

PROBLEMS REGARDING THE METRONOME MARKINGS
IN THE MUSIC OF BEETHOVEN

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The question of the accuracy and meaning of the metronome markings in the works of Ludwig van Beethoven is a current topic of heated debate among musicologists. In 1815, even before the perfection of the metronome by Mälzel in 1817, Beethoven had already welcomed it. Beethoven was the first serious composer to make use of Mälzel's new invention. "I have thought for a long time of giving up these nonsensical terms allegro, andante, adagio, presto, and Mälzel's metronome gives us the best opportunity to do so." The character of a given composition was very important to Beethoven and he believed the best guide to character in his music was the metronome indication. "In our century," said Beethoven, "such indications are certainly necessary."

In 1817, the Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung published metronome markings for the first eight symphonies by Beethoven. Then, in 1818, S.A. Steiner in Vienna published two pamphlets, the first of which contained metronome markings for Beethoven's symphonies nos. 1-8 and his septet. A few months later, the second of these was published containing markings by Beethoven for the string quartets composed before 1817: Op. 18, nos. 1-6; Op. 59, nos. 1-3; Op. 74; and Op. 95. Markings for the Ninth Symphony appeared in the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung on October 13, 1826.

Disregard for the metronome marks, generally too fast for the romantics, stems from the middle of the nineteenth century. Richard Wagner led this movement, by seeking to find deeper expression in Beethoven's music by slowing it down to match his own style. For example, the slow movement of the Ninth Symphony, on which he wrote: "it may be said of the pure adagio that it cannot be taken too slow." Wagner's interpretation and conducting of the Beethoven symphonies set a precedent eventually serving as the basis of the German Conducting School. Numerous followers of Wagner emerged, among them Richard Strauss, who thought Wagner "the greatest of all authorities on Beethoven."

The tradition established by Wagner prevailed especially among German conductors until the arrival of the authenticity movement, in the 1980's, with recordings by Norrington, Hogwood, Zander, and others who perform Beethoven's works on period instruments. In particular, Roger Norrington has been praised for adhering closely to the given tempi with little if any fluctuation, with results as astonishing as they are controversial.

Two camps have formed, regarding the metronome markings. An article written in 1942 by Rudolph Kolisch opened the lid on the problem of deviation from Beethoven's given tempi. Suddenly numerous opinions began to emerge. On the side of Beethoven we have Hermann Beck, who in 1955 discussed the importance of metronome markings to the basic rhythmic character of a piece and Herbert Seifert, who in 1977 at the Beethoven-Kolloquium in Vienna, endorsed the markings which could be proven authentic. Others are not so convinced.

Nicholas Temperley stated in 1966 that the metronome markings were "useless as guides to performance speed," basing his conclusions on the timings of Sir George Smart. In 1967, Peter Stadlen set out to discuss the discrepancy in the trio of the Ninth Symphony citing printing errors or misreadings of the metronome by Beethoven as possible causes. (In 1989, Benjamin Zander reconfirmed this theory but found Beethoven's nephew Karl at fault.) Stadlen also believes past recordings by world-renowned conductors justify the validity of slower interpretations. He believes those conductors could not all have incorrectly judged the markings. (The fact is they disregarded some of the markings completely.)

Instruments of the time could have played a major role in the performer's ability to play the given tempo. Max Rudolf suggests that the metronome markings were provided to help the conductor and performer correctly interpret the prescribed character, and we shall see that the argument against tempo being necessary to the character of music is also a hotly debated topic.

Innovative hypotheses surface continuously on possible interpretations of the metronome markings with conclusions remaining widely divided. As Stadlen states, there has not yet been a conclusive study as to why these marks are so often blatantly ignored.

In this study I intend to first, compile a comprehensive bibliography on the subject from the earliest findings through the present and then evaluate the very large body of writing on the subject.

Second, I will survey numerous modern recordings of the Ninth Symphony and compile a table to illustrate the blatant disregard for the markings. Finally, I will draw my own conclusions about the meaning and application of the metronome markings.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF TEMPO IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

In the 1780's, William Pridgin, a clockmaker in York, was working on a device for measuring musical time. It was encased in a dark wooden box which stood seven inches high and four inches square. The lid opened in front; inside was a brass plate engraved with musical tempi and time signatures and a brass shaft with a sliding knob. He called his new invention the Chronometer Pridgin-York [1].

This was the first such device to go into production and also the first to chime and tick. Pridgin's brass scale contained general values for tempi, illustrated in Figure 1, which compare with our current markings of: Allegro (♩ = 120-168); Andante (♩ = 76-108); Adagio (♩ = 66-76); Largo (♩ = 40-60). The Pridgin-York chronometer was short lived because of its delicacy of construction and cost of manufacture, thus opening the way for Mälzel's later, less expensive invention [2].

Figure 1. Scale for Pridgin-York's Chronometer

COLUMN 1		COLUMN 2	
Allegro 6 4:	♩. = 112	C or 3/4 or 12 4 or 9 4:	♩. = 126
Allegro 2 4 or 6 8:	♩ or ♩. = 100	4 crotchets Allegro or 12 8	♩. = 116
Allegro 9 8:	♩. = 84	3/4 Dancing Minuet Time	♩ = 100
COLUMN 3		COLUMN 4	
C Andante:	no value given	C Largo:	no value
2 4 Andante:	♩ = 72	C Largo	♩ = 69
3 4 Andante quavers:	♩ = 126	3, 2 Largo	♩ = 63
C 8 quavers. Andante	♩ = 116	3 Adagio	♩ = 52

Intriguing circumstances surround the invention and promotion by Salieri, Beethoven and others, of Mälzel's highly acclaimed version of the metronome. Johann Nepomuk Mälzel (1772-1832) was the court mechanic for the Emperor in Vienna, an appointment which brought his inventions to the attention of many influential people. In 1813, Mälzel began working on his own version of a chronometer for calculating tempo. It is believed Mälzel was copying an invention previously begun by an inventor named Stoekkel in 1813. In a letter of October 13, 1813, printed in the Wiener Vaterländische Blätter, Salieri discussed his own use of Mälzel's chronometer. He is said to have assigned tempo markings to Haydn's Creation, although no evidence of this has ever been found. Salieri also planned to use the chronometer to assign markings to compositions by Gluck and Handel [3]. Salieri, in the above letter, wrote of Beethoven:

Herr Beethoven looks upon this invention as a welcome means with which to secure the performance of his highly original compositions in all places in the tempos intended for them, which he regrets is so frequently lacking. [4]

On December 1, 1813, Salieri again promoted the need for a chronometer, to ensure the correct tempo according to the composer's wishes, in an article in the Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung. Salieri discussed the wide acclaim received by Mälzel for his previous invention, an automated chess machine [5].

At the time of the December statement from Salieri, fellow composers Beethoven and Weigel had become acquainted with Mälzel's metronome and were using the instrument regularly. Mälzel's final, perfected version of the metronome seems to have evolved from numerous

ideas of various inventors of his time. I have already mentioned Pridgin and Stoekkel, from whom Mälzel borrowed basic design, but Raimund W. Sterl, in his 1981 article entitled, "Johann Nepomuk Mälzel und seine Erfindungen," published in Musik in Bayern, believes the mechanical inner workings of what we now know today as the metronome was stolen by Mälzel from inventor Diederich Nicklaus Winkel.

Winkel, the son of a clockmaker, was born in 1777 in Lippstadt. By November 27, 1814, Winkel had invented a metronome and, in 1815, showed it to the Königlichen Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst. On August 14, 1815, Winkel's metronome was officially recognized by the Institute.

In 1815, Mälzel took his chess machine to a mechanical trade show in Amsterdam. Winkel also attended the same convention with his version of the metronome and hoped to exchange ideas with Mälzel whose work on the chronometer had interested him. Winkel asked Mälzel to look at his metronome and give him suggestions on how to promote it.

Mälzel's work on the chronometer had faltered due to his lack of understanding of the inner workings. Mälzel took Winkel's metronome completely apart and studied the inner mechanism. He then told Winkel that he could not help him and had no advice on how to improve the invention. In reality, Mälzel went home to Vienna and remade his chronometer using the inner mechanism he had seen in Winkel's machine, and assigned the term metronome to his new invention.

By 1816, Mälzel had perfected and patented a new metronome, using Winkel's idea, and engaged Salieri's help in promoting the invention in Vienna and Paris. Mälzel presented the metronome to the

Musikversammlung, in Paris, calling it his own discovery. Mälzel was completely successful in getting rid of any links to the original inventor, Winkel.

On April 9, 1816, Gaspare Spontini, an Italian composer, sent a letter to "a friend composer in Vienna" [Salieri?] after seeing Mälzel's metronome at the Paris Exhibition. He described the invention as:

something to fix the tempos of music firmly. Yesterday, a collection of the best composers in Paris saw and worked with this new invention of Mälzel. They were in wonder of this new invention...they were very satisfied with it. The chronometer [metronome] is the result of many stimulations and illuminating suggestions by Salieri.

They [the composers at the Paris convention] examined it and it became clearer how perfect it was and the great advantage that would result from it.

As soon as it is commonly in use, Italy, Germany, France, England will owe him [Mälzel] enthusiastic applause. A machine that will truly reproduce the intentions of the composer so his works cannot be falsified in front of the public as was often the case in the past. [6]

By 1816, Winkel realized Mälzel had plagiarized his invention and marketed it as his own. Winkel turned to the Fachpresse, a mechanical trade journal, to tell his side of the story and also to gain recognition as the sole inventor of the metronome in question. Hearings ensued, led by the Königlichen Institut, but Mälzel somehow always seemed to avoid the summonses to appear at these hearings, or would arrange to have them cancelled.

The commission ultimately determined that Mälzel contributed only the scale of tempo markings to the metronome, with the rest of the invention remaining Winkel's work. Mälzel finally signed, but eventually ignored, an "obligations explanation" (an open statement) recognizing Winkel as the inventor [7].

Beethoven and the Metronome

The earliest surviving metronome markings on a composition are those of Ludwig van Beethoven. In 1813, even before the perfection of the metronome by Mälzel, Beethoven already recognized its importance:

...I look upon the invention of the metronome as a welcome means of assuring the performance of my compositions everywhere in the tempi conceived by me, which to my regret have so often been misunderstood. [8]

Beethoven was the first major composer to make use of Mälzel's new invention:

I have thought for a long time of giving up these nonsensical terms allegro, andante, adagio, presto, and Mälzel's metronome gives us the best opportunity to do so, I give you my word here and now that I will not use them in any of my new compositions...I believe it [the metronome] would be best, especially in our countries, in which music has become a national necessity, and every village schoolmaster must be urged to use the metronome. [9]

An announcement appeared in the Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung on February 14, 1818, and was signed by both Beethoven and Salieri stating their collective delight in the newly perfected metronome:

Mälzel's metronome has arrived! The usefulness of his invention will be proved more and more. Moreover, all the composers of Germany, England

and France have adopted it...We recommend the metronome as an indispensable aid to all pupils for since the pupil must not in the teacher's absence arbitrarily sing or play out of time, by means of the metronome his feeling for the time and rhythm will quickly be guided and corrected. We think that we should acclaim this invention of Mälzel's which indeed is so useful from this point of view also [in addition to setting the basic tempo according to the composer's wishes], for it seems that for this particular advantage it has not yet been sufficiently appreciated. [10]

On December 17, 1817, Beethoven published metronome markings for his eight symphonies both in two pamphlets distributed by Steiner and Co., and also in the Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung.

(Figure 2) Beethoven later provided the metronome markings for the Ninth Symphony, markings also entered in the dedication copy for the King of Prussia and again in a letter, signed by Beethoven to his publisher, Bernhard Schotts Söhne, on October 13, 1826. Entries can also be found in the Schott's house journal the Cäcilia.

Beethoven provided metronome markings for all nine symphonies, the string quartets through opus 95, and for a few other compositions [11]. He intended to provide them for all his compositions, a project left unfinished. Beethoven's passion for Mälzel's metronome lasted until the end of his life.

In one of his last letters, dictated to his nephew, Karl, on December 18, 1826, Beethoven tries to impress upon his publisher, Schott, the importance of metronome markings in his compositions:

The metronome markings will be sent to you very soon. Do wait for them. In our century, such indications are certainly necessary. Moreover, I have received letters from Berlin informing me [that] the first performance of the [ninth] symphony was received with enthusiastic applause,

Figure 2: Beethoven's Metronome Markings for his First Eight Symphonies as Published in the Leipziger Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung.

