. The rationale for this is unclear, as there is no indication in the score that a long pause is to occur. Following the second fermata Beethoven marks a sixteenth-note rest before launching into the driving theme of the exposition. There is no rest after the first fermata, suggesting that the break after the second

Table 5

Conductor	Orchestra	Year	1 (m. 1)	Rit. Before 2	2 (m. 6)	Rit. Before 3	3 (m. 235)	4 (m. 237)
Abbado	Berlin Philharmonic	2001	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Lift	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Bernstein	Vienna Philharmonic	1980	Short Caesura	Molto Rit	Short Caesura	No Rit	Lift	Short Caesura
Furtwängler	Vienna Philharmonic	1952	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Short Caesura	No Rit	Lift	Short Caesura
Gardiner	Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique	1993	Lift	Poco Rit	Lift	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Hamoncourt	Chamber Orchestra of Europe	1991	Short Caesura	Molto Rit	Lift	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Karajan	Berlin Philharmonic	1961	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Lift	Poco Rit	Lift	Lift
Klemperer	Philharmonia	1965	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Lift	Lift
Krips	London Symphony	1960	Short Caesura	Rit	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Short Caesura	Short Caesura
Leinsdorf	Boston Symphony	1969	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Short Caesura	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Norrington	London Classical Players	1988	Lift	Poco Rit	Short Caesura	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Rattle	Vienna Philharmonic	2002	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Lift	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Scherchen	Wiener Staatsoper	1954	Long Caesura	No Rit	Short Caesura	No Rit	Lift	Short Caesura
Skrowaczewski	Sarbrücken Radio Symphony	2007	Lift	Molto Rit	Lift	Poco Rit	Short Caesura	Lift
Solti	Chicago Symphony	1989	Lift	Rit	Lift	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Szell	Cleveland Orchestra	1964	Short Caesura	Rit	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Lift	Long Caesura
Toscanini	BBC Symphony	1937	Long Caesura	Rit	Short Caesura	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Toscanini	NBC Symphony	1939	Long Caesura	Rit	Short Caesura	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Wand	NDR Symphony Hamburg	1986	Short Caesura	Rit	Lift	No Rit	Lift	Lift
Weingartner	Vienna Philharmonic	1937	Short Caesura	Poco Rit	Long Caesura	No Rit	Lift	Short Caesura

fermata must be longer in duration. Only Weingartner and Norrington exact a longer pause after the second fermata. Many of the conductors in fact choose the opposite, a pause longer after the first fermata than the second. This may be in part a result of the durational difference between the held notes under the fermatae, the first being a dotted quarter note and the second being a quarter. The duration of a given note should not however, be the only basis of determining the length of the ensuing break or pause. That is dictated by change in the music dynamically, as it has to do with acoustics, and/or by a specified rest or lift following the fermata.

Conductors also make their unique mark upon performances of the *Finale* with respect to the ritardandi they choose to include in the introduction section, which leads into the second fermata. Here Scherchen's interpretation holds most true to the markings in the score, which indicates no retard in the approach to m. 6. He astutely maintains a relatively steady tempo in the introduction, allowing the written out adjustment of perceived tempo to take place, a result in the changes in rhythm with each fragment of the G major scale. The subito piano at m. 5, as well as the subito pianissimo later in the same measure, call for a certain flexibility of time in order to maintain audibility in a given acoustical environment. These factors create a natural relaxation of perceived tempo, though in fact the beat must remain steady.

The same question comes into play in the approach to the third fermata at m. 235. Only five of the nineteen conductors observe a brief poco ritardando into m. 235, Karajan, Klemperer, Krips, Skrowaczewski and Szell. This interpretation does not have merit as Beethoven writes nothing of the sort in his score. A falsified infusion of overt drama does not serve Beethoven's music, which is about subtlety, surprise and the inability to anticipate what surprise might come about the next musical corner. So much more drama is created by the fermata in m. 235 if the preceding phrase pushes abruptly right into the sustained chord. The drama of this moment is

furthered by the two additional chords that follow the third fermata, magnifying a sense of musical anxiousness and giddiness that has developed throughout the movement. Beethoven, unsurprisingly, responds with a joke, and quiet fragmented frills of G major passed around the violins and woodwinds, until the principal theme makes its triumphant, though very sneaky, return in m. 242.

