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1

Articles

Niels Wilhelm Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft* op. 35 and the Art of Musical Idyll¹

Alexander Lotzow

As unlikely as it may seem to present concertgoers: Niels Wilhelm Gade was without doubt one of the most widely performed, celebrated, and best-known composers of the second half of the 19th century.² A major share of Gade's success and fame, namely from an international, German, English or even American point of view, was procured by his choral-orchestral music.³ Eleven years after the composer's death, Hugo Riemann in his *Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven* listed several of Gade's choral compositions which for many decades had remained – and still were – standard repertoire for choral societies due to their, quoting Riemann, 'natural freshness' and 'artistic nobility'.⁴ The compositions mentioned by Riemann explicitly include Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft* op. 35

- 1 This text is an extended version of a paper presented at the 'Symposium on the Occasion of the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Niels W. Gade', Aarhus University, School of Communication and Culture, in March 2017. It elaborates on some thoughts of the chapter 'Das Sinfonische Chorstück als 'reizendes Idyll': Niels Wilhelm Gades *Frühlings-Botschaft* op. 35 (1858)' in my book *Das Sinfonische Chorstück im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien zu einsätzigen weltlichen Chorwerken mit Orchester von Beethoven bis Brahms* (Kiel: Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, 55; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017), 226–60.
- 2 Jan Brachmann has recently emphasized this again: 'Was man den Zugvögeln ablauschen kann. Dänen und Deutsche feiern den 200. Geburtstag des Komponisten Niels Wilhelm Gade', in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14 Jan. 2017, also found at <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/buehne-und-konzert/200-geburtstag-des-komponisten-niels-wilhelm-gade-14641141.html>, accessed 8 Mar. 2018.
- 3 See Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Niels W. Gade und die skandinavische Musik der Romantik', in Friedhelm Krummacher, *Musik im Norden. Abhandlungen zur skandinavischen und norddeutschen Musikgeschichte*, ed. Siegfried Oechsle et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), 103. In summer 1871, Gade wrote to his wife from Bonn: 'After the concerts one would gather in several hotels and I met a lot of people from England, America and so forth who introduced themselves as admirers of my music. It is remarkable how frequently "Erl's king" is being produced these days. Almost everybody told me they had performed it lately or were in the process of studying it. An American intends to send me an English translation of "Erl's king". Several Englishmen asked for an English edition of *Crusaders*, *Comala* etc.' (Gade's letter of 23 Aug. 1871, tr. A. L. from the German rendition in Niels W. Gade, *Aufzeichnungen und Briefe*, ed. Dagmar Gade (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912), 150. The Danish original can be consulted in Inger Sørensen (ed.), *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kredse. En brevsamling 1836–1891* (København: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2008), vol. 3, 809).
- 4 The original quot. is concerned with 'Chorwerken ..., welche zum täglichen Brot der Chorgesangsvereine und Musikvereine wurden und sich zufolge ihrer natürlichen Frische und künstlerischen Noblesse dauernd halten', Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven (1800 – 1900)* (Berlin and Stuttgart: Spemann, 1901), 271.

for mixed choir and orchestra of 1858.⁵ In spite of its modest outline, this piece forms a rather central item of Gade's choral oeuvre and in my view can offer us some clues as to why Gade's music in general was once so very successful.

At first glance, however, *Frühlings-Botschaft* is by its outward appearance quite an extraordinary composition. A single movement, about eight minutes long choral-orchestral piece without soloists, it hardly has a counterpart among Gade's many other more cantata-like 'koncertstykker' which as a rule consist of multiple movements and regularly employ vocal soloists in addition to the choir.⁶ Opposed to this, *Frühlings-Botschaft* would in terms of the later 19th century rather have to be assigned to the genre 'Choral-Ode', or, as I have suggested elsewhere, to the 'Symphonic Choral-Piece',⁷ other examples of which are compositions like Schumann's *Nachtlied* op. 108 or Beethoven's *Meeres Stille und Glückliche Fahrt* op. 112. One could be startled though that *Frühlings-Botschaft* does not seem to share these latter pieces' common characteristics like 'grandeur' or 'sublimity' deriving from their genre's link to symphonic and oratorical traditions. In contemporary appraisals, *Frühlings-Botschaft* rather evoked attributes like 'exhilarant', 'graceful' or 'delicate',⁸ and an 1861 review called it, summarizing the reception quite strikingly, a 'charming idyll'.⁹