873

1817. December.

874

Die Tempo's sämmtlicher Sätze aller Symphonien des Hrn L. v. Beethoven,
vom Verf. selbst nach Mäzels Metronom bestimmt

Symph. I. Op 21.

Allegro molto 88 = ♩

All^o con brio 112 = ♩

Cantabile *Molins 2^{da}* 120 = ♩

Menuetto. All^o molto vivace 108 = ♩

Finale. Allegro 63 = ♩

Allegro molto vivace 88 = ♩

Symph II. Op 36

Allegro 84 = ♩

All^o con brio 100 = ♩

Larghetto 92 = ♩

Scherzo. All^o 100 = ♩

Allegro molto 112 = ♩

Symph. III Op 55

All^o con brio 60 = ♩

Marcia funebre. Allegro assai 80 = ♩

Scherzo. Allegro vivace 116 = ♩

Allabreve 116 = ♩

Finale. Allegro molto 76 = ♩

Brno. Andante 108 = ♩

Prato 116 = ♩

Symph IV. Op 60

Allegro 66 = ♩

All^o vivace 80 = ♩

Solagio. Cantabile 83 = ♩

Menuetto. All^o vivace 100 = ♩

III. Un poco meno. Allegro 88 = ♩

Symph V. Op 67

All^o con brio 108 = ♩

Andante con moto 92 = ♩

Piu moto 116 = ♩

Allegro 96 = ♩

Allegro 84 = ♩

Tempo 1^{mo} 96 = ♩

Allegro 84 = ♩

Prato 112 = ♩

Symph VI Op 68

Allegro, ma non troppo 66 = ♩

And^o con moto 50 = ♩

Allegretto 108 = ♩

A tempo All^o 132 = ♩

Allegro 80 = ♩

Allegretto 60 = ♩

Symph VII Op 92

Poco sostenuto 69 = ♩

Finec. 104 = ♩

Allegretto 76 = ♩

Prato 132 = ♩

Prato meno assai 84 = ♩

Allegro 72 = ♩

Symph VIII Op 93.

Allegro vivace 69 = ♩

Allegretto 88 = ♩

Tempo di Menuetto 120 = ♩

Allegro vivace 84 = ♩

which I ascribe largely to the metronome markings.
We can scarcely have tempo ordinari [i.e.,
Andante, Allegro] any longer, since one must fall
into line with the ideas of unfettered genius.
[12]

Other Evidence of Tempo in the Classical Period

There are numerous accounts of the pace of music in the Classical period. Mozart left many references in his letters regarding concerts he witnessed or performed in. Many times, his comments centered around the tempos of performances of his own music. He frequently commented that he wished the music to go faster, e.g., in a letter to his father, in regard to the "Haffner" Symphony, Mozart asked for the first movement to be played "with great fire" and wished the finale to proceed "as fast as possible." In a rehearsal of the Presto section of his overture to The Marriage of Figaro, Mozart commented: "that was beautiful!...Let us take it still quicker this evening" [13]. Accounts like this strengthen the credibility of the rather fast metronome markings left by Beethoven and the assertion that tempos in the Classical period were faster in general than twentieth century performances would indicate.

In a letter written to his friend Ignaz von Mosel, Beethoven describes his feelings about the Italian terms alone. This account also gives us an insight into the performance practice of the time:

I heartily rejoice in the same opinion that you share with me regarding the tempo indications that have been handed down from the days of musical barbarism, for what (to take an example) can be more absurd than allegro, which means no more nor less than 'merry'; and how far removed we often are from this meaning of this tempo designation,

so that the music itself is quite the opposite of the designation. [14]

Beethoven goes on to describe how important the character of a given composition was to him. Beethoven believed the best guide to character in his music was the metronome indication combined with descriptive terms, such as non troppo, espressivo, and cantabile.

As for the four chief speeds [Adagio, Andante, Allegro, Presto] which are far from having the truth or the accuracy of the four chief winds, we could readily do without them. It is quite another matter with the words that indicate the character of the piece. These we cannot give up, for the tempo is more the body, while these refer to the soul of the piece itself. [15]

Another valuable source for determining tempo in the eighteenth century is the mechanical barrel organ. William Malloch's article entitled "The Earl of Bute's machine organ," published in Early Music in April 1983, details the selection and pinning of various pieces of Baroque music by John Christopher Smith the younger (1712-1795) [16].

Alexander Cumming (1733-1814) built a mechanical organ and documented Smith's pinning of the barrels in his book which ends with a "Catalogue of the Music on the Various Barrels." Each barrel allows for twelve minutes of music and each composition is timed to the second in Cumming's catalogue. Malloch believes that we are here presented with potentially the greatest storehouse of information about tempos and tempo relationships available to us from the eighteenth century. Malloch assigned tempo markings to the various pieces on the barrels as they were played on the mechanical organ.

For example, for Corelli's seventh concerto, the allegro is performed at (♩ = 123), whereas, Adagio is assigned (♩ = 64), which

leads one to the conclusion that tempi during the time of the pinning of these pieces on the barrels were faster than what we are accustomed to today. Therefore, what few documents concerning tempo in the second half of the eighteenth century exist seem to suggest brisk tempos in general and to support Beethoven's metronomic indications.

In conclusion, Beethoven's repeated endorsements of the metronome over a dozen years can leave no doubt of its importance to him. He was obviously searching for a means to improve the standard terminology used in prescribing tempo, thereby to correctly indicate the tempo and character of his own compositions. Mälzel's metronome provided Beethoven with another voice in indicating the proper pace for his music.

CHAPTER III
TEMPO AND THE METRONOME IN THE
GENERATION FOLLOWING BEETHOVEN

Needless to say, Beethoven did not intend that the performance of his music be strictly metronomic; the metronome marking was intended to establish the opening and the general tempo. In 1824, Carl Maria von Weber published a valuable essay on the proper execution of his tempo markings, which would seem to apply to performance in general:

The beat, the tempo, must not be a controlling tyrant nor a mechanical driving hammer; it should be to a piece of music what the pulse beat is to the life of man. There is no slow movement without places that demand a quicker motion in order to avoid a sense of dragging. In the same way, there is no Presto that does not require a contrasting, more tranquil execution of many passages, for otherwise the expressiveness would be lost in excessive speed. [17]

Weber's account leads us to believe that he felt as strongly about interpretive flexibility as all other composers did. But the interpretation would be compromised, perhaps falsified, without using the composer's metronome mark to give the proper tempo.

Tempo in Beethoven's music did not become a dormant issue in the generation following---quite the opposite. Many followers of Beethoven, and, in the case of Czerny, a former pupil, tried to extend Beethoven's intentions by applying metronome markings to Beethoven's unmarked works.

For example, after Beethoven's death, Carl Czerny and Ignaz Moscheles individually assigned metronome markings to various editions of Beethoven's unmarked piano sonatas. [18] They felt this task would

aid future generations in proper interpretation of Beethoven's works for piano. Many questions have been raised as to why these men felt impelled to assign tempo markings to unmarked works, how they came up with their markings, and whom we should believe when they differ. Some background on the relationship of these two contemporaries of Beethoven to the composer may shed some light on answers to the above questions.

Carl Czerny (1791-1857) would become one of Beethoven's most famous pupils and a composer of pedagogical literature for the piano still in use today. William Malloch describes Czerny as "a dedicated teacher, and a thoroughly professional composer" [19]. Czerny was in close contact with Beethoven for many years as pupil, teacher of Beethoven's nephew Karl, and good friend. The documented correspondence between Beethoven and Czerny establishes the fact of Czerny's close association with the composer.

Questions have arisen concerning the credibility of Czerny's markings of most of Beethoven's piano music because of the number of years between Beethoven's death and Czerny's published markings in 1836. Nottebohm spoke in Czerny's behalf by stating:

Czerny had not only had instruction in piano playing with Beethoven for some time (1801 and later) and had often heard Beethoven play, but he also knew what piano playing was and he certainly knew the playing of his time from every angle. [20]

Furthermore he believed:

Although not of authentic validity,
still these [Czerny's] indications can lay claim
to a certain confidence, especially for those
works which we know that Czerny either heard

played by Beethoven or studied under his instruction.

...Anyone who knew Czerny personally, who had the opportunity to observe his nature, which was above all directed toward the practical, will believe him capable of impressing firmly on his memory a tempo that he had heard, and will have noticed the certainty that he had in such outwardly tangible musical matters. [21]

Czerny provided at least three sets of metronome markings for Beethoven's piano sonatas. The first set was prepared by Czerny around 1828, and was published by Haslinger in 1836 [22]. The second, and most famous edition containing these markings was published in 1846, in Czerny's On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano, which also contains Czerny's markings for some of Beethoven's violin and cello sonatas, trios, and concertos. Czerny also provided markings for Simrock's edition of the piano sonatas in 1856-1868 [23].

Sandra Rosenblum has done extensive comparative research on the markings in her article: "Two sets of unexplored metronome marks for Beethoven's piano sonatas," found in the February 1988 issue of Early Music. In the article she compares four sets of metronome markings, the three left by Czerny and one by an unknown author (perhaps also Czerny).

To summarize Rosenblum's findings regarding the three known sets by Czerny, there are some differences among the markings themselves made over the span of some forty years between the Haslinger 1828 edition and the Simrock 1856-68 edition. But my own comparison of various modern performances to Czerny's earliest set of markings,

closest in proximity to Beethoven, indicates that, in general, modern tempos, especially in the slow movements, are slower. Moreover, it would be fair to state that modern performances are, in general, slower than even the slowest tempos indicated among the three Czerny sets.

For example, in Beethoven's "Appassionata" sonata, Op. 57, the Adagio con moto is marked (♩ = 120) in 1828, 108 in 1846, and back, once again to his original marking of 120 in 1856. In modern recordings by Horowitz (1972), Rubinstein, and Casadesu, the tempos range from 76 to 92.

In 1814, when Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870) was only twenty years old, Beethoven employed this gifted pianist-composer to produce the piano/vocal score to his only opera, Fidelio. From Moscheles' reminiscences of Beethoven we learn of Beethoven's close association with Mälzel and also about the composer's struggle with encroaching deafness [24].

Moscheles' statement, below, of how he assigned metronome markings to Beethoven's piano sonatas confirms Czerny's work:

I have not merely listened to my own musical feelings, but [have] been guided by my recollections of what I gathered from Beethoven's own playing, and that of the Baroness Ertman [sic], whom I have heard perform many of his works in his presence, and to his entire satisfaction.

...It is with satisfaction that I add that the tempi I have ventured to give differ very slightly from those affixed to Haslinger's Vienna edition by Carl Czerny, whom I consider to be a competent authority in the matter. [25]

A review of all the tempo markings by Czerny and Moscheles once again leads one in the direction of faster tempos than we are used to today. It is therefore difficult not to conclude that Beethoven wanted his music played in general rather fast and that the metronome markings were his way of indicating this.

The Timings of Sir George Smart

Timings of nineteenth-century performances provide invaluable information on tempo. Unfortunately, we do not have very many of them. While scholars wish more concert-goers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had written down performance durations, one source of documentation from Beethoven's time does exist.

Sir George Smart (1776-1867) was a contemporary of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven and left some 140 programs of performances he conducted for the London Philharmonic Society between 1819 and 1843, programs now housed in the British Museum. In 1825, he had the opportunity to meet Beethoven in Baden to discuss the symphonies with him.

Beethoven gave me the time, by playing the
subjects on the pianoforte, of many movements of
his symphonies, including the Choral Symphony.
[26]

Smart wrote down the timings for all of his own performances of Beethoven's symphonies and most of Haydn's and Mozart's well-known works as well. Unfortunately, he neglected to indicate whether the repeats had been taken, a crucial omission when dealing with tempo. In some cases Smart also failed to mark timings for individual movements and, at times, failed to note if any movements had been omitted or repeated during a performance. Smart leads us to believe

that long repeats, for example in the exposition, were sometimes omitted during performances of the day. Unfortunately, Smart is not specific enough to validate all of the timings he left behind.

Nicholas Temperley's research in 1966 into the timings left by Smart shows a pace for his performances similar to modern day performances. For example, Temperley cites three performances by Smart of Beethoven's sixth symphony which, taken without repeats as Smart notated, lasted thirty-seven minutes in 1821 and an average of thirty-two minutes in 1823 and 1829. These performances are compared to modern performances averaging thirty-six minutes. We do not know how much of the time of the thirty-seven minute timing was spent between movements, but Temperley feels compelled to conclude that modern tempos are not drastically faster or slower than Smart's.

