

The New Editions of Beethoven's Symphonies 3 (*Eroica*) and 4¹

BATHIA CHURGIN

Before presenting some aspects of my editions of the *Eroica* and Fourth symphonies, published in August 2013, I wish to express profound gratitude to my general editor, Sieghard Brandenburg. His great command of the Beethoven sources and his expert guidance helped enormously regarding many problems posed by the editions, especially the *Eroica*. I also wish to recall the late Alan Tyson. It was in the fall of 1976 that he participated actively in my seminar at Bar-Ilan University on the authentic performance of the Fourth Symphony.² He examined all the known sources for the symphony at that time, and especially the makeup of the autograph—the paper-types and watermarks—for which he produced a valuable diagram. I am very indebted as well to Bernhard Appel, former Director of the Beethoven-Archiv, for his excellent organization of the final stage of the editions.

For my editions of Beethoven's Symphonies Nos. 3, op. 55 (1803) and 4, op. 60 (1806), the musical text derives primarily from autograph sources. The first surviving symphonic autograph is that of the Fourth Symphony. A working autograph, it is located in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mendelssohn-Stiftung 12. The autograph score for the *Eroica* is unfortunately lost. What remains is a copyist's score—a *Partituraschrift*, located in Vienna, the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, A 20. The score was made by one of Beethoven's copyists, Benjamin Gebauer. He is listed as Copyist C in Tyson's important article "Notes on Five of Beethoven's Copyists,"³ and was first identified by Brandenburg. In 2003, Theodore Albrecht published an important biographical article on Gebauer, who copied for Beethoven in 1803–05.⁴ The score had so many errors and omissions that Beethoven added what seems like a thousand corrections—though often not in all the parts. The corrections

¹ This paper was read on 12 September 2014 at a congress in Bonn, Germany, sponsored by the Beethoven-Haus on the topic "Beethoven and the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815." It was one of three papers outside the general topic and its purpose was to describe aspects of the new editions for the audience of Beethoven scholars. The editions were published in the *Beethoven Werke, Abteilung I, Band 2, Symphonien II* (Munich: G. Henle, 2013). The abbreviation in this article, AGA (Alte Gesamtausgabe), refers to the old collected edition of 1862–65, 1888.

² The seminar was inspired by Luciano Berio, then conductor of the Israel Chamber Orchestra. Joachim Braun of Bar-Ilan participated, as well as thirteen students from Bar-Ilan University and four students from Tel Aviv University. The results were published in Churgin and Braun, "A Report Concerning the Authentic Performance of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony, Op. 60" (informal publication, 1977, 138 pp.); B. Churgin, "A New Edition of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony: Editorial Report," *Israel Studies in Musicology* 1 (1978): 11-53; and J. Braun, "Beethoven's Fourth Symphony: Comparative Analysis of Recorded Performances," *Ibid.*: 54-76. This edition formed the basis of my Eulenburg edition of Op. 60, No. 414 (1998), as well as that of the Collected Works, with some changes, new information, and new sources. I remain very grateful to Judith Cohen for checking the German translation of my English text for the Eulenburg edition.

³ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23 (Fall, 1970): 439-71.

⁴ "Benjamin Gebauer, ca. 1758-1846: The Life and Death of Beethoven's 'Copyist C,' With Speculation Concerning Joseph Arthofer, ca. 1752-1807," *Bonner Beethoven-Studien* 3 (2003): 7-22.

make the score as close as possible to an autograph.⁵ Beethoven's shocking experience with Gebauer led him to have the copyist's score of the Fourth Symphony copied by two people. All but the string parts were copied by Joseph Klumpar, Tyson's copyist D, active in 1805–08 and, according to Jens Dufner, the excellent copyist of scores and parts for Beethoven's Fifth and Sixth Symphonies.⁶ The second copyist is unknown. This method produced an accurate score with some Beethoven corrections which functioned as the *Stichvorlage* (printer's copy) for the first edition, as Del Mar has shown.⁷ As a result, the first edition was far more accurate than the first edition of the *Eroica*.