This wonderfully exciting moment of tension and surprise in the *Finale* is achieved by lifting quickly from the third fermata (m. 235) and only a lift or short caesura after the fourth fermata (m. 237). These fermatas hold the forward motion of the movement in the lurch, displacing the musical continuity and forcing the listener to seethe at the teeth hoping for the musical resolution and culmination to the madness that has ensued and bewitched them from the introduction's foreplay around G major. Overall, the majority of the conductors studied observe a simple lift after the third fermata and a lift or a short caesura after the fourth fermata. Szell's long caesura following this fourth fermata is out of place, and destroys the element of jolting surprise created by the quiet eruption of the G major scale fragments in m. 237.

V. Conclusion

In conclusion, the conductor, in interpreting Beethoven's Symphony No. 1 in C Major, must take into account the historical context of the symphony, Beethoven's conception of the music, its harmonic and motivic foundations and the how these elements inform a unique interpretation that adheres to the composer's wishes. The conductor technically has free reign to make of the music what he or she chooses, though a dutiful conductor must realize their role as facilitator for the composer's intentions. Often times composers leave questions and gaps in their markings, or even have markings that contradict tradition, such as are evident in the treatment of

the pick-ups to the *Allegro con brio* in the first movement. To understand and study past conducting traditions, the guidance of the greatest conductors in modern history and one's own musical integrity, rooted in knowledge and study, are the key ingredients in forming a musically adept, informed and intellectual performance interpretation of Beethoven's Symphony No. 1 in C Major.

Acknowledgements

I sincerely thank Dr. Allan Keiler, my thesis advisor at Brandeis University, for his steadfast support and mentorship with this project. Thanks also to Professor Sabine von Mering, Director of the Center for German and European Studies at Brandeis University, and the Max Kade Foundation for supporting my research in Germany and Vienna. My warm thanks to the staff at the Beethoven Archiv-Bonn for assisting me in my research and providing insights into approaching Beethoven Symphony No. 1, especially Dipl.-Bibl. Stefanie Kuban and Dipl.-Bibl. Dorothea Geffert. Research in Germany and Austria was also supported by the Remis Fellowship at Brandeis University.

References

- Beethoven, Ludwig van. "Symphonie Nr. 1", *Beethoven Werke Band I, Symphonien I*. Edited by Armin Raab. Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 2004.
- Bucchianeri, E.A. "The Symphonies of Beethoven: Historical and Philosophical Reflections through Music," in *A Compendium of Essays*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 2002.
- Dalhaus, Carl. *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to his Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Deane, Basil. "The Symphonies and Overtures," in *The Beethoven Companion*, edited by Enis Arnold and Nigel Fortune. London: Faber and Faber, 1971.
- Del Mar, Jonathan. Preface to *Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21 Urtext*. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1997.
- Evans, Edwin. *Beethoven's Symphonies Described and Analyzed* Vol. 1: 1-5. London: New Temple, 1923.
- Frühbeck de Burgos, Rafael. Live performance of *Beethoven Symphony No. 1*, Boston Symphony Orchestra. Symphony Hall Boston (23 October 2009).
- Gibbs, Christopher. *Notes on Beethoven's First Symphony*, program notes. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Orchestra Association, 2006, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5442651> (9 December 2008).
- Godt, Irvin. "Beethoven's Symphony No. 1: Tactics and Strategy," *The Beethoven Journal* 14.2 (1999): 87.
- Grove, George. *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies*. New York: Dover, 1962.
- Hopkins, Antony. *The Nine Symphonies of Beethoven*. Seattle: Henemann Educational Books, 1981.
- Kämpken, Nicole and Michael Ladenburger, "*Alle Noten bringen mich nicht aus den Nöthen!!*" *Beethoven und das Geld*. Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus Bonn, 2005.
- Kennedy, Michael, ed. "Tactus." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev. Oxford Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e10048> (11 May, 2010).
- Kinderman, William. *Beethoven*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Mitchell, John Ceaner. *The Braunschweig Scores-Felix Weingartner and Erich Leinsdorf on the First Four Symphonies of Beethoven*. United States: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005.