However, the timings show that Smart did not adhere to Beethoven's tempo markings only a few years after Beethoven's death, so it is precisely performances like Smart's that Beethoven so strongly objected to. Beethoven's metronome markings, as played by Roger Norrington, indicate a symphony of twenty-nine and a-half minutes with all repeats taken [27]!

Nicholas Temperley's survey of Smart's timings gives interesting insights on performance practices in the early nineteenth-century and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV.

Wagner and Beethoven

If there has ever been one influential individual who could have completely transformed traditional musical practices, it would have

been Richard Wagner. His innovations in orchestral usage, conducting practice, and overall presentation of music [what he called "music of the future"], have had an enduring effect on late nineteenth and twentieth-century performance practices. Only recently, with the authenticity movement, has his overwhelming influence been sufficiently examined.

Wagner worshipped Beethoven's music, especially the Ninth Symphony. Without ever hearing the piece, Wagner felt compelled to copy the score; and he eventually transcribed it for piano.

Beethoven's influence on Wagner would later be surpassed only by Wagner's influence on the performance of Beethoven's works.

In 1861, Moscheles reacted to Wagner's growing influence on performance practice of the mid-nineteenth century:

I know many think me old-fashioned, but the more I consider the tendency of modern taste,...the more strenuously will I uphold that which I know to be sound art, and side with those who can appreciate a Haydn's playfulness, a Mozart's Cantilena, and a Beethoven's surpassing grandeur.

What antidotes have we here for all these morbid moanings and overwrought effects!...Here as elsewhere I miss the right "Tempi," and look in vain for the traditions of my youth.

That tearing speed which sweeps away many a little note; that spinning out of an Andante until it becomes an Adagio, an "Andante con moto," in which there is no "moto" at all, an "Allegro comodo" which is anything but comfortable...[28]

Samuel Lipman wrote of Wagner's influence on the performance of Beethoven's music in a 1990 article "Cutting Beethoven Down to Size":

I think this idea that music should be sehr ernst [very serious] and not a matter for humor all began in the Victorian era when music was an

upper-class activity that separated you from the trogs.

Also, the time when all this heaviness set in was the time religion was really being challenged in a major way, and for a while music took over the significance of a religion---it acquired stained glass---and Wagner was the arch-priest.

Now it was the "mystical world of German music"---it had to be seen to be difficult, heavy, plush, an embodiment of authority---everything that Beethoven was against. [29]

Wagner's trend toward slower tempos began with his study with François Habeneck in Paris from 1839-1842.

During that period, Wagner came to realize what he wanted to express in his own conducting and compositions: the melodic line, or what he called melos. Wagner observed Habeneck's ability to slow things down to better bring out the melodic element of a familiar piece of music, which Wagner thought so important.

...in a stroke the picture I had had of the wonderful work [Beethoven's ninth symphony] in the days of my youthful enthusiasm, and that had been effaced by the murderous performance of it given by the Leipzig Orchestra under the worthy Pohlenz, now rose up again before me in such clearness that it seemed as if I could grasp it with my hands.

Where formerly I had seen nothing but mystic constellations and soundless magical shapes, there was now poured out, as from innumerable springs, a stream of inexhaustible and heart-compelling melody. [30]

To achieve this pouring out of melody, Wagner felt that he had to slow down tempos in the slow movements as Habeneck had done. However, he expressed an opposite approach to fast movements:

As I have said that, in the ideal sense, the pure Adagio can never be taken too slow, so the pure, the absolute Presto can never be taken fast enough. [31]

Wagner decided to spread his ideas throughout Germany and beyond, and inspire others to perform Beethoven as he thought it should be performed and heard. In 1865, he wrote a "Report concerning a German music-school to be established in Munich" wherein he pleaded with his friend, King Ludwig II, of Bavaria, to establish a German school to teach proper musical performance practice of German masters' compositions.

We possess classical works, but we are not in possession of a classical style for the execution of these works.

Does Germany possess a school at which the proper execution of Mozart's music is taught? Or do our orchestras and their conductors manage to play Mozart in accordance with some occult knowledge of their own? If so, whence do they derive such knowledge? Who taught it them? [32]

Wagner never saw his dream become a reality, but still managed to establish a "German Conducting School," which became the cornerstone of modern conducting practice. It evolved through the work of now famous names in the history of modern conducting: Hans von Bülow, Hermann Levi, Hans Richter, Ernst von Schuch, Anton Seidl, and Felix Mottl. Through the work of these great conductors, Wagner's concepts were refined and practiced throughout Europe, eventually spreading to American conductors.

Felix Weingartner's treatise on conducting, in 1905, clearly transmits Wagner's conducting vision to the next generation of conductors:

He [Wagner] sought for the unifying thread, the psychological line, the revelation of which suddenly transforms, as if by magic, a more or less indefinite sound-picture into a beautifully shaped, heart-moving vision, making people ask themselves in astonishment how it is that this work, which they had long thought they knew, should have all at once become quite another thing, and the unprejudiced mind joyfully confessed, "Yes, thus, thus, must it really be."
[33]

Hans von Bülow is probably the most famous pupil of Wagner, about whose conducting it was noted:

Where a modification of the tempo was necessary to get expressive phrasing, it happened that in order to make this modification quite clear to his hearers he exaggerated it; indeed, he fell into a quite new tempo that was a negation of the main one. [34]

In the late nineteenth-century, Bülow had become a reputed conductor of Beethoven's symphonies, a direct descendant of Wagner. One instance of Bülow's transformation of Beethoven's original tempo marking can be seen in the following example. During a performance of Beethoven's Symphony No. 8 in 1889, Bülow conducted the Menuetto at a (♩ = 92) although Beethoven's marking is clearly, (♩ = 126). When asked why he had made such a drastic change in tempo from Beethoven's original marking, Bülow stated that he felt the Menuetto was meant to be the slow-movement of the Eighth symphony [35].

Weingartner aptly summarized Bülow's effect on the interpretation of Beethoven's works:

The saddest part of the business was that the chief arena chosen for all these varieties [interpretation] and experiments was our glorious classical music, especially the holiest of all, that of Beethoven. [36]

The more one reads the literary works of Wagner, and all the various treatises on his teachings and theories, the more one feels his intense need to find the spirit and inner meaning of music. He apparently found new spirit and inner meaning in Beethoven, conveyed by drastic alterations of Beethoven's tempos. One is left with the question of whether a composer's markings should be changed on the assumption that there is some new meaning to be brought out in the music. Does the slowing down of a tempo help draw out melodic intensity and were the tempos set by Beethoven so fast as to obscure the inner meaning or character of the music?

CHAPTER IV
TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEWS; PART ONE
(1942-1980)

Rudolf Kolisch - 1942

Numerous studies have been conducted over the past fifty years concerning the validity and feasibility of the performance of Beethoven's music according to his metronome markings. The various studies raise many interesting questions about performance practice in the nineteenth versus the twentieth century, the use of modern versus period instruments, the reliability of Mälzel's metronome, and the competence of not only Beethoven himself, but his nephew Karl who, after Beethoven's deafness had set in, assisted him by writing down metronome markings in conversation books as Beethoven dictated them to him.

A two-part article published in 1943 by Rudolph Kolisch opened the lid on the problem of deviation from Beethoven's given tempi. Kolisch sought to re-establish the basic credibility of Beethoven's metronome markings which he felt had been ignored since the middle of the nineteenth century. Kolisch reviewed several important issues that have led to the present situation.

First, Kolisch raised the question of the authenticity of Beethoven's metronome marks themselves by asking: "Yes, the metronome markings are Beethoven's, but do they really convey his intentions" [37]?

Secondly, Kolisch raised the often repeated statement: "tempi indicated [by Beethoven] are unplayable, and ...this fact alone disposes of them" [38]. He also mentioned the differential between modern day metronomes and Beethoven's model by Mälzel, and finally commented on the attitude that metronome indications are "inartistic" and...cramp the freedom of the re-creating imagination" [39].

Kolisch ultimately wanted to be able to prescribe metronome markings for Beethoven's unmarked pieces by examining the rhythmic characteristics of the marked pieces and the accompanying tempi which encompass Italian terms, modifiers connected to those terms, and the metronome markings themselves. Kolisch felt he could: "...deduce from a study of pieces for which Beethoven did provide such [metronomic] indications, the tempi for those which he did not" [40].

Table 1 shows Kolisch's arrangement of Beethoven's metronome markings according to meter and tempo categories.

Table 1. Rudolf Kolisch's Tempi According to Beethoven, Arranged According to Meter and Tempo Categories

	ADAGIO	ANDANTE	ALLEG ^{ro}	ALLEGRO					PRESTO
				moderato	ma non troppo		con brio	molto	
$\frac{12}{8}$	$\text{♩} = 30$	$\text{♩} = 50$							1
$\frac{4}{4}$	$\text{♩} = 40$	$\text{♩} = 60$	$\text{♩} = 100$	$\text{♩} = 126$	$\text{♩} = 126$	$\text{♩} = 168-176$	$\text{♩} = 184-200$		$\text{♩} = 200$
$\frac{4}{8}$	$\text{♩} = 40-44$		$\text{♩} = 88$					$\text{♩} = 200$	
$\frac{6}{8}$	$\text{♩} = 30$ ($\text{♩} = 92$)	$\text{♩} = 50$	$\text{♩} = 56$		$\text{♩} = 84$	$\text{♩} = 104$	$\text{♩} = 132$	$\text{♩} = 176$	$\text{♩} = 192$
$\frac{2}{2}$	$\text{♩} = 30$	$\text{♩} = 50$			$\text{♩} = 84-88$	$\text{♩} = 120$	$\text{♩} = 132$	$\text{♩} = 152-176$	$\text{♩} = 184$
$\frac{2}{4}$	$\text{♩} = 40$	$\text{♩} = 40-66$	$\text{♩} = 66-80$	$\text{♩} = 80-88$	$\text{♩} = 96$	$\text{♩} = 126-132$	$\text{♩} = 144$	$\text{♩} = 176-184$	$\text{♩} = 184$
$\frac{3}{4}$			$\text{♩} = 69-84$			$\text{♩} = 96-100$		$\text{♩} = 108-126$	$\text{♩} = 132$
$\frac{9}{8}$	$\text{♩} = 44-46$	$\text{♩} = 56$							
$\frac{3}{4}$	$\text{♩} = 30-44$	$\text{♩} = 60-66$	$\text{♩} = 80-116$			$\text{♩} = 144-152$	$\text{♩} = 162-207$		$\text{♩} = 300$
$\frac{3}{8}$		$\text{♩} = 56$	$\text{♩} = 68$					$\text{♩} = 108$	
$\frac{3}{8}$	$\text{♩} = 39-56$	$\text{♩} = 72-92$	$\text{♩} = 120$						

He provided numerous examples from Beethoven's marked works to explain the relationship between meter and tempo. For example, he cited the Scherzo movements in the quartets Op. 18, no. 4; Op. 18, no. 5; Op. 59, no. 2, and Op. 59, no. 3, and in the septet, Op. 20 and explains:

...all of these are marked "Minuetto" or "Allegretto"; yet each of these movements is in a different tempo, and the differences are by no means mere nuances; on the contrary, the tempo varies from quarter-note equals 120 to quarter-note equals 252! [41]

Kolisch believed the character of the music would determine the correct tempo. To find the correct tempo, he decided he must: "determine the essential quality in the music, its spirit" [42]. He believed Beethoven had assigned certain tempo markings to certain character-types, therefore, when a certain character-type is determined in a composition marked by Beethoven, it can be assumed that he probably would have assigned similar tempi to similar character-types in other pieces.

Kolisch stressed that he was not trying to undermine the "individuality of particular works" or "attempt a simplification of the infinite complexity of musical phenomena." His objective was simply to: "...isolate a single element in that complexity, tempo, and emphasize its relationship to character" [43].

Kolisch died before he was able to summarize his findings or completely answer the questions he posed. What he did contribute to the debate over the tempo markings of Beethoven was the debate itself, and one could conclude that, in general, he agreed with Beethoven's

markings or he would not have felt compelled to categorize the markings for future use in unmarked works. He also inspired further investigation into the problem of misinterpretation of the markings and many valuable studies followed his lead.

Hermann Beck - 1954

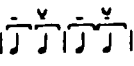
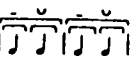
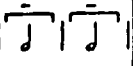
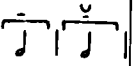
An extract from Hermann Beck's German dissertation (1954) entitled "Bemerkungen zu Beethoven's Tempi," appeared in the Beethoven-Jahrbuch in 1956. As Kolisch had done eleven years previously, Beck's study dealt with Beethoven's metronome markings and their relationship to the character of the composition to which they were assigned.