Although the designation as 'idyll' could simply be a casual, random statement, to me it seems very meaningful with regard to this piece of Gade's and possibly to his aesthetics in a broader sense, too. Yet, what does the term imply here? While 'idyll' is, other than in literature,¹⁰ not a musical genre in its own right, many compositions of the

- 5 While there is not yet a critical edition of *Frühlings-Botschaft* at hand, the original printed full score as well as the four-hand arrangement are easily available from the Petrucci Music Library at [http://imslp.org/wiki/Fr%C3%BChlingsbotschaft,_Op.35_\(Gade,_Niels\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Fr%C3%BChlingsbotschaft,_Op.35_(Gade,_Niels)), accessed 8 Mar. 2018. There is also a recording available: Niels Wilhelm Gade. *Baldurs Drøm* op. 117, *Frühlings-Botschaft* op. 35, Canzone-koret, Helsingborgs Symfoniorkester, Frans Rasmussen, Classico 2010.
- 6 Another singular composition of Gade's scored identically to *Frühlings-Botschaft* is *Ved Solnedgang* op. 46, albeit with regard to its formal outline a rather more songlike one still.
- 7 See Lotzow, *Das Sinfonische Chorstück*, particularly the chapter 'Gattungsmodell "Chorode"', 90–106. The term 'Chorode', 'Choral-Ode', was probably first introduced by Hermann Kretzschmar in his *Führer durch den Concertsaal. II. Abteilung, zweiter Theil: Oratorien und weltliche Chorwerke* (Leipzig: Liebeskind, 1890).
- 8 The original labellings are 'reizend' ('Leipzig', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 26/1 (1859), 22), 'erfrischend' ('Achtes Gesellschafts-Concert in Köln ...', in *Niederrheinische Musikzeitung*, 9 (1861), 62), 'anmuthig', 'fein' ('Gade, Niels W', in Hermann Mendel/August Reissmann (ed.), *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon. Eine Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften für Gebildete aller Stände. Zweite Ausgabe* (Berlin: Oppenheim, 1880), vol. 4, 101).
- 9 In German, the piece is named a 'reizendes Idyll': 'Achtes Gesellschafts-Concert in Köln', 62.
- 10 See Renate Böschenstein, 'Idyllisch/Idylle', in Karlheinz Barck et al. (eds.), *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001), 134. Of course, as a literary genre, 'idyll' can by no means be viewed as a homogeneous term either: cf. Günther Häntzschel, 'Idylle', in Harald Fricke (ed.), *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), vol. 2, 122–25.

19th century are explicitly called ‘idyll’,¹¹ one of the most famous of them being Richard Wagner’s *Siegfried-Idyll*. But whereas in Wagner this occasional idyll would have to be regarded as barely more than a fairly private episode, to be tolerated next to an oeuvre driven by existential conflicts, Gade’s music much more frequently sought out ‘idyll’, and seemingly did so without any danger of jeopardizing its author’s reputation. Several of Gade’s compositions are explicitly named ‘idyll’,¹² too, and many others that are not nevertheless cause – or at least used to cause – a connatural impression, just like on the reviewer of *Frühlings-Botschaft* in 1861.

Calling *Frühlings-Botschaft* an ‘idyll’ then was not at all in peril to be taken as derogatory but could very well serve as a compliment. This may not be self-evident to today’s commentators, for when we emphatically speak of music as art in present times, we usually do not primarily think of idylls. Instead, we tend to highlight not its conciliatory features but its stirring and insurgent qualities, not least due to the numerous extra-artistic functions we are used to ascribing to it.¹³ Yet, we then forget that even the intellectually ambitious audiences of the 19th century did not at all strive to be *challenged* by music in the first place, as can be learned for instance from the highly controversial reception of Brahms’s *Schicksalslied* op. 54 or *Gesang der Parzen* op. 89.¹⁴ Instead, they would quite willingly let themselves be overwhelmed by musical sublimity, or be charmed by musical idyll – at least if it was fashioned in a coherent and convincing way.