A new source of the performance parts for the Fourth Symphony was later found in the Lobkowitz collection. These parts were undoubtedly made for the first performance of the Fourth Symphony in 1807. Containing many errors, the parts were later copied and corrected for Beethoven. The Beethoven parts, now in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, were thought to be the original parts, and were used by the Bar-Ilan seminar as such, although Tyson pointed out that the watermarks indicated a date of 1809-10. The Beethoven collection of Prince Lobkowitz, one of Beethoven's greatest patrons, was located in Prague, Department of Music, Národní [National] Muzeum. However, after the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the Soviet Union, the Lobkowitz family moved the entire collection to their more remote castle in Nelahozeves.

The major problem in both editions concerns Beethoven's slurs, which are sometimes irregular and even contrapuntal. Many of the slurs have been made regular in both old and new editions of his music, so that musicians have no idea of the variety found in the authentic sources. In my article for the Tyson Festschrift, "Exploring the *Eroica*: Aspects of the New Critical Edition,"⁸ I examine the problem and give several examples. The most serious problem concerns the slurring of the new theme in the *Eroica*, first movement, development and coda (see Ex. 1).

⁵ The first scholar to examine the *Eroica* sources was Michael Tusa in a brilliant article, "Die authentischen Quellen der 'Eroica,'" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 42 (1985):121-50.

⁶ See Dufner's editions of these symphonies, as well as his *Study Scores: Beethoven, Werke, Abteilung I, Band 3, Symphonien III*.

⁷ See Jonathan Del Mar (Ed.), *Beethoven, Symphony No. 4 in B-flat major, op. 60, Critical Commentary*, source B (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 18.

⁸ *Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, Studies in the Music of the Classical Period, Essays in Honour of Alan Tyson*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 181-211, especially pp. 200-206. Ex. 1 from pp. 201-03 (Ex. 14.4) and Ex. 2 from p. 205 (Ex. 14.5) are reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press.

Ex. 1 Varied slurs in the new theme, development section and coda, first movement, Beethoven, *Eroica* Symphony, source A

284 ob. 1, 2
vn. 2
vc.
p *sfp* LvB *sf(p)* *sf(p)*

in E minor

290
cresc. *p*

292 fl. 1
vn. 1
bn. 1, 2
LvB
sf(p) *sf(p)* *sf(p)*

in A minor

298
cresc. *f*

mm. 34-37: 3 slurs, 1 slur, 2 slurs, 1 slur. Although these slurs appear in the autograph and Lobkowitz parts, with slight variations in the other sources, the AGA and modern editions make them uniform: one slur per measure, as in the recapitulation. We can only conclude that Beethoven's varied slurring has often been edited out of his music.

Returning to the *Eroica*, let us consider the problems in a key passage in the great Funeral March—the transformed opening phrase near the end of the movement. Three versions of these measures exist (see Ex. 2).

Ex. 2 Conflicting slurs and staccatos in the sources and AGA, *Eroica* Symphony, second movement, coda, transformed primary theme, mm. 240-241.

The image displays three staves of musical notation for the first violin part (vn. I) in G major, marked 'sotto voce' and 'sempre più piano'. The first staff, labeled 'source A', shows measures 240 and 241 with no slurs or staccato marks. The second staff, labeled 'sources B, C', shows slurs for notes 1-2 in mm. 240 and 241, and staccato marks in m. 240 for notes 3-5. The third staff, labeled 'AGA', combines the two versions, showing slurs for notes 1-2 in mm. 240 and 241, and staccato marks in m. 240 for notes 3-5.

Source A, the copyist's score, has no slurs for notes 1-2 in mm. 240 and 241, nor does it contain staccato marks. In sources B and C, the first violin part in manuscript and the first edition, slurs do appear for these notes in mm. 240 and 241 as well as staccato marks in m. 240 for notes 3-5. In my edition, I selected the version in sources B and C, which seems to be a later enhancement of the theme. In the AGA, the theme combines the two versions, which appear in no authentic source.

The autograph of the Fourth Symphony contains *solo-tutti* markings in Beethoven's hand throughout the wind, brass, and timpani parts. These markings indicate a performance with a large string group that required doubled winds, brass, and timpani. The markings show us where such doublings were introduced and so have great value for performance practice of the period. They were copied into the Vienna parts, partly by Beethoven, and mainly in movements I and II in the Lobkowitz parts. We know of one such performance of the symphony. It occurred on 29 April 1821 at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and the large orchestra had 70 string players.