He felt one must have a full understanding of the "characteristic rhythmic flow and feel" or Bewegung as he called it, to ultimately reveal the true tempo of a composition [44]. Beck believed three elements needed to be harmonious in order for the correct rhythmic character to be determined, first: "the prevailing note values and patterns," second: "the time signature and its traditional tempo associations," and third: "the tempo inscription" [45].

Beck made a detailed analysis of nearly ninety separate movements studying the relationships between certain tempo markings assigned by Beethoven and the rhythmic patterns and time signatures. He analyzed only those movements marked Allegro or faster for he felt they had been the most misinterpreted among Beethoven's marked pieces, whose validity Beck had generally agreed with. In Table 2, one sees his

combination of the three elements for determining rhythmic character as listed above.

Table 2. Hermann Beck's Table from "Bemerkungen"

	1. Tempogruppe	2. Tempogruppe		3. Tempogruppe
Bewegungsgliederung				
Allegro	$\text{♩} = 96$ (op. 18, 2; 1. S.)	$\text{♩} = 120$ (op. 18, 1; 4. S.) $\text{♩} = 126$ (op. 59, 1; 4. S.) $\text{♩} = 132$ (op. 68; 3. S.)	$\text{♩} = 69$ (op. 18, 2; 2. S.)	$\text{♩} = 84$ (op. 74; 4. S.)
In tempo d'Allegro				
A. ma non troppo			$\text{♩} = 66$ (op. 68; 1. S.)	$\text{♩} = 80$ (op. 60; 4. S.)
A. ma non troppo, un poco marcato	$\text{♩} = 88$ (op. 125; 1. S.)			
Allegro von brio			$\text{♩} = 72$ (op. 92; 4. S.)	$\text{♩} = 108$ (op. 67; 1. S.)
A. molto			$\text{♩} = 76$ (op. 55; 4. S.)	
A. molto e vivace			$\text{♩} = 88$ (op. 21; 4. S.)	
A. molto quasi presto			$\text{♩} = 92$ (op. 18, 4; 4. S.)	
Presto	$\text{♩} = 116$ ($\text{♩} = 116$) (op. 55; 4. S.)		$\text{♩} = 92$ (op. 59, 1; 4. S.)	

Beck's ultimate goal was to prove that certain rhythmic patterns and time signatures continually had the same temporal connotations assigned to them; therefore, like markings could be assigned to unmarked pieces. In regard to the debate over the validity of Beethoven's metronome markings, Beck's research proves that he must have believed wholeheartedly in the markings or he would not have tried to group them as he did for use in unmarked pieces.

William S. Newman - 1981

William S. Newman puts Beck's theory to the test in an article which appeared in the 1981-82 issue of the Piano Quarterly entitled "Tempo in Beethoven's Instrumental Music: Its Choice and Flexibility" [46].

Like Beck, Newman also found he could assign metronome markings to pieces left unmarked by Beethoven by comparing rhythmic character with Beethoven's marked pieces. Part II of Newman's 1982 article, which will be discussed in the next chapter, takes up where Beck left off and attempts to answer some new questions not posed by Beck. Beck's study does give us a better understanding of how to go about categorizing the character of an Allegro movement by Beethoven. This study, in addition to the comparisons left by Kolisch, helps provide an excellent basis for possibly assigning markings to unmarked pieces of the same character, an aid in modern performance, and a better overall understanding of Beethoven's intentions.

Nicholas Temperley - 1966

A contrasting point of view on the usefulness of Beethoven's metronome markings surfaced in 1966 in a study conducted by Nicholas Temperley. In an article entitled "Tempo and Repeats in the Early Nineteenth Century," which appeared in Music and Letters, Temperley determined the markings left by Beethoven to be "almost useless as guides to performance speed" [47].

Temperley believed the flexibility of tempo negated the validity of metronome markings. He felt that the only way to accurately

determine performance speed was to time actual performances. As was already discussed in Chapter III, Temperley reviewed the timings for the Beethoven symphonies left by Sir George Smart and concluded that Smart's tempos were not drastically faster or slower than tempos at the time of his 1966 study. However, as was also noted, on numerous occasions Smart failed to mark down whether repeats were taken or cuts were made. Smart also failed to time the movements separately, which could allow for timings to include applause or encores of certain movements. Hence, Smart's timings may be suspect. They may also be evidence that even in Beethoven's day, conductors played the works generally slower than is indicated by the metronome markings.

Table 3 shows Smart's timings for all the Beethoven symphonies, and others, along with Temperley's own averages of modern performance times, and Norrington's timings at or very near Beethoven's metronome markings. (Norrington's timings are given only for ease of comparison and will be considered in detail later.) For example, there seems to be some discrepancy in the timings of the Eroica Symphony which Cipriani Potter conducted on May 18, 1842, in that his performance is much shorter than any other. Temperley believed that a whole movement may have been omitted. He also found the timings of the slow movements of the fourth and eighth symphonies interesting, in that: "...they are longer even than the modern times with all repeats played. It may be that these times included encores or unusually long intervals between movements" [48].

Table 3. Extract from Sir George Smart's Timings of Beethoven Symphonies; More Than One Movement; with Repeats [Compared with Norrington's Present Timings.]

Symphony	Date	Smart's Timing	Average Modern Timing	[Norrington]
No. 1	30 Apr. 1821	25	27.08	[25.46]
No. 2	22 Feb. 1819	34	34.43	[32.44]
No. 3	24 Apr. 1820	41		
do.	5 Mar. 1838	50	51.42	[43.29]
do.	18 May 1842	33		
No. 4	21 Feb. 1825	31		
do.	3 Jul. 1843	35	33.14	[30.40]
No. 5	10 Feb. 1819	27		
do.	19 Mar. 1827	31	34.18	[33.43]
do.	12 Mar. 1832	30		
No. 6	28 May 1821	37		
do.	5 May 1823	32		
do.	23 Mar. 1829	32.5		
do.	11 May 1835	39	40.46	[40.05]
do.	9 May 1836	40		
do.	12 Jun. 1837	38		
No. 7	26 Feb. 1821	35	44.58	[38.21]
No. 8	17 Mar. 1834	30	26.54	[25.28]
No. 9	21 Mar. 1825	64		
do.	17 Apr. 1837	67.5	69.26	[62.23]
do.	3 May 1841	61.5		

In regard to Norrington, who we know adheres closely to Beethoven's metronome markings, one sees a remarkable difference in performance times, in the case of Symphony No. 3, with Norrington's timings being three to eight minutes shorter than modern performance times. In most cases, Norrington's timings seem to fall into the same general time span as Smart's but are generally faster than the modern performances that Temperley examined.

Part of the problem is, Smart did not mention the circumstances surrounding these performances, such as encores or whether he took

repeats, so the usefulness of these timings in determining the proper performances of Beethoven symphonies may be lost [49].

Peter Stadlen - 1967

In 1967, Peter Stadlen set out to discuss the discrepancy surrounding Beethoven's marking for the Presto section in the Trio of the second movement of the Ninth Symphony. It appears that two different markings were printed for the same section bringing surprisingly different results.

Three sources exist which contain Beethoven's markings for the Ninth Symphony, those being: 1) Karl's entries from September 27, 1826, in the presentation copy for the King of Prussia: (♩ = 116), 2) the letter to Beethoven's publisher, Schott; October 13, 1826 (written by Karl and signed by Beethoven): (♩ = 116), and 3) a letter to Moscheles, penned by Schindler, on March 18, 1827, and signed by Beethoven; (♩ = 116) [50].

However, in the Collected Edition, the marking for the Presto section reads (♩ = 116) [51]. In 1896, Grove concluded that the whole note was incorrect because the stem was "rubbed off" in the second printing (1827) of the first (Schott) edition. But, Stadlen refuted the (♩ = 116) marking stating:

If, then, we have to accept as a sine qua non that the first bar of the Presto must be faster than the last one of the stringendo and that the new tempo must prevail throughout the Trio, then (♩ = 116) is absolutely certain to be wrong. [52]

Stadlen also found a discrepancy in the Presto finale, printed ($\text{♩} = 96$) in the Moscheles letter and ($\text{♩} = 66$) in the King of Prussia's copy. In 1925, Otto Baensch established:

...that the man at Schott's whose job it was to deal with Beethoven's metronome letter mistakenly turned the 6 into a 9, quite possibly because in the printed score the Finale happens to start on page 96--a Freudian slip. [53]

Stadlen found numerous errors such as these, which explain why some performers forsake the metronome markings, all or some of them, and draw their own conclusions as to the correct tempi. He pointed out how Karl and Beethoven battled on occasion with the mathematical calculations of whether to use a half-note or quarter-note as the unit of measurement for the tempo marking. Sometimes two very differing numbers like 66 and 132 would be written on the same page of a conversation book. (We must assume the beat note value would have been twice as long for the greater number.) Hence, some of the markings may be in error, and, according to Stadlen, if some of the markings are questionable, perhaps many or all are.

Stadlen concluded his 1967 article with the question:

If the evidence provided by the autograph score [of the Ninth] proves conclusively that the Trio needs to be played substantially faster than the Scherzo,...is it possible to find a common denominator, a figure that will make a reasonable fit for both?

Suppose that on that fateful occasion he did play both Scherzo and Trio at 100 or even 104--is there anything to account for the gap that remains between that sort of figure and the two 116's of the Conversation Book? [54]

Stadlen leaves us with a great deal to think about and poses new questions in his study from 1982 which will be discussed in the following chapter.

David Fallows - 1978

In 1978, David Fallows' review of a radio broadcast appeared in the July issue of Musical Times [55]. In the article, he noted that conductor Lawrence Leonard's performance on May 27, with the BBC Northern Symphony Orchestra, of the Eroica Symphony, was in accordance with Beethoven's metronome markings. First, Fallows questioned the performance wondering if a change from the norm was needed, and second, asked if such a change was really what today's listener wanted. Finally, Fallows discussed the difficulty of various solo passages in the symphonies of Beethoven and questioned the ability of the original performers to execute those passages at the rate of speed required by the markings on instruments of the time.

He concluded that historical performances definitely needed to occur with more frequency to answer the questions he posed and he welcomed the authenticity movement wholeheartedly.

CHAPTER V
TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEWS; PART TWO
(1980-PRESENT)

Max Rudolf - 1980

Studies in Chapter IV, beginning in 1942 with Rudolf Kolisch's research, continued at an average interval of one new study every ten years. Beginning in 1980, several studies appear every year. With the release of new recordings by conductors claiming authentic performances, many new questions would need to be considered. Thus, the debate over the proper interpretation of the metronome markings was heating up.

Max Rudolf poses some interesting questions concerning Beethoven's metronome markings in his article, written in 1980, for the Journal of the Conductor's Guild, entitled "The Metronome Indications in Beethoven's Symphonies." Rudolf begins by stating:

In modern scores, metronome indications are readily accepted as an essential and welcome guide to a composer's intentions. By contrast, they are frequently ignored in works written in the nineteenth-century.

One must assume, therefore, that performers either believe that metronome readings of former times are unreliable, or prefer to choose a tempo without regard for the composer's wishes.

Beethoven's symphonies are among the works whose metronome markings are still being given a low credibility rating by many conductors. In fact, prominent members of the profession have recommended that these markings be disregarded altogether. [56]

Rudolf deals with the problem of the disregard for the metronome markings by asking some basic questions. First, he compares Beethoven's metronome with modern versions. He suggests that the spring-driven model like Mälzel's could have, at times, produced a lopsided beat, and could have had inexact calibration, or a noticeable slowing down of the beat as the spring wound down. Nevertheless, scholars such as Stadlen, whose results in this area will be discussed presently, have found not much variance in the performance of today's metronomes when compared with the kind Beethoven probably used. Rudolf also questions the possibility of Beethoven's metronome being faulty, but cites several puzzling examples from Beethoven's letters wherein he describes how he had his "sick" metronome fixed.

The possibility of misprints of the metronome markings by publishers, Beethoven's nephew Karl, and Beethoven himself is raised by Peter Stadlen in 1967 and again by Rudolf, with Rudolf stressing the care Beethoven and Karl took in writing the markings in the conversation books, evidenced by the written conversation surrounding the markings themselves in the books, and by the fact that Beethoven and his nephew rechecked the markings several times. Hence, while misprints are possible, they would be rare.

Rudolf's fourth question concerns whether Beethoven was less attentive in handling the metronome than later composers. Here Rudolf discusses the character Beethoven wished to convey to future generations through the use of the metronome markings. Rudolf believes: "...in fairness to Beethoven, one should not question his

results [with the metronome] without first investigating how he arrived at a given metronome figure" [57].