So, what kind of artistic achievement would a composer like Gade be supposed to pursue in a musical idyll that would not have to be dismissed as naive or superficial? First of all, it should generally be pointed out that idyll in mid-19th century, while in part certainly ambivalent, was not, or not yet exclusively, regarded as trivial, in the sense of a narrow-minded postcard idyll. Rather, it fundamentally owned, understood as an opposite of a world critically viewed as fragmented, traits of a holistic utopia that had traditionally been a key element of the literary genre. In a similar sense, Friedrich Schiller in his 1795 essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (*On Naive and Sentimental Poetry*) had made idyll, in a widened understanding of the term from ‘genre’ to ‘Empfindungsweise’,¹⁵

11 Also, several earlier examples are commented on by Laurenz Lütteken, “Es herrscht durchaus die simpelste und schönste Harmonie”. Zur Typologie der musikalischen Idylle”, in Frank Baudach and Günter Häntzschel (eds.), *Johann Heinrich Voß (1751–1826). Beiträge zum Eutiner Symposium 1994* (Eutiner Forschungen, 5; Eutin: Struve, 1997), 251.

12 The second of the 1837 three piano pieces is titled ‘Idylle’ as well as the *Idyller* op. 34 for piano (1857). The *Idyllisk Ouverture En Sommerdag*, unpublished in Gade’s lifetime, sets an example within the orchestral repertoire.

13 These circumstances have been briefly but inspiringly considered by Jan Brachmann in his article ‘Grundfragen’, in *Positionen. Texte zur aktuellen Musik*, 109 (2016), 6–8.

14 See the chapters on these compositions in Lotzow, *Das Sinfonische Chorstück*, 261–337, and 373–425.

15 A translation of this term according to Friedrich Schiller, *On the Naive and Sentimental in Literature*, tr. and introd. Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly (Manchester: Carcanet New Press, 1981), 15, could be ‘a kind of emotion’.

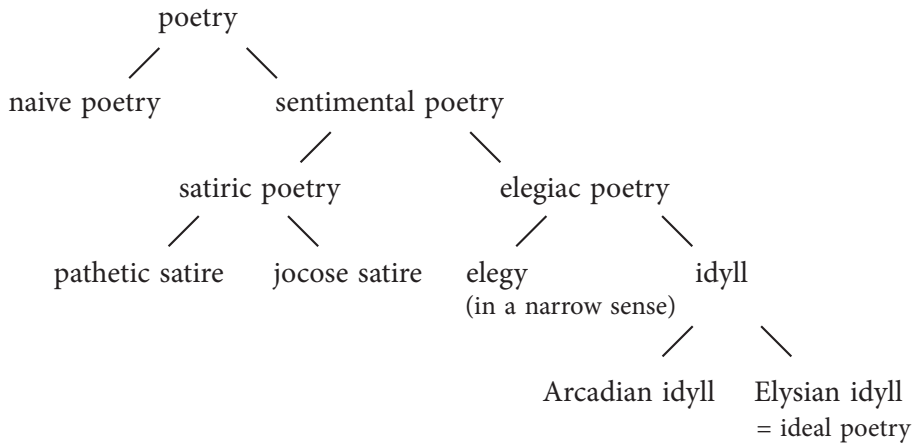


Fig. 1. Types of poetry according to Friedrich Schiller's *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*.¹⁶

a crucial constituent of his considerations. It is then important to observe that in Schiller's view idyll is not a mode of naive but of sentimental poetry. It represents a reflected and deliberate kind of art – yet in a way, that does not bare a struggle with deliberation but that has come to a calm and self-sufficient state without being inactive at the same time. This may sound difficult to achieve, even utopian and as we know, Schiller, in his own writing, did not present an idyll to fulfil these requirements. In the 1880s, the German philosopher Karl Heinrich von Stein claimed to know the reason why: 'Schiller here demands something of poetry that it cannot achieve by itself. To express a state of completely higher character, a means of art that raises the whole spirit of the mind becomes necessary: What Schiller demands of poetry only music can achieve.'¹⁷ This statement is in its exclusiveness surely an exaggeration. There can be little doubt, however, that music does possess certain advantages in this regard. In a confrontation of reality and ideal, which is