A bizarre problem in the Fourth Symphony concerns the validity of m. 493 in the coda of the first movement, six measures from the end. In two articles by Robert Schumann,⁹

⁹ Robert Schumann, "Konzertbericht: Zweites Abonnementconcert des 11. Oktober," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 13/36 (31 October 1840): 144; "Ueber einige muthmasslich corrumpirte Stellen in Bach 'schen, Mozart' schen, und Beethoven 'schen Werken,'" *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 15/38 (9 November 1841): 149-51.

published in 1840 and 1841, and an article by Carl Czerny¹⁰ published in 1853, this measure is said to be an unintended “extra measure” that should be omitted. The measure is the third of a four-measure tremolo on the tonic chord, mm. 491-94, an extension in my view of the three-measure tonic pedal at the point of recapitulation in the movement (mm. 333-35). In a new edition of this symphony by Peter Hauschild, the measure is actually omitted. However, if one examines the autograph—the page is the frontispiece of my volume—one can see that Beethoven was well aware of this measure and made a change in the trumpet parts there. The measure goes by so quickly that one does not even notice it. In fact, despite his later assertion, Czerny actually included the measure in his 1828 arrangement of the symphony for piano four hands. But the remarks of Schumann and Czerny must have been well known, because the measure is crossed out in several sets of printed and manuscript parts.

The question of redundancy also affects the *Eroica* in a famous example from the first movement. In the beginning Beethoven decided to eliminate the repeats of the exposition in the first movement. Then, after some rehearsals of the symphony, he decided that the repeats were essential and had them restored. This process was mentioned in a letter dated 12 February 1805 to Breitkopf & Haertel by Beethoven's brother Kaspar Karl when dealing with the proposed sale of the symphony and several other works.¹¹ The procedure of crossing out and restoring the repeats is dramatically evident on the score, and is illustrated in my volume. However, as a result, two measures were repeated, mm. 150 and 151, just before the first and second endings, probably the result of a copyist's error.¹² They appear in the first edition of 29 October 1806 and in several printings thereafter. Five printings were investigated and the correction occurs only in the fifth printing—also illustrated in my edition. Beethoven's handwritten crossing out of these measures is actually found in the third printing belonging to the Lobkowitz collection. The correction finally appears in an arrangement of the symphony for piano quartet, published by the same Viennese firm that printed the symphony, and announced it on 16 May 1807.

This correction suggests that if m. 493 in the Fourth Symphony first movement was truly redundant, it would have been omitted in later printings.

Two altered notes in the symphonies deserve mention. One is in the *Eroica*, first movement, m. 543, in the closing section of the reprise. Both violins play the note but only the first-violin part is written out. Here an expected augmented second in the violins is replaced by a major second, an expected b-natural by a b-flat—the flat sign before the note in the copyist's hand. But in the next measure, where the note recurs, it has another flat sign—this time in Beethoven's hand. Such an accidental would normally function as a cautionary accidental after an altered note. However, the b-flat in m. 543 appears in all the authentic sources and in the five printings of the first edition. It is included in my edition with a footnote reference to the explanation in the list of variants. In the end, the conductor will have to decide which note to play.

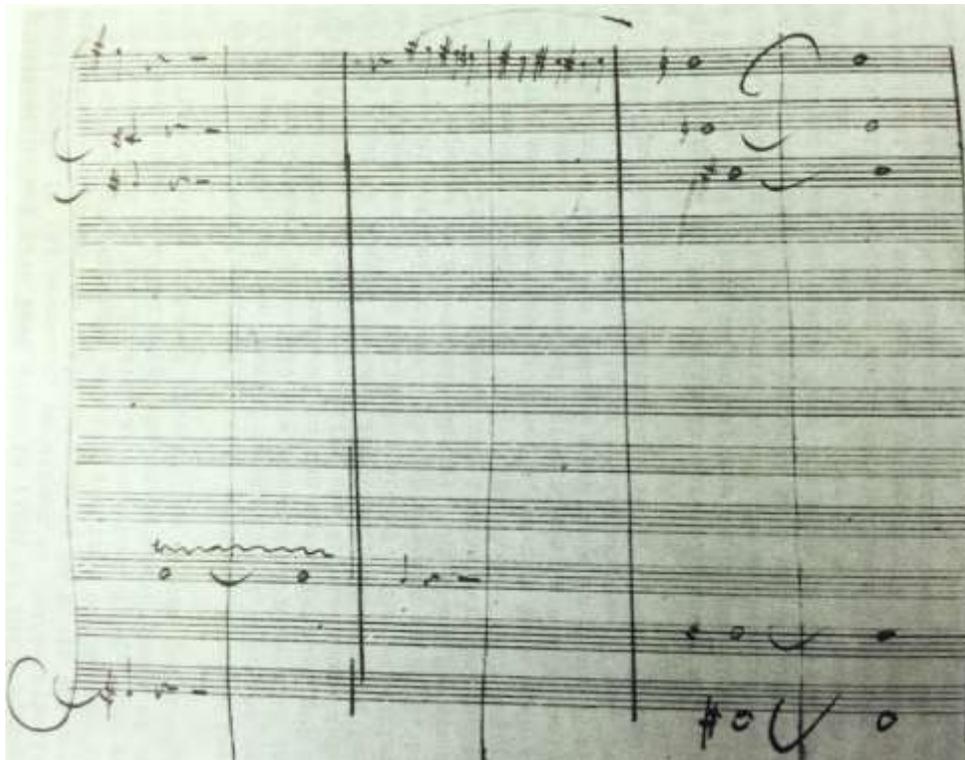
¹⁰ Carl Czerny, “Bemerkungen zum richtigen Vortrage Beethoven'schen Sinfonien,” *Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 2/15 (14 April 1853): 59-60.