Rudolf explains how Beethoven might have arrived at a given marking by singing, conducting, or playing through a given score on the piano, and further notes that by 1817, when Beethoven was assigning markings to the first eight symphonies, he had already conducted or listened to many performances of them. Some scholars agree that by 1817, he [Beethoven] had lost the proper feeling for works composed between 1800 and 1812. But, Rudolf concludes that Beethoven could not have misjudged his own music to the point of distortion.

Rudolf also reminds the reader that Beethoven would have just recently attended performances of his seventh and eighth symphonies and concludes that if these performances were inaccurate, surely Beethoven would have noticed and changed the markings.

Finally, Rudolf discusses the changing performance practices of the nineteenth-century, concerning Wagner, finding that modern interpretations of Beethoven's symphonies still suggest his influence. Rudolf goes on to explain that "of the sixty metronome indications in Beethoven's symphonies, only twenty are observed in most performances" [58]. Rudolf, however, has complete confidence in the markings and fully believes that they should all be followed. But he adds that a conductor's decisions regarding performance tempi should reflect numerous factors, such as the players' ability and the hall's acoustics.

Rudolf believes that all available evidence as to a composer's intentions should be followed and he welcomes the recent authenticity movement. Moreover, in his concluding remarks, he expresses confidence that "in the course of time the late-romantic concepts of the Viennese classics will give way to an approach that is germane to the spirit of the classical era" [59].

Peter Stadlen - 1982

In 1982, Stadlen continues, in a second article, the study of the metronome markings of Beethoven that he had begun in 1967. He observed:

Today the poor reputation of Beethoven's metronome indications is notorious, but still no survey has been compiled, no explanation offered.

This means that musicians feel free to follow their inner voice when it comes to questions of tempo, and so it seemed to me relevant to establish precisely which of Beethoven's figures are out of step with current performance practice, and to what extent. [60]

Stadlen asks the same questions as Rudolf regarding printing errors, which he concludes caused only about one percent of the misinterpretation of the markings. He also agrees with Rudolf that Beethoven's use of a faulty metronome was highly unlikely. Stadlen brings up the point of the acceleration or retardation of Beethoven's metronome as a possible cause of the misinterpretation of tempo markings, but concludes that "Beethoven's instrument was at the most one year old at the time he published his first two lists; but above all, an accelerated metronome would yield figures that are too slow, not too fast" [61]. Stadlen adds that a retarding metronome would

produce an asymmetrical beat which would be highly visible to a sensitive musician, a feature the deaf Beethoven would surely have noticed [62].

Another interesting question concerns whether Beethoven or Karl had pressed the weight against the metronome while reading it and at what angle or parallax view was he looking at the weight in relation to the metronome. Stadlen cited this hypothesis:

Beethoven, sitting at the piano, might have placed the instrument on top of some scores. In that position the lowest figures are hidden by the weight, but at 58 and 60 an error of one degree is feasible, between 63 and 96 of two degrees, between 100 and 132 of one degree.

But as with an accelerated metronome, this would have yielded marks that are too slow...[63]

Stadlen does not assume that Beethoven could have misread the metronome in such a manner, but in the autograph of Symphony No. 9 cites an entry in Beethoven's hand of 108 or 120. He credits Hermann Beck, Otto Baensch, and Kurt Masur for noticing this. The first two men believed that Beethoven could not make up his mind. Stadlen then looked at a metronome and noticed "that with the old model [metronome] the lower edge of the weight is in line with 120 when the upper edge shows 108" [64].

Therefore, Stadlen concludes that there could have been a brief instance where Beethoven was not sure which reading he actually wanted, but in that position, the metronome would have been beating 108 [65].

Stadlen examines all one-hundred and thirty-six metronome markings left by Beethoven, contained in the nine symphonies and other

assorted works including the septet, string quartets Op. 18 nos. 1-6; Op. 59; nos.1-3; and Op. 74; 95; and the piano sonata, Op. 106. Stadlen listened to recordings by eight conductors, including those of Abbado, Furtwängler, Karajan, and Toscanini; pianists ranging from Arrau to Schnabel; and performances by the Amadeus, Budapest, and the Guarneri string quartets.

Stadlen's extensive tables illustrate his findings: the majority of the performances examined are drastically under-tempo. For example, in the first movement of the *Eroica*, none of the performances surveyed come close to Beethoven's marking of (♩ =60). Moreover, in the first movement of the Ninth Symphony, Beethoven's marking is (♩ =88) with the tempo of the closest modern performance being (♩ =76). (Roger Norrington's recordings were not yet available.)

Stadlen concludes that Beethoven's expectations of tempo are not unrealistic and, actually, quite workable when the issues discussed above, such as printing or misreading of the metronome, are taken into account. But, his tables seem to indicate that modern performers disagree with him.

William S. Newman - 1982

In Part II of an article entitled: "Tempo in Beethoven's Instrumental Music: Its Choice and Its Flexibility (1982)," Newman expands on his extensive review of Hermann Beck's research discussed in Chapter IV. Newman examines five aspects of tempo choice and the flexibility of tempo that Beck and others had not previously examined closely.

Newman extends Beck's work of assigning characteristic metronome markings to unmarked fast pieces, to moderate and slow tempo compositions, while also assigning markings to pieces of similar rhythmic character. The second aspect Newman discusses deals with the further definition of the rhythmic character itself in light of the harmonic rhythm and textural density. Newman concludes that "any enrichments of the rhythm that disturb or oppose the steady beat of the meter and any enrichments of the texture that complicate the smooth flow of the lines also are likely to slow the music" [66].

Newman cites the Rondo theme in Beethoven's Emperor Concerto as an example of how "the hemiola effect created by the slurs and the vigorous syncopation that follows" causes conflict with the meter and creates an overall slowing of the tempo, marked Allegro ma non troppo [67].

Flexibility is the third aspect of Newman's discussion, which he defines as: "an elasticity in the pulse rate." Newman discusses the pianist Alfred Brendel's slowing of the "Andante" of Beethoven's Piano Sonata, Op. 79, which he clocked at Brendel's beginning tempo of (♩=50), and concludes that Brendel "slows the pulse in order to give momentary emphasis to each expressive high point" [68]. Newman cites Beethoven's use of modifiers to his own tempo markings, such as, rallentando, stringendo, and appassionato, as sufficient evidence for flexibility.

The fourth aspect Newman discusses is structural influences on tempo, which he finds does influence tempo choice and flexibility as the length and complexity increases. For example, Newman explains that

the Grosse Fuge would require a tempo marking slow enough to distinguish all the intricacies of the texture, yet fast enough to retain the attention of the listener.

Newman's final focus is upon the changing historical attitudes toward Beethoven's tempos, which he summarizes as dependent upon the "individual artistic temperament and athletic prowess [of the performer]" as much as the influences of Wagner and his followers [69]. Newman concludes that Beethoven's metronome markings should be taken seriously due to the great amount of thought and effort Beethoven exerted in assigning the markings. Newman also hopes his study will "provide more perspective and reason...on which to base individual choices and flexibility of tempo in Beethoven's music" [70].

William Malloch - 1985

An article by William Malloch's entitled "Toward a 'New' (Old) Minuet" appeared in the August 1985 issue of Opus magazine. Malloch deals with the minuet of the late Viennese Classical symphony, and the neglect of its proper performance by modern conductors.

Malloch believes that performers today are interpreting the tempos in the minuets of the symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven "radically wrong," because the metronome markings are not being taken seriously. Malloch defends the metronome markings by stating that: "...a metronome mark should be regarded like a snapshot, as a significant blip out of a once live event..." [71].

Malloch cites many examples to substantiate Beethoven's metronome markings by calling attention to contemporaries of Beethoven and their metronome markings for their own compositions. For example, Antoine Reicha (1770-1836) published metronome markings for eighteen woodwind quintets between 1817-1819. The markings were based upon the dotted quarter to 144 which Malloch considers "extremely fast...what we would consider "scherzo" tempos" [72].

Malloch concludes that the fast metronome markings of the Classical period should be tried. He also believes that today's performances, as well as performances as early as 1830, are distorting the character of the music.

Standley Howell - 1986

In the Journal of Musicological Research, Standley Howell reviews recordings which surfaced in 1986 by conductors Christopher Hogwood, Franz Brüggen, Monica Huggett and Roy Goodman of the Hanover Band, and the Collegium Aureum. Howell compares Beethoven's metronome markings with those of the above recordings of various Beethoven symphonies. His tables show that, overall, the performance tempi are well under the prescribed markings. For example, in the Second Symphony, Hogwood and Huggett are both consistently under tempo throughout. Howell concludes that performers often alter the historical evidence, in this case the markings, to please a preconceived notion of how a piece should be performed.

Recent Performances: Norrington, Hogwood,
Huggett, Goodman, Zander

The recent authenticity movement has spawned renewed interest in proper execution of Beethoven's metronome markings. Numerous recordings and performances have begun to surface in the last three or four years providing varying interpretations.

Roger Norrington and his London Classical Players, who follow Beethoven's markings almost to the letter, have recorded all of the Beethoven symphonies on period instruments. In Norrington's self-composed program notes, complete with Beethoven's metronome markings, he defends the markings and the need for rethinking in regard to Beethoven's tempo choice.

Besides Norrington, other groups claiming authentic performances have begun to overturn "traditional" interpretations of Beethoven's symphonies. Christopher Hogwood and his Academy of Ancient Music claim authenticity in their recordings by using period instruments, a smaller orchestra, etc.; but, for some reason, they do not adhere to Beethoven's metronome markings. For example, Hogwood's recording of the Eroica Symphony lasts exactly fifty minutes while Roger Norrington's interpretation, at Beethoven's metronome indications, lasts forty-three minutes and twenty-nine seconds.

The Hanover Band, under the direction of Monica Huggett and Roy Goodman from the concertmaster's chair, does follow Beethoven's markings to an almost rigid extent. Their tempo has been described as "unyielding and relentless" [73].

Conductor Benjamin Zander provided one of the first authentic performances with his interpretation of the Ninth Symphony in 1983 and again in 1990, both on modern instruments. He provided new information concerning the markings for the Ninth Symphony which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Richard Taruskin - 1987

Richard Taruskin has reviewed these recordings of Beethoven's symphonies. His article entitled "Beethoven Symphonies: The New Antiquity" appeared in the October, 1987, issue of Opus magazine and provides a nice summary of the groups in question. Taruskin wished to define authenticity and, thus, decide whose performance of Beethoven, if any, is the authentically correct one.

Taruskin [74] cites several approaches to authenticity:

1. The score is the musical work.
2. The first performance is the musical work.
3. The whole issue is absurd.

Taruskin believes "anyone who has really thought about the problem [of authenticity in performance] will be found in the third camp" [75]. But, others believe that the score is the plan for the work and the performance an instance of it. Both the Hanover Band, conducted by Monica Huggett, and Christopher Hogwood and his Academy of Ancient Music believe that whatever occurred at the first performance of the piece should be regarded as the final word on the subject of how a piece should be performed [76].

In reviewing the recent recordings by the Hanover Band and the Academy of Ancient Music, Taruskin discusses the approaches to

Beethoven's tempos. The conductors of the Hanover Band justify the lack of adherence to Beethoven's tempos as the result of following the conventions of Beethoven's day, such as inadequate performers and the problems with period instruments.

On the other hand, Taruskin states that Christopher Hogwood does not comment on Beethoven's tempo markings and does not follow many of them in his authentic recordings. Taruskin compares the tempi of recordings of the first movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 1 by Arturo Toscanini, Herbert von Karajan, Rene Leibowitz, Monica Huggett and Roy Goodman, Christopher Hogwood and Roger Norrington which are illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Symphony No. 1 First Movement Tempos

Marking	Tosc./BBC	Tosc./NBC	Karajan	Leibowitz	Hanover	Hogwood
Allegro	104	107	96	112	86	104
Bridge	112	111	99	114	90	107
Second Theme	104	103	95	106	90	107
Cello Theme	99	98	92	105	85	96
Development	109	111	97	113	90	114
[Norrington 112 throughout]						

He finds that the authentic recordings conformed less to Beethoven's intentions regarding tempo than did the older performances---except for Norrington. For example, since Beethoven's marking for the first movement is (♩ = 112) it is puzzling why the Hanover Band is so far off the mark at (♩ = 86). Taruskin also cites Hogwood's inability to follow Beethoven's metronome marking in the Eroica, first movement, (♩ = 60), which Hogwood performs at (♩ = 47-49).