16 The stemma is a translated quotation from Carsten Zelle, 'Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung (1795/96)', in Matthias Luserke-Jaqui (ed.), *Schiller-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung* (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2005), 476. Terms are translated after Watanabe-O'Kelly.

17 Tr. A. L. The original quot. is: 'Schiller fordert hier von der Poesie, was sie allein nicht zu leisten vermag. Zum Ausdruck eines seinem ganzen Wesen nach höheren Zustands gehört ein Kunstmittel, welches die gesamte Stimmung des Gemütes steigert und erhöht: Schiller verlangt von der Poesie, was nur die Musik leisten kann.' K[arl] Heinrich von Stein, *Goethe und Schiller. Beiträge zur Ästhetik der deutschen Klassiker. Nach seinen an der Universität Berlin gehaltenen Vorträgen aufgezeichnet* (Universal Bibliothek, 3090; Leipzig: Reclam, [1893]), 68f.; Stein, however, considered Beethoven to have fulfilled this task (ibid.); see also Thomas Schipperges, 'Wechselwirkungen von Idylle und Musik um 1800', in Markus Bertsch and Reinhard Wegner (eds.), *Landschaft am "Scheidepunkt". Evolutionen einer Gattung in Kunsttheorie, Kunstschaffen und Literatur um 1800* (Ästhetik um 1800, 7; Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010), 132f.

central to Schiller, music will, merely due to its material fundaments, always surpass mimesis of the world. Even if it attempts to, by way of tone-painting or similar practices, one will at all times be completely aware of that music is *not* identical with what it processes artistically. Therefore, what might be naive as a literary text, for instance, in vocal music will be drawn towards the sentimental.¹⁸ And like any sentimental art it will not, or not only, mirror reality but it will also picture an ideal not yet fulfilled. Satire and elegy, which in Schiller's view are other modes of sentimental poetry, will make the *conflict* between reality and ideal their subject – be it accusingly, tauntingly or in a manner of mourning. The final form of idyll, which is the Elysian idyll, will according to Schiller have achieved to suspend this conflict and offer a prospect of the ideal itself (see Fig. 1, p. 6).

Possibly music, being an art that does not refer to reality in the same way that language does, is quite well equipped for this goal. If the goal is approached by a certain piece, though, it will very much depend on *how* this composition is fashioned.

Gade was certainly not a naive composer, but a highly reflected one, or in Schiller's words a 'sentimental' one, even if it often takes more than one look at his music to realize this. When we study Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft* more closely, there is no doubt that the impression of idyll in this particular case starts with its text and notably with Gade's remarkable handling of it. By choosing a poem by Emanuel Geibel, Gade on the one hand stressed the international, especially the German scope of his choral piece. In Germany, pieces composed to texts by Geibel were more than common. Despite his prevalent reputation as a lyricist of rather low aesthetic rank, Geibel was one of the most widely read German authors of his age. The number of musical pieces to his lyrics in 19th-century Germany is surpassed only by those to texts by Heinrich Heine, not even by Goethe-settings.¹⁹ On the other hand, Gade must have been aware of the risk that a piece to a text by Geibel in 1858 would probably not be well received in Denmark. A native of Lübeck, Geibel rightfully was a notorious character to the Danish public, since he had frequently put forth unmistakably harsh statements against Denmark during the mid-century conflicts around Schleswig-Holstein,²⁰ and indeed this notoriety may well have impeded a wider dissemination of Gade's piece in his home country.²¹ Bearing this in mind, several traits of *Frühlings-Botschaft's* printed edition at Breitkopf & Härtel could be taken as attempts

18 In this instance, one might think of Gustav Mahler's approach to his Lied-texts from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

19 Walter Hinck, 'Epigonendichtung und Nationalidee. Zur Lyrik Emanuel Geibels', in Walter Hinck, *Von Heine zu Brecht. Lyrik im Geschichtsprozeß* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1978), 67.