¹¹ *Ludwig van Beethoven, Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Munich: G. Henle, 1996), I, No. 212.

¹² See Jonathan Del Mar (Ed.), *Beethoven, Symphony No. 3 in E-flat major, “Eroica,” Op. 55, Critical Commentary* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997), 22-23, and my edition: 211-12.

A very different alteration occurs in m. 290 of the development in the Fourth Symphony, first movement. Here, the expected tonic note in the second phrase of the primary theme is raised a half step, is resolved up by a step, and then lowered. The phrase is in B major, the Neapolitan key, and the altered note is b-sharp, making a beautiful chromatic variation found in all the authentic sources and in my edition: c-sharp, b-sharp, c-sharp, b-natural, a-sharp. But many later arrangements and editions of the symphony—including the AGA—replace the b-sharp with b-natural, and, so far, I have heard only one recent recorded performance, of the Heidelberg orchestra, that dares to play it.¹³ Joachim Braun, in his article “Beethoven’s Fourth Symphony: Comparative Analysis of Recorded Performances,” shows that only two of thirty performances include the b-sharp, those conducted by Joseph Krips (1960) and Leonard Bernstein (1970).¹⁴ (See Ex. 3)

Ex. 3 The b-sharp in the development, m. 290, first movement, Symphony No. 4.



In conclusion, I must also refer to the slurs in the great *crescendo* to the recapitulation in the Fourth Symphony, first movement. Berlioz described this *crescendo* as “one of the best conceived effects which we know of in all music.”¹⁵ The *crescendo* moves from *pp* to *ff* in

¹³ The b-sharp first appears in the exposition, m. 119. Its reappearance in the development is a typical integrative detail. 8

¹⁴ *Israel Studies in Musicology* 1 (1978): 62, 72.

¹⁵ Hector Berlioz, *A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies with a Few Words on His Trios and Sonatas, a Criticism of "Fidelio," and an Introductory Essay on Music*, trans. Edwin Evans, Introduction by D. Kern Holoman (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000, first paperback edn.), 54. The essays on the Beethoven symphonies were first published in the Berlioz collection *A travers chants* (Paris, include here 1862). Evans first published his symphony translations in 1913.

mm. 225-33. The problem concerns the length of the slur in the string unison: should the slur on the sixteenths be extended to include the following quarter note or not. In the authentic sources—the autograph, copyists' score, Lobkowitz parts, and first edition—most of the slurs exclude the quarter note. However, there is one contradictory notation in the copyists' score in mm. 225-26, where the short slurs in Violin I and the Viola are lengthened in darker ink to include the quarter note. We cannot know, however, who made this change. Of course, the AGA and modern editions incorporate the longer slur but my edition does not. In performance, the shorter slur is very effective, with emphasis falling on the quarter notes which outline the tonic chord. I will end my paper with a recording of this passage. It comes from the first performance of the newly edited symphony by my seminar in June 1977. The orchestra is the Israel Chamber Orchestra of 45 players, conducted by the late Rudolf Barshai at the Tel Aviv Museum. The example will be followed by a performance of the entire first movement at the same event. [[Recordings 1, 2](#)]