In regard to Roger Norrington and his London Classical Players, Richard Taruskin's praise for Norrington's adherence to Beethoven's metronome markings in his recording of Symphony No. 2 is overwhelming. Taruskin exclaims "what a wealth of detail the performance contains"; and, "from the very beginning of the slow introduction...this is a performance to rank with the great ones" [77]. Taruskin finds his own concepts of the Second Symphony have changed along with his need for other, older renditions and views Norrington's performance as a new "veritable Eroica" [78].

Robert Winter - 1988

In 1988, Musicologist Robert Winter wrote an article which appeared in Early Music entitled "Performing Beethoven's Early Piano Concertos." He deduces that Beethoven did not provide metronome markings for his early piano concertos because, by 1817 (when he marked the first eight symphonies,) he had lost touch with the concertos and was retired from performance of them himself. To find some tempo conformities, Winter compares seven recordings of the first movement of the first piano concerto and concludes that, first, the soft passages were played slower than the loud ones, and the greater the level of rhythmic activity, the faster the tempo. He also discovered that chromatic digressions, normally already soft, called for additional slowing, and that ritardando occurred at the opening, intermediate, and closing ritornello, and in the development. Moreover, Winter questions how one should go about consulting history, and at what degree of integrity. He calls for a critical edition to

be produced of Beethoven's piano concertos--one that takes performance practice more seriously. In his book, Beethoven Performers and Critics, published in 1977, he does not deal directly with the current problem surrounding the metronome markings but does state that time in Beethoven's Vienna was measured by seconds (60 seconds = 1 minute), therefore, each beat received one second.

Sandra Rosenblum - 1988

Sandra Rosenblum has written extensively on the subject of tempo, mainly for Beethoven's piano music in her book entitled Performance Practice In Classical Piano Music (1988). Rosenblum finds, by timing various modern recordings, that, in general, Beethoven's fast sonata movements are played within the range of the metronomizations left by Czerny and Moscheles (discussed at length in Chapter III). In contrast, she concludes that the first movement of the "Moonlight" sonata is consistently performed significantly slower than the prescribed marking. On the subject of the metronome markings Beethoven did leave, Rosenblum believes that one can hear a piece in one's head at a faster tempo than one is able to perform it, stressing the importance of the influence of the performance environment as well as the musical traits of the composition, and concludes that the chosen tempo should not interfere with the spirit of the piece.

Willy Hess - 1988

Swiss musicologist Willy Hess takes the side of the performances of Furtwängler and Toscanini in his article from The Beethoven Newsletter in 1988 entitled "The Right Tempo: Beethoven and the

Metronome." Hess raises the issue of Beethoven's deafness, as did Rosenblum, concluding that a work proceeds faster in one's mind than in actual performance. One must remember that it is documented that Beethoven worked out the metronome markings at the piano, therefore would have been able to feel the tempo while playing. Hess firmly believes that the current authenticity movement, mainly in the adherence to Beethoven's metronome markings, "calls for the destruction of the work under the guise of literalism" [79].

Eric Salzman - 1989

Eric Salzman's review of recent recordings in Stereo Review (January 1989) seems to indicate that he does not agree with Beethoven's metronome markings. He compares Riccardo Muti's recording of the nine symphonies with those of Bernard Haitink and prefers Muti's on the basis of the "dramatic narrative" he finds in Muti's performance. In their recording times for the Ninth Symphony, neither performance even comes close to Norrington's timing of 62:23 (which is the closest to Beethoven's intended tempos) with Haitink's performance at 69:29, and Muti's time being 71:52. In a later review, Salzman does not agree with the Hanover Band's "unyielding tempos" and concludes that Classical music was not meant to be performed that way.

Edward Rothstein - 1990

In 1990, Edward Rothstein's article entitled "Jolly Roger and the Musical Past" appeared in The New Republic. Rothstein questions how well equipped one is to define authenticity and how one is to know the

will of the composer. He concludes that Beethoven was too far removed from his first eight symphonies, by 1817 when he assigned the markings, but he agrees with Benjamin Zander (discussed in Chapter VI) concerning the tempo of the Alla Marcia section of the finale of the Ninth Symphony. Rothstein believes the text of that section is too joyous to be performed at the slow (♩=84) marking it carries, and therefore, believes that the performer should use his own judgment when executing the passage.

CHAPTER VI
THE NINTH SYMPHONY:
A CASE IN POINT

The Ninth Symphony is a very special case where controversy still surrounds the metronome markings Beethoven assigned. Mainly, two sections stand in question; the Presto section of the Trio in the Scherzo marked (♩ = 116), and the Alla Marcia section of the Finale marked (♩ = 84). At those markings, both sections would be rather slow.

Discrepancies can be found among the existing sources, mentioned in Chapter IV. The first of these sources is Beethoven's nephew Karl's entries from September 27, 1826, in the presentation copy for the King of Prussia; the second is the letter to Beethoven's publisher, Schott, dated October 13, 1826 (written by Karl and signed by Beethoven), and finally a letter, penned by Anton Schindler eight days before Beethoven's death, to Moscheles in London for a performance with the Philharmonic society.

I have already cited the discrepancy Stadlen found in the metronome marking for the Presto finale printed (♩ = 66) by Karl in the King of Prussia's copy, and (♩ = 96) in the 1827 Moscheles letter, and also the possible printing error in the (♩ = 116) or (♩ = 116) marking for the Presto section in the Trio of the second-movement. (The problem interpreters find here is that there is no *accelerando* into the Presto if the marking remains the same.)

He found another instance of printing error in Emily Anderson's translations of Beethoven's letters. She printed the Moscheles letter with the Presto of the Trio marking as ($\text{♩} = 116$). Stadlen solved this problem by looking at the original Moscheles letter, which does not contain a dot; also, the section is actually in cut-time.

The recent authenticity movement has spawned renewed interest especially in the markings for the Ninth Symphony. Numerous articles and recording reviews have been written in the last three or four years concerning these markings and their interpretation. For example, Roger Norrington, who follows Beethoven's markings almost to the letter, is not only praised but maligned for his interpretation of the sections in question. In detailed program notes for the Ninth Symphony, Norrington defends the controversial sections discussed above. He points out that the Trio at ($\text{♩} = 116$), following the stringendo marking, is in perfect balance with the Scherzo ($\text{♩} = 116$), and holds the opinion that this movement alone puts the myth to rest that all Beethoven's metronome markings are "too fast."

In the Alla Marcia section of the Finale marked ($\text{♩} = 84$), Norrington cites three reasons why that tempo is not too slow. First, he believes it is a natural march speed, and secondly, that tempo is important proportionally to the rest of the movement. Finally, Norrington concludes that the "steady, homespun, 'villagey' pace has a humour and a humanity about it which is very important to the movement" [71]. He reminds one that Beethoven's contemporaries would have thought of the section as "Shakespearean" and Beethoven's message was, after all, for all men: "Alle Menschen werden Bruder."

Richard Taruskin's 1988 article entitled "Resisting the Ninth" appeared in Nineteenth Century Music; he finds Norrington's (Beethoven's) tempos to be no faster than "normal" except in the Adagio, where Beethoven marked (♩ = 60). Most conductors disregard Beethoven's marking and slow down this movement drastically. For example, Wilhelm Furtwängler's performance begins at (♩ = 30) and slows down from there; Herbert von Karajan's tempo is (♩ = 38); Otto Klemperer's ranges from (♩ = 39 and 46); and even Toscanini's is (♩ = 40). Roger Norrington is just shy of Beethoven's tempo marking at (♩ = 58).

The questionable marking in the Trio of the Scherzo is rejected by all of the aforementioned conductors except Norrington. Taruskin cites these examples: (♩ = 150-160) by Toscanini, and (♩ = 156) by Walter. In the Alla Marcia section of the Finale, again Norrington is close to the metronome marking of (♩ = 84), clocking in at (♩ = 94) and (♩ = 100) for the following fugue (which contains no accelerando marking), while others continue to disregard the marking completely. For example, extremes range from Furtwängler's tempo of (♩ = 130-140), to Toscanini's at (♩ = 191)!

Taruskin praises Norrington's adherence to Beethoven's intended tempos in the recordings of the second and eighth symphonies, but in the case of the Ninth Taruskin feels that it is impossible to arrive at one definitive interpretation of an enigma such as the Ninth Symphony itself. Norrington's interpretation is too literal for Taruskin, who also does not agree with (♩ = 84) for the Alla Marcia section of the Finale or Norrington following that marking. Instead,

Taruskin opts for Furtwängler's performance, which he believes contains "spiritual content" [80].

Conductor Benjamin Zander provided one of the first authentic performances with his interpretation of the Ninth Symphony in 1983 and again in 1990 on modern instruments. In 1989, Zander cited research by Stewart Young showing that the two markings mentioned in the opening paragraph above were incorrect, and that Karl was responsible for the faulty markings. Zander found Karl's entry of the metronome markings for the Ninth in one of Beethoven's conversation books. The marking for the Trio is, clearly, ($\text{♩} = 116$), (although why it is written that way is unclear). The Alla Marcia section in the Finale is marked 84, in 6/8 meter, with no specific note value given. According to Zander, when Karl later transcribed the markings for these sections in his letter to Schott, he inadvertently left off one of the half notes for the Trio marking resulting in ($\text{♩} = 116$) and then wrote ($\text{♩} = 84$) instead of ($\text{♩} = 84$) for the Alla Marcia section.

Zander concludes that these sections performed at twice the printed tempo "makes perfect sense" [81]; second, that these markings create a true Presto for the Trio; and third, the Alla Marcia section, while fast, is completely playable. He cites an example from the text of the Finale:

The ecstatically heroic character of the words for the march are much more apt for a very fast tempo ("Joyous as his suns are flying across the firmament's magnificent design, run, brothers, your race, joyously, as does a hero toward victory") than for the comic, farcelike slow tempo of ($\text{♩} = 84$). [82]

Zander's performance of the Ninth takes fifty-six to fifty-eight minutes (Norrington's is sixty-two minutes), and, regarding tempo, may well be the closest to Beethoven's intentions.

However, Denis Stevens flatly disagreed with Zander's hypothesis of Karl being at fault for the misinterpretation of the markings. He believed that Beethoven himself was at fault and asked some pertinent questions: what was the state of Beethoven's piano; could Beethoven's metronome have been "sick"; and when Beethoven wrote to Schott on December 18, 1826, of the great reception of the Ninth in Vienna being due largely to the metronome markings, how did Beethoven know if they took the prescribed markings--he was not there. Stevens concluded that the "whole business is in an almighty mess," and stated that "one should use one's brain when deciding on an interpretation" [83].

William Malloch comments on the Ninth Symphony in his 1989 article for Musical America entitled "The Stuff of the Sublime." Malloch, unlike Stevens, agrees with Beethoven's markings for the two sections in question because the tempos of both sections come directly from the preceding sections, and because the emotional content and structure are, he believes, clarified when following Beethoven's markings. For example, concerning the Trio, Malloch cites Beethoven's lack of a repeat of the section and concludes that the slow tempo fills in the proportions of the movement.

The question remains: could Beethoven's orchestra have played better at faster tempos than a modern orchestra? Perhaps the smaller orchestras of the Classical Period, the lighter, differently balanced bows on the stringed instruments, and softer tonguing by the winds

were able to make faster tempos work better. In 1942, Kolisch said "I can conscientiously maintain, on the basis of experience, that all the tempi required by Beethoven of stringed instruments at least, are perfectly playable on the basis of the average technique of today" [84], and Roger Norrington and other authentic performance groups have certainly proven Kolisch correct with their authentic interpretations on period instruments.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I would first like to briefly summarize the findings of the various scholars and their positions regarding Beethoven's metronome markings and, second, to illustrate the total lack of respect given the markings by most modern conductors as evidenced by a chart comparing modern performance times.

Chapter II outlined Beethoven's numerous testaments concerning the need for a device to measure speed. One is reminded that in 1813, even before the perfection of the metronome by Johann Nepomuk Mälzel in 1817, Beethoven had already recognized its importance by stating that, prior to its invention, the performance of his tempi had been misunderstood and that correct performances would issue from following his markings. Beethoven makes it unmistakably clear that following his metronome markings is essential to a proper performance.

Chapter III dealt with the three known sets of metronome markings, provided by Czerny, for the printed editions of Beethoven's piano sonatas. In my own comparison of various modern performances to Czerny's earliest set of markings, closest in proximity to Beethoven, I found that, in general, modern tempos, especially in the slow movements are slower. Moreover, it would be fair to state that modern performances are, in general, slower than even the slowest tempos indicated among the three Czerny sets. A review of all the tempo markings by Czerny and Moscheles leads one in the direction of faster tempos than we are used to today. Therefore, it is my feeling that

Beethoven wanted his music played, in general, rather fast and that the metronome markings were his way of assuring this.