20 This is evident, for instance, in the sonnets of the 1846 collection *Für Schleswig-Holstein*, furthermore in other poems such as *Lübeck's Bedrängnis* from *Zeitstimmen* (1841) and the quite prevalent *Protestlied für Schleswig-Holstein* (1846). Horst Joachim Frank considers these circumstances more thoroughly in *Literatur in Schleswig-Holstein*, vol. 3: *19. Jahrhundert, Erster Teil: Im Gesamtstaat* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2004), 414–17.

21 Inger Sørensen, *Niels W. Gade. Et dansk verdensnavn* (København: Gyldendal, 2002), 184.

Frühlings-Botschaft.

Willkommen, heller Frühlingsklang!

Nach langem bangem Winterschweigen
Willkommen, heller Frühlingsklang!
Nun rührt der Saft sich in den Zweigen
Und in der Seele der Gesang.
Es wandelt unter Blütenbäumen
Die Hoffnung über's grüne Feld;
Ein wundersames Zukunftsträumen
Fließt wie ein Segen durch die Welt.

So wirf denn ab was mit Beschwerden,
O Seele, dich gefesselt hielt;
Du sollst noch wie der Vogel werden,
Der mit der Schwing' im Blauen spielt.
Der aus den kahlen Dornenhecken
Die rothen Rosen blühend schafft,
Er kann und will auch dich erwecken
Aus tiefem Leid zu junger Kraft.

Und sind noch dunkel deine Pfade,
Und drückt dich schwer die eig'ne Schuld:
O glaube, grösser ist die Gnade,
Und unergründlich ist die Huld.
Lass nur zu deines Herzens Thoren
Der Pfingsten vollen Segen ein,
Getrost, und du wirst neugeboren
Aus Geist und Feuerflammen sein.

Willkommen, heller Frühlingsklang!

E. Geibel.

Ill. 1a. Niels W. Gade, *Frühlings-Botschaft*, rendition of sung text in the printed edition of 1858.

Ill. 1b. *Frohe Botschaft* from Emanuel Geibel's *Juniuslieder* (Stuttgart/Tübingen: Cotta, 1848), 90f.

to downplay the importance of Geibel. For one thing, there is no mention of the poet on the score's title page. The reason for this cannot be, as we might be tempted to presume today, that Geibel might generally not have been considered worth putting on this representative spot: Thus, for instance, Geibel's name appears prominently on the first editions of Robert Schumann's various Geibel-compositions.²² In Gade's printed score, a

22 E.g. *Drei Gedichte nach Emanuel Geibel für mehrstimmigen Gesang mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* op. 29 (1841) or *Vom Pagen und der Königstochter. Vier Balladen nach E. Geibel für Solostimmen, Chor u. Orchester* op. 140 (1857). Digital facsimiles of these editions are offered by the Brahms-Institut an der Musikhochschule Lübeck at http://www.brahms-institut.de/web/bihl_digital/schumann_drucke_start.html, accessed 8 Mar. 2018.

Frohe Botschaft.

Nach langem bangem Winterschweigen
Willkommen heller Frühlingsklang!
Nun rührt der Saft sich in den Zweigen,
Und in der Seele der Gesang.
Es wandelt unter Blütenbäumen
Die Hoffnung über's grüne Feld;
Ein wundersames Zukunftsträumen
Fließt wie ein Segen durch die Welt.

So wirf denn ab was mit Beschwerden
O Seele dich gefesselt hielt;
Du sollst noch wie der Vogel werden,
Der mit der Schwing' im Blauen spielt.
Der aus den kahlen Dornenhecken
Die rothen Rosen blühend schafft,
Er kann und will auch dich erwecken
Aus tiefem Leid zu junger Kraft.