- Lockwood, Lewis. *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2003.
- Osborne, Richard. "The Beethoven Symphonies," in accompanying booklet, *Beethoven Symphonies* performed by the Wiener Philharmoniker conducted by Simon Rattle, EMI Classics 5 57445 2, 2003, compact disc, 10.
- Panula, Jorma and Markus Lehtinen. Interview by Nicholas A. Brown, Avenue Hotel, Copenhagen, Denmark (7 January 2010).
- Randel, Don Michael, ed., *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* Fourth Edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Rosen, Charles. *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*. New York: Norton, 1997.
- Solomon, Maynard. *Beethoven*. New York: Schirmer, 1998.
- Toscanini, Arturo. Eulenberg Score to *Beethoven Symphony No. 1*, in "The Toscanini Legacy Series C Miniature Scores, Marked," New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (June 2009).
- Weingartner, Felix. *On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies and Other Essays*. New York: Dover Publications, 1969.

Recordings

- Beethoven Symphonies 1, 6 & 8, Berliner Philharmoniker, Claudio Abbado.
Directed by Bob Coles. Germany: EuroArts Music International GmbH, 2001. DVD.
- Bernstein, Leonard. *Beethoven 9 Symphonien, Wiener Philharmoniker*. Deutsche Grammophon 2562 153-LP.
- Furtwängler, Wilhelm. Beethoven, Ludwig van. *Beethoven: Symphonies Nos. 1 & 3 'Eroica'*. EMI Records Ltd. 5 85821 2-CD.
- Gardiner, John Eliot. *Beethoven 9 Symphonies, Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique*. Archiv Produktion (Dg) 439900-CD.
- Harnoncourt, Nikolaus. *Beethoven Symphonies Nos. 1 & 2, Chamber Orchestra of Europe*. Elatus 0927490032-CD.
- Karjan, Herbert von. *Beethoven: 9 Symphonien, Berliner Philharmoniker*. Deutsche Grammophon 429036 –CD.

Klemperer. *Beethoven: Complete Symphonies, Philharmonia Orchestra*. EMI Classics 73895-CD.

Krips, Josef. *Beethoven: The Nine Symphonies, London Symphony Orchestra*. Madacy Records 52319-CD.

Leinsdorf, Erich. *Basic 100 Vol. 23-Beethoven: Symphony Nos 1, 6*. RCA Victor 61720-CD.

Norrington, Roger. *Beethoven: Symphonies 1 & 6 'Pastorale', The London Classical Players*. EMI Records Ltd. 49746-CD.

Rattle, Simon. *Beethoven Symphonies, Wiener Philharmoniker*. EMI Records Ltd. 5574452-CD.

Scherchen, Hermann. *Beethoven 9 Symphonies*. Archipel B00024GVOI-CD.

Skrowaczewski, Stanislaw. *Beethoven: Symphonies 1-9, Saarbrücken Radio Symphony*. Oehms OC 526-CD.

Solti, Sir Georg. *Beethoven: The Nine Symphonies, Chicago Symphony Orchestra*. Decca 430400-CD.

Szell, George. *Beethoven: Symphony No. 1 & 6, Cleveland Orchestra*. Sony Classical 89838-CD.

Toscanini, Arturo. *Beethoven: Symphonies Nos. 1, 4 & 6 ("Pastorale"), The B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra*. Seraphim IC-6015-LP.

Toscanini, Arturo. *Beethoven: Complete Symphonies and Selected Overtures, NBC Symphony Orchestra*. Music & Arts Programs of America 1203-CD.

Wand, Günter. *Günter Wand Edition: Beethoven Symphonies Nos. 1-9, NDR-Sinfonieorchester*. RCA Victor 89109-CD.

Weingartner, Felix. *Beethoven Symphonies Nos. 1 & 7, Vienna Philharmonic*. Opus Kura OPK2038-CD.