Wagner's influence, of drastically slowing Beethoven's slow tempo markings and speeding up Beethoven's fast tempo markings to bring out the "inner meaning" in the music, is still present today in many modern performances [as the chart later in this chapter will illustrate] as is the effect of the "German Conducting School," established by Wagner.

Chapter IV summarized the various findings from scholarly studies concerning the metronome markings left by Beethoven. In 1942, Rudolf Kolisch sought to reestablish the basic importance of the metronome markings which he believed had been ignored in performances of the mid to late nineteenth century.

Kolisch's main concern dealt with the rhythmic character, which he believed would determine the correct tempo. Kolisch also stated that Beethoven had assigned certain tempo markings to certain character-types. Kolisch believed in Beethoven's markings, and he detailed their relation to the character and spirit of the music.

Hermann Beck's 1955 study also dealt with Beethoven's metronome markings and their relationship to the character of the composition to which they were assigned. Beck's research proved that he also believed wholeheartedly in the markings or he would not have tried to group them as he did for use in unmarked pieces.

Nicholas Temperley falls into the category of scholars who do not agree with the markings left by Beethoven. He described them as almost useless as guides to performance speed. Temperley also

believed that flexibility of tempo negated the validity of metronome markings, and that the only way to accurately determine performance speed was to time actual performances. Temperley's findings may lose their validity, based as they are upon the timings of Sir George Smart. In 1966, Temperley stated that Smart's timings revealed a pace for his performances similar to modern day performances, thus concluding that modern tempos are not drastically faster or slower than Smart's. If the performance times of Beethoven's contemporary Sir George Smart were more valid, they would have proven invaluable to this study. Unfortunately, Smart neglected to indicate whether the repeats had been taken, failed to mark timings for individual movements and, at times, neglected to jot down if any movements had been omitted during a performance, thus shortening the timings drastically.

Ironically, the timings show that Smart himself did not adhere to Beethoven's tempos only a few years after Beethoven's death, so it is precisely performances like Smart's that prompted Beethoven's support for the metronome. Smart's timings may also be evidence that even in Beethoven's day, conductors played his works generally slower than is indicated by the metronome markings.

In 1967, Peter Stadlen concluded his discussion of the discrepancy surrounding Beethoven's marking for the Presto section in the Trio of the second-movement of the Ninth Symphony by stating that some of the markings may be in error, and if some of the markings are questionable, perhaps many or all are.

Chapter V discussed the studies surfacing after 1980 beginning with Max Rudolf who stated that performers either believe the metronome markings are unreliable, or prefer to choose a tempo without regard for them. He stated that all available evidence as to a composer's intentions should be followed---including the metronome markings. Rudolf welcomed the recent authenticity movement, obviously taking Beethoven's markings at face value, and believed the late-romantic approach to the Viennese classics would give way to an approach more germane to the spirit of the classical era.

In 1982, Peter Stadlen's conclusion to his previous study of the metronome markings revealed that printing error constituted only about one percent of the problem and he agreed with Rudolf that Beethoven's use of a "sick" metronome was highly unlikely. Stadlen also believed in Beethoven's markings, concluding that Beethoven's expectations of tempo were not unrealistic and, actually, quite workable.

In 1982, William S. Newman concluded that Beethoven's metronome markings should be taken seriously due to the great amount of thought and effort Beethoven exerted in assigning the markings.

Willam Malloch concluded in his study of 1985 of the minuets by stating that the fast tempos of the Classical Period should be tried. He also believed that today's performances, as well as performances as early as 1830, were distorting the character of the music. Malloch obviously agrees with Beethoven's tempos and seems to feel tempos were quite fast in Beethoven's day.

After reviewing recent recordings by the Hanover Band and The Academy of Ancient Music, Taruskin concluded that the authentic

recordings conformed less to Beethoven's intentions regarding tempo than did older performances. But, he believed Roger Norrington and his London Classical Players recordings to be performances to rank with the great ones, and found his own perceptions of the Second Symphony had changed.

Chapter VI dealt with the controversy surrounding the metronome markings Beethoven assigned to his Ninth Symphony. Here one finds Richard Taruskin writing again. Taruskin felt that it was impossible to arrive at one definitive interpretation of such an enigma of symphonic music as the Ninth Symphony has become and that Norrington's interpretation was too literal. This change of loyalty to Beethoven's markings makes me question his previous conclusions.

Benjamin Zander found Beethoven's nephew Karl to be at fault for a possibly incorrect entry of the metronome markings for the Ninth in one of Beethoven's conversation books. Zander also concluded that each section in question, performed at twice the printed tempo, made perfect sense.

On the side of disagreement with the markings, Denis Stevens leads the way, flatly disagreeing with Zander's hypothesis. He believed Beethoven himself was at fault, and concluded that the whole business is in an almighty mess, and that one should use one's brain when deciding on an interpretation.

William Malloch's feelings for the Ninth Symphony are consistent with his earlier conclusions concerning the minuets. Malloch agrees with Beethoven's markings for the two sections in question because, on the one hand, the tempos of both sections come directly from the

preceding sections, and secondly, the emotional content and structure are clarified when following Beethoven's markings to the letter.

Groups claiming authentic performances have begun to overturn established traditions in the interpretation of Beethoven's symphonies. Christopher Hogwood and his Academy of Ancient Music claim authenticity in their recordings by using period instruments, a smaller orchestra, etc.; but, for some reason, he does not adhere to Beethoven's metronome markings. Roger Norrington's recordings with the London Classical Players give a basis with which to compare other recordings since he follows Beethoven's markings completely.

I have attempted to provide some data to validate the fact that modern performances are generally slower than what Beethoven intended except for finales, which are often played faster. I have compiled a list, contained in Tables 5 and 6, of over forty modern performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony ranging from 1926 to 1990, which demonstrates this point.

I have used Roger Norrington's timings to represent Beethoven's timings since we know Norrington follows the markings. The metronome marking for the slow-movement seems to be the most disregarded. For example, Norrington's timing is 11:08 at Beethoven's tempo. Only Hogwood's authentic performance time is faster at 10:44. All others are slower, some drastically so. The slowest slow-movement has to be Solti's 1988 recording, timing in at 19:59! [On a recent radio broadcast, Solti recanted his lack of adherence to the markings with a performance of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony during which he adhered closely to the prescribed markings.]

Table 5. Ninth Symphony Timings Organized Chronologically

Orchestra	Conductor	Date	1stMvt	2ndMvt	3rdMvt	4thMvt	TtlTm
London Symphony	Weingartner	1926	15:26	10:38	14:23	21:00	61:27
Vienna Philharmonic	Weingartner	1935	15:08	9:54	14:40	22:32	62:14
NBC Symphony	Toscanini	1939	-	-	-	-	77:25
Vienna Philharmonic	Karajan	1947	-	-	-	-	66:58
Columbia Symphony	Walter	1949	15:25	10:04	16:24	23:44	65:37
Vienna Philharmonic	Furtwängler	1951	-	-	-	-	-
NBC Symphony	Toscanini	1952	13:30	13:09	14:21	23:24	64:24
Vienna Philharmonic	Kleiber	1952	-	-	-	-	-
Vienna Staatsoper Orch.	Scherchen	1952	-	-	-	-	-
Columbia Symphony	Walter	1959	-	-	-	-	-
Cleveland Symphony	Szell	1961	15:38	11:28	15:23	24:06	66:35
Chicago Symphony	Reiner	1961	15:48	10:49	16:52	24:45	68:14
London Symphony	Monteux	1962	15:37	11:34	14:33	25:14	66:58
Philadelphia Orchestra	Ormandy	1966	15:15	10:21	15:12	23:55	64:43
London Symphony	Stokowski	1969	-	-	-	-	67:32
Amsterdam Concertgebouw	Jochum	1969	-	-	-	-	68:21
Vienna Philharmonic	Böhm	1970	16:46	12:08	16:38	27:09	72:41
Munich Philharmonic	Kempe	1973	-	-	-	-	-
Berlin Philharmonic	Karajan	1977	15:21	10:04	16:50	24:23	66:38
London Symphony	Jochum	1979	16:31	11:06	16:36	23:53	68:06
Vienna Philharmonic	Bohm	1981	18:38	10:50	18:15	28:37	76:20
Dresdner Philharmonic	Kegel	1983	16:35	11:19	16:06	26:21	70:21
Cleveland Orchestra	Dohnanyi	1985	15:05	11:27	14:57	24:32	66:01
Atlanta Symphony	Shaw	1985	-	-	-	-	69:65
Bavarian Radio Symphony	Davis	1985	17:05	13:41	15:14	23:56	69:56

Table 5. Continued

Orchestra	Conductor	Date	1stMvt	2ndMvt	3rdMvt	4thMvt	TtlTm
English Chamber Orchestra	Tilson-Thomas	1987	-	-	-	-	66:31
North German Radio Symph.	Wand	1987	15:33	11:12	16:00	23:37	66:22
Amsterdam Concertgebouw	Haitink	1987	-	-	-	-	69:29
Chicago Symphony	Solti	1988	18:00	10:51	19:59	24:40	73:30
Vienna Symphony Orchestra	Horenstein	1988	-	-	-	-	65:22
Philadelphia Orchestra	Muti	1988	16:25	14:42	16:04	24:41	71:52
Milwaukee Symphony	Macal	1989	14:05	10:46	12:55	22:35	60:21
London Classical Players	Norrington	1989	14:13	14:21	11:08	22:39	62:23
Prager Festival Orchestra	Lizzio	1989	14:16	11:40	13:38	23:40	63:14
Academy of Ancient Music	Hogwood	1989	13:56	13:34	10:44	25:00	63:14
Wiener Symphoniker	Inbal	1990	15:29	13:28	14:55	24:28	68:20
Hungarian Philharmonic	Ferencsik	-	-	-	-	-	64:58
London Festival Orchestra	Lizzio	-	-	-	-	-	65:15
London Symphony	Krips	-	-	-	-	-	65:16
Staatskapelle Dresden	Blomstadt	-	16:02	13:33	16:09	24:23	70:07
Bayreuth Festival Orch.	Furtwängler	-	-	-	-	-	74:09

Table 6. Ninth Symphony Timings Organized
by Duration

Orchestra	Conductor	Date	1stMvt	2ndMvt	3rdMvt	4thMvt	TtlTm
Milwaukee Symphony	Macal	1989	14:05	10:46	12:55	22:35	60:21
London Symphony	Weingartner	1926	15:26	10:38	14:23	21:00	61:27
Vienna Philharmonic	Weingartner	1935	15:08	9:54	14:40	22:32	62:14
London Classical Players	Norrington	1989	14:13	14:21	11:08	22:39	62:23
Prager Festival Orchestra	Lizzio	1989	14:16	11:40	13:38	23:40	63:14
Academy of Ancient Music	Hogwood	1989	13:56	13:34	10:44	25:00	63:14
NBC Symphony	Toscanini	1952	13:30	13:09	14:21	23:24	64:24
Philadelphia Orchestra	Ormandy	1966	15:15	10:21	15:12	23:55	64:43
Hungarian Philharmonic	Ferencsik	-	-	-	-	-	64:58
London Festival Orchestra	Lizzio	-	-	-	-	-	65:15
London Symphony	Krips	-	-	-	-	-	65:16
Vienna Symphony Orchestra	Horenstein	1988	-	-	-	-	65:22
Columbia Symphony	Walter	1949	15:25	10:04	16:24	23:44	65:37
Cleveland Symphony	Szell	1961	15:38	11:28	15:23	24:06	66:35
Berlin Philharmonic	Karajan	1977	15:21	10:04	16:50	24:23	66:38
Vienna Philharmonic	Karajan	1947	-	-	-	-	66:58
London Symphony	Monteux	1962	15:37	11:34	14:33	25:14	66:58
Cleveland Orchestra	Dohnanyi	1985	15:05	11:27	14:57	24:32	66:01
North German Radio Symph.	Wand	1987	15:33	11:12	16:00	23:37	66:22
English Chamber Orchestra	Tilson-Thomas	1987	-	-	-	-	66:31
London Symphony	Stokowski	1969	-	-	-	-	67:32
London Symphony	Jochum	1979	16:31	11:06	16:36	23:53	68:06
Chicago Symphony	Reiner	1961	15:48	10:49	16:52	24:45	68:14
Wiener Symphoniker	Inbal	1990	15:29	13:28	14:55	24:28	68:20
Amsterdam Concertgebouw	Jochum	1969	-	-	-	-	68:21

Table 6. Continued

Orchestra	Conductor	Date	1stMvt	2ndMvt	3rdMvt	4thMvt	TtlTm
Amsterdam Concertgebouw	Haitink	1987	-	-	-	-	69:29
Bavarian Radio Symphony	Davis	1985	17:05	13:41	15:14	23:56	69:56
Atlanta Symphony	Shaw	1985	-	-	-	-	69:65
Staatskapelle Dresden	Blomstadt	-	16:02	13:33	16:09	24:23	70:07
Dresdner Philharmonic	Kegel	1983	16:35	11:19	16:06	26:21	70:21
Philadelphia Orchestra	Muti	1988	16:25	14:42	16:04	24:41	71:52
Vienna Philharmonic	Böhm	1970	16:46	12:08	16:38	27:09	72:41
Chicago Symphony	Solti	1988	18:00	10:51	19:59	24:40	73:30
Bayreuth Festival Orch.	Furtwängler	-	-	-	-	-	74:09
Vienna Philharmonic	Bohm	1981	18:38	10:50	18:15	28:37	76:20
NBC Symphony	Toscanini	1939	-	-	-	-	77:25

The timing of the Scherzo movement is interesting and may help prove the misinterpretation of the Trio section. Other timings show an average of eleven minutes with Weingartner's 1935 timing of 9:54 being the fastest in my survey. The timings of the Finale are fairly consistent throughout the recordings consulted, with most being slower than Norrington [Beethoven]--probably because the instrumental recitatives are played much slower than Beethoven wanted. The overall timings are what really seem questionable. How can a piece with markings causing the duration to be 62:23 last for seventy-seven minutes as did Toscanini's 1939 performance?