Und sind noch dunkel deine Pfade,
Und drückt dich schwer die eig'ne Schuld:
O glaube, größer ist die Gnade,
Und unergründlich ist die Huld.
Lass nur zu deines Herzens Thoren
Der Pfingsten vollen Segen ein,
Getrost, und du wirst neugeboren
Aus Geist und Feuerflammen sein.

reproduction of the text is given, and this does include a naming of the author, but only in tiny letters at the bottom of the page, abbreviating his first name (Ill. 1a).

The downplaying of Geibel could also hint at Gade's very prudent approach to a text that he may not have considered a piece of art in its own right to which he would not need to add much more than a compliant background of sound. It was rather the starting point of a more complex liaison of language and music. An indication of this is apparent in Gade's notable changing of the poem's title from 'Frohe Botschaft' to 'Frühlings-Botschaft', evident by comparison to Geibel's original edition of the text in his 1848 *Juniuslieder* (Ill. 1b).²³ The new title was already familiar to the German public at the time of Gade's composition. It was the title of at least two other very famous poems: of Heinrich Heine's 'Leise zieht durch mein Gemüt', prominently set to music by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (MWV K 71), and of August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben's 'Kuckuck, Kuckuck ruft aus dem Wald', which under its original title is included in Schumann's *Liederalbum für die Jugend* op. 79 (No. 3), for instance. By choosing the same heading for his choral piece, Gade immediately made it move towards a more universal 'idyll', as nature, and foremost nature in spring, is a very common setting in this regard, albeit an altogether unspecific one.

At the same time, Gade obscured some features of Geibel's poem, which effectively is not a poem of spring but of Pentecost. Looking at the text in detail reveals that several of its properties are specifically linked to a sacred sphere: The stanza employed by Geibel (ignored by Novello's English piano reduction of 1872, incidentally²⁴) has its roots in 16th-century church song.²⁵ This may still be rather vague. The original title of the poem 'Frohe Botschaft', however, is much more striking, for it is the established German translation of 'Evangelium', meaning 'gospel'. To investigate the text further, here is the attempt of a literal English translation of the version printed in Gade's score (cf. Ill. 1a).

- 23 The *Juniuslieder* have, since their first publication, often been considered as an example of Geibel's more sophisticated lyrical output. According to Walter Hinck, Geibel shows a tendency here to succeed Goethe and also, with some rather notional poetry, Schiller. (Geibel 'schwenkt ... in die Bahn der Goethe-Nachfolge und – mit der mehr gedanklichen Lyrik – zugleich der Schiller-Nachfolge ein' (Hinck, 'Epigonendichtung', 68).
- 24 The University of Rochester provides a digital version available at <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/24697>. The edition attributes the translation to a certain Mrs. Charteris Cairns. Although on the one hand it handles the formal outline of Geibel's poem quite freely, on the other hand it emphasizes the religious scope of the text by spelling out the pronoun 'He' respectively 'Him' with capitals. In connection with other English editions of Gade's music, see John Bergsagel's paper on 'Gade in England' at <http://www.gade-edition.org/2017/04/22/gade-in-england>, both links accessed 8 Mar. 2018.
- 25 Horst Joachim Frank, *Handbuch der deutschen Strophenformen* (UTB, 1732; Tübingen and Basel: Francke, 1993), 649ff. This particular genealogy has left explicit traces in 19th-century poetry. A prominent example is the archangels' verses of the 'Prolog im Himmel' in Goethe's *Faust I* ('Die Sonne tönt nach alter Weise/In Brudersphären Wettgesang/Und ihre vorgeschriebne Reise vollendet sie mit Donnergang' etc.), employing the very same stanza.

Spring's message

Welcome, bright sound of spring!

After the long and anxious silence of winter
 Welcome, bright sound of spring!
 Now sap is stirring in the branches
 And singing in the soul.
 Under blooming trees
 Hope is wandering across the green field;
 A wondrous dreaming of the future
 Is flowing through the world like a blessing.

So throw off, then, that which troublesome
 Held you enchained, o soul;
 You are still to become like the bird
 That plays with its wing in the blue.
 He, who from the bare and thorny hedges
 Creates the bloom of red roses
 He can and he wants to awaken you
 From deep suffering to youthful strength.