Throughout this study I have attempted to provide answers to the questions surrounding Beethoven's metronome markings and their rampant disregard as shown in Tables 5 and 6. Peter Stadlen stated that there was yet to be a conclusive study into this problem of interpretation, but hopefully this paper has helped to summarize, to the present, the ever-present disregard and, also, to highlight the current scholars' and performers' determination to correct the past disregard for Beethoven's intentions.

Final Remarks

Simply stated, the reasons for the disregard of Beethoven's metronome markings are first, the question of their validity, second, Wagner's influence, third, individual modern interpretation, fourth, the opinion that the speeds required by Beethoven are unplayable on modern instruments, and finally, the overall lack of understanding of what Beethoven intended and indifference to his wishes.

On the question of the validity, I definitely believe that the markings are valid. Too much evidence has been left in Beethoven's hand confirming his opinions concerning the metronome and the possibilities of its use. Obviously, the ultimate proof is the markings themselves.

The question remains as to why so many conductors fail to follow Beethoven's intentions with regard to the metronome markings. I do not think Beethoven was inept at using the metronome, as some believe. He had Mälzel right there in Vienna to help him, and we have Beethoven's letters attesting to the fact that the metronome was fixed at a clock shop when it broke down.

Conductors and performers claim that the speeds required by Beethoven are technically unplayable on instruments of today. Benjamin Zander has proven that claim to be false with his performances of the Ninth Symphony on modern instruments and Roger Norrington's recordings are evidence to the fact that the markings are completely playable on the instruments of Beethoven's time. I believe the only effect acoustics might have on Beethoven's intentions would be the inability of the players to hear one another in a large hall, but that should not greatly affect the speeds required by the composer.

Recent attempts by groups such as the London Classical Players, the Academy of Ancient Music, and the Hanover Band to recreate the performance aspects of the time of composition are praiseworthy. I would encourage more performances of this type, on period instruments, in other orchestras, for example, community and college orchestras. I

do not agree with groups who claim authenticity but still disregard the markings, treating them as if they are not part of the original compositions. In my mind the groups have negated their whole purpose. Beethoven was obviously concerned with the spirit of his compositions and disregard for the markings, which to him conveyed that spirit, is unacceptable.

In the future, I would like to hear more attempts by major orchestras to play Beethoven's symphonies at the proper speeds. One is hopeful that more conductors will study the findings, contained in the numerous scholarly studies, and think about how they might aid in turning around the established "traditional" performances of today into the performances Beethoven intended.

ENDNOTES

1. Other earlier inventions of this type include Parisian Etienne Loulié's adjustable pendulum mechanism, called the chronometer, described in his Elements ou Principes de Musique mis dans un nouvel ordre in 1696. Later, in 1701, Joseph Sauveur invented the Echometre which featured a metric scale while Pajot and William Tansur invented similar devices from 1732-1746.

2. Martin, David. "An Early Metronome," Early Music, February (1988), 90-92.

3. Sterl, Raimund Walter, "Johann Nepomuk Mälzel und seine Erfindungen," Musik in Bayern, 22 (1981): 144.

4. Salieri's letter of October 13, 1813, printed in the Wiener Vaterländische Blätter

5. The chess machine was actually an invention of Mälzel's father's which Mälzel claimed as his own upon his father's death.

6. Sterl, "Mälzel und seine Erfindungen," 145.

7. Winkel was still embittered and planned revenge upon Mälzel. Sterl feels Winkel "tried to beat Mälzel at his own game" by inventing his [Winkel's] own version of Mälzel's celebrated Panharmonicon, calling it a "Componium." In 1822, Winkel presented the "Componium" to the public in Amsterdam causing, according to Sterl: "quite a sensation...Mechanics were fascinated...musicians curious...but the public was not interested." (Ibid., 146) Winkel died in 1826, at the age of 49, poor and unknown. Mälzel pulled in great success and financial gain throughout Europe with the stolen invention; Winkel's metronome. On October 23, 1817, Salieri assigned metronome markings to his own opera, Die Danaiden, in Paris. Sterl believes this may be the first opera ever performed on French soil with metronome markings. Sterl draws his own conclusions on the Mälzel/Winkel debate stating: "What undeserved glory could Mälzel claim? As in the case of the chess machine [plagiarized from his father] and the case of the metronome [stolen from Winkel], Mälzel was hardly the discovering mechanic, full of the 'spirit of taking things on.' He is more a clever businessman." Mälzel went to America in the 1820's and died aboard ship on July 21, 1838. (Ibid., 148)

8. Wiener Vaterländische Blätter; Oct. 13, 1813

9. Anderson, Emily, ed. The Letters of Beethoven, Vol. 2. London: 1961, no. 845, 727.

10. Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung; February 14, 1818.

11. Beethoven played each movement on the piano as he dictated the markings to his nephew Karl who copied them down in a conversation book. The conversation books were a vital means of communication in the composers later years. According to Schindler only 138 surviving books passed down by Schindler; 3/8ths of the original amount of these books---Schindler then sold these books to the now Deutsche Stadtsbibliothek.

12. Anderson, Letters of Beethoven, Vol. 3, no. 1545, 1325.

13. Wagner, Richard, On Conducting. London: William and Reeves, 1897, 39.

14. Anderson, Letters of Beethoven, Vol. II, no. 845, 727.

15. Ibid.

16. Barrel Organ/Pinning: Norton/Grove Encyclopedia of Music definition: A mechanical organ in which a cylinder with protruding pins slowly revolves; the pins raise keys which operate a mechanism that allows wind, produced by bellows, to enter the required pipes. Barrel organs were popular in English churches c1760-1840.

17. Schindler, Anton. Beethoven As I Knew Him. Ed. by Donald McCordle. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966, 260.

18. Czerny, Carl, On the Proper Performance of all Beethoven's Works for the Piano. ed. Badura-Skoda, Paul. Wein: Universal Ed., 1970.

19. Malloch, William, "Toward a New (Old) Minuet," Opus, I (August 1985), 15.

20. Nottebohm, Gustav, Beethoveniana, 2 vols. Leipzig: Rieter-Biedermann, 1872; 1877, 357.

21. Rosenblum, Sandra, Performance Practice In Classic Piano Music. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1988, note no. 154, 475.

22. Czerny, Proper Performance.

23. Ibid.

24. Beethoven, Ludwig van, Impressions of his Contemporaries. New York: Schirmer, 1926, 90.

25. Rosenblum, Performance Practice, note no. 159, 330.

26. Temperley, Nicholas, "Tempo and Repeats in the Early 19th Century," Music and Letters, 47 no. 4 (1966), 323-36.

27. Ludwig van Beethoven, The Nine Symphonies, The London Classical Players, Roger Norrington, EMI Records Ltd. CDS 749852 1/2/4, 1987-1989.

28. Thayer, Alexander. Life of Beethoven: Vol. II. Ed. by Elliot Forbes. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967, 286.

29. Lipman, Samuel, "Cutting Beethoven Down to Size," Commentary, 89 no. 2 (February 1990), 53-57.

30. Wagner, Richard, Mein Leben. Munich: Paul List Verlag: 1963, 210-211.

31. Wagner, On Conducting, 34-37.

32. Ibid., 111.

33. Weingartner, Felix, On Conducting. New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1906. One is also reminded of Beethoven's notation in the score of the finale of String Quartet, Op. 135: "Muss ist sein? Es muss sein." (Kerman, Joseph, The Beethoven Quartets. New York and London: 1967, 362.)

34. Ibid., 13.

35. Krehbiel, Edward Henry, Review of the New York Musical Season 1887-1888. New York and London: Novello, Ewer, 1888, 136-137.

36. Weingartner. On Conducting, 35.

37. Kolisch, Rudolph, "Tempo and Character in Beethoven's Music: Part I," Musical Quarterly, 29 no. 2 (April 1943), 169.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 180.

41. Ibid., 182.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., 183.

44. Newman, William S., Beethoven on Beethoven: Playing His Piano Music His Way. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1988, 90.

45. Ibid., 91.

46. Newman later incorporated this into his book:
Beethoven on Beethoven published in 1988.

47. Temperley, Nicholas, "Tempo and Repeats in the Early 19th Century," Music and Letters, 47 no. 4 (1966), 323.

48. Ibid., 332.

49. Moreover, Smart and Norrington may have the exact same total time, but if Smart did one movement twice as fast as Norrington and another twice as slow, the performances would be radically different, though the total time was the same.

50. Stadlen, Peter, "Beethoven and the Metronome," Music and Letters 48 no. 4 (October 1967), 330.

51. Beethoven, Ludwig van. Symphony No. 9 in D minor, Op. 125, Ed. by Ernst Eulenburg Ltd., London, 1960; Collected Ed. Breitkopf & Hartel, Leipzig.

52. Stadlen. Beethoven and the Metronome, 341.

53. Ibid., 331.

54. Ibid., 348.

55. Fallows, David, Performance Review in Musical Times, Vol. 119, (July 1978), 617-618.

56. Max Rudolf, "The Tempo Indications in Beethoven's Symphonies," Journal of the Conductor's Guild of the American Symphony Orchestra League, I/1 (May 1980), 3.

57. Ibid., 4.

58. Ibid., 5.

59. Ibid., 13.

60. Stadlen, Peter, "Beethoven and the Metronome," Soundings, 65 no. 9 (1982), 40.

61. Ibid.

62. Only Stadlen and Willy Hess mention the probability of Beethoven's deafness as a possible factor in his metronomizations of his symphonies and they question if his visual perception was adequate to assign the proper markings.

63. Ibid., 50.

64. Ibid., 51.

65. Stadlen believed if quavers were substituted for crochets, then the 108 could be halved, thus explaining Furtwangler's tempo of 54 (which will be further illustrated in Chapter VI.)

66. Newman, Beethoven on Beethoven, 24-25.

67. Ibid., 25.

68. Ibid., 26.

69. Ibid., 29.

70. Ibid., 30.

71. Malloch, William, "Toward a New (Old) Minuet," Opus, I (August 1985), 15.

72. Ibid.

73. Salzman, Eric, "The Authentic Beethoven," Stereo Review, 54 no. 5 (May 1989), 126.

74. Taruskin, Richard, "Beethoven Symphonies: The New Antiquity," Opus, 4 (October 1987), 32.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid., 33.

77. Ibid., 43.

78. Ibid.

79. Hess, Willy, "The Right Tempo: Beethoven and the Metronome," Beethoven Newsletter, 3, no. 1 (1988), 16-17.

80. Norrington, Performance Notes from Recording, 33.

81. Zander, Benjamin, "Did Karl get it wrong?," Musical America, 109 no. 4 (1989), 67.

82. Rothstein; "Jolly Roger," 31.

83. Stevens, Denis, review of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony. In Musical America, (September 1988), 53.

84. Rudolf Kolisch; "Tempo and Character," 177.

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