And however dark your paths may be
 And how heavily you may be pressed down by your own guilt:
 O do believe, grace is greater
 And favour is inscrutable.
 Only let Pentecost's full blessing
 Pass the gates of your heart,
 Have confidence and you will be born anew
 From spirit and flames of fire.

Welcome, bright sound of spring!

(tr. A. L.)

In an unmistakably ode-like apostrophe,²⁶ the first addressee of the poem is 'Frühlingsklang', 'sound of spring'. In Geibel's poem under the name of 'gospel', it is quite clear what this sound is supposed to signify: The whirring of the air that is connected with the wonder of Pentecost. A comparison with another of Geibel's *Juniuslieder*,²⁷ of which only a few lines will suffice, strengthens this reading:

26 Concerning the importance of apostrophe for the literary genre 'ode', see the chapter 'Apostrophe' in Jonathan Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs. Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001 [1981]), 149–71; see also Katrin Kohl's article 'Ode' in Dieter Lamping (ed.), *Handbuch der literarischen Gattungen* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2009), 549–58.

27 Geibel, *Juniuslieder*, 82f.

Frühlingsbrausen

...
 Dem Brausen in der Luft,
 Dem heil'gen will ich lauschen.
 O Laut, in welchem sich
 Zuerst der Lenz enthüllet,
 ...
 Du mahnest wundersam
 Mich an das Sausen wieder,
 Drin einst zu Pfingsten kam
 Der Geist des Herrn hernieder.
 ...

Whirring of spring

...
 To the holy whirring of the air,
 I want to listen.
 O sound, in which
 Spring was first revealed,
 ...
 You remind me miraculously
 Of the whirring
 In which, at Pentecost,
 The Lord's spirit descended.
 ...

(tr. A. L.)

That 'Frohe Botschaft' is to be read in the same context is revealed at the latest in its final stanza, which introduces the unmistakable terms 'Pfingsten', 'Geist' and 'Feuerflammen'. The religious framing of Geibel's poem is thus not to be obliterated but it is, as it were, postponed by Gade's composition. The result of this is that the piece in the course of its performance shifts very carefully from a simple – if you will: naive – spring song to something that might be called a sacred ode. In Gade, the call 'Willkommen' ('welcome') is unhinged from the second line and forms both the verbal beginning and end of the composition. Accordingly, it gains two very different qualities. At the outset, it addresses spring, but in a musical composition it at the same time automatically becomes self-referential and the music itself seems to be 'Frühlingsklang'. Yet already in the first stanza, it becomes an ambivalent phenomenon, firstly because of the relationship of external and internal sound, as line four also pronounces a 'singing in the soul', secondly by the naming of 'blessing', which already hints to the religious sphere. The second stanza continues on increasing the poetical tension by self-addressing the speaker's soul, before the very centre of the text fully reveals the religious grounding: Here it becomes evident that it is God, He, who is the source of all of spring's joy. Gade emphasizes this by making line 13 both the basis of a pivotal formal caesura and the temporal centre of his composition. By and by, it becomes obvious that Geibel's words do not simply celebrate spring and awakening nature but make it a symbol of redemption from human suffering by divine grace. It is to this that the piece says – not shouts – 'Willkommen' at the end.

With regard to Gade's composition, this very subtle development does not result in an outwardly obvious 'plot'. This again is by no means self-evident. By choosing this particular Geibel-text, *Frühlings-Botschaft* unlike many other compositions dealing with 'spring' cannot follow a common 'plot' according to which spring would still have to be summoned in the course of the piece. Gade's own *Frühlings-Phantasie* op. 23 (on a text by Edmund Lobedanz) for example delays the arrival of spring up to its third movement:

<p>I. Es füllt mir so innige <i>Sehnsucht</i> die Brust <i>nach dir, dem lieblichen Lenze!</i> ... O sage, wann öffnet sich mir dein Reich? ...</p> <p>II. Es sausen und brausen die Stürme so laut, ...</p> <p>III. Nun schwillt es, nun quillt es an Blüthe und Ast, ohne Ruh und Rast <i>denn der Frühling, der Frühling ist da!</i></p>	<p>I. My chest is filled with deep <i>longing</i> <i>for you, lovely spring!</i> ... O speak, when will your realm open itself to me? ...</p> <p>II. The storms are raging and whirring so loudly, ...</p> <p>III. Now bloom and branch are swelling and stirring without calm and rest <i>for spring, spring is here!</i></p>
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(tr. and italics A. L.)

Similar things happen in single-movement choral pieces, too. In Johann Peter Emilius Hartmann's *Foraarssang* op. 70 of 1871 as well as in Emil Hartmann's *Vinter og Vaar* op. 13 from the same year there are traces of conflict in both text and music, or at least clear points of demarcation, which cause an obvious sequentiality, resulting in a musical tension pointing towards the arrival of spring.²⁸ Nothing of this sort takes place in Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft* and it is in my opinion precisely this limitation to the *presence* of spring from the very beginning, hence the prolongation of one single state, that on the one hand contributes essentially to the impression of idyll and that on the other hand poses the specific tasks to Gade as the composer of it. For what *Frühlings-Botschaft* lacks in outward development, it has to compensate in other ways if it is not to suffer from stagnancy. The problem to create tension within the tranquillity of idyll was also acknowledged by Schiller:

But for just the reason that all opposition falls away [in idyll], it becomes infinitely more difficult than in the two previous kinds of poetry [satire and elegy]

²⁸ In H.C. Andersen's poem that is the basis of J.P.E. Hartmann's *Foraarssang*, this demarcation is found, quite early, between the verses 'End ligger Jorden i Sneens Svøb,/Lystigt paa Søen er Skøiteløb,/ Træerne prange med Rimfrost og Krager', and the subsequent 'Men imorgen bestemt det dager;/Solen bryder den tunge Sky,/Vaaren rider Sommer i By', resulting merely in a slow minor introduction to the following *Allegretto grazioso*. In Carsten Hauch's poem used for Emil Hartmann's *Vinter og Vaar*, there are three whole stanzas depicting winter ('Titan af de blege Vover/Løfter lavt sit Hoved op,/ Larven under Jorden sover,/Bladet sover i hin Knop' etc.), before spring is finally emphatically called upon to melt away all lethargy: 'Taagen splittes, Isen brister, Solen høit paa Himlen staaer!/Vintren paa sin hvide Ganger flygter for den unge Vaar!'

to produce that *movement* without which no poetic effect can ever be imagined. The highest unity must exist but it may not take away from diversity ...²⁹

Hence, whether an idyll works out will depend on how well it manages to deal with this specific demand – and to my mind, Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft* manages it, literally speaking, exemplarily. What it certainly does manage is to create is a high degree of musical autonomy in a structural sense. In fact, the piece works very well as an instrumental one, too, and so, incidentally, it seems natural that it was offered right from the start as a textless piano arrangement for four-hands also. Yet why this is the case is not at all obvious. The qualities of the piece are rather hidden in its background and the way in which unity and diversity, outward simplicity and ulterior complexity are subtly merged by it, is quite remarkable.

I would now like to approach the structure of *Frühlings-Botschaft* from three sides: first, by pointing out a certain type of overarching melodic ornamentation; second, by looking at the motific outline in a narrower sense; and third, by analysing the overall formal framework of the composition.

First, ornament as structure: After an almost unmeasured chordal introduction, bar 9 introduces a two-bar phrase in the clarinets, containing what I call motif a, a rising line of quavers (Ex. 1). With this, the obligatory motoric setting of the piece is installed. Doubtless, the passage bears a certain resemblance to the subordinate theme of the first movement of Louis Spohr's *Die Weihe der Töne* (Ex. 2), as was already noticed by the contemporaries.³⁰ What is striking in Gade by comparison is a more specific employment of chromatic transitions: Based on an E major chord, only two scale positions, the fifth and the major third, are chromatically approached (marked in Ex. 1). This is something that, primarily but not exclusively bound to motif a, happens throughout the piece with such frequency that it can be regarded as a unifying trait on a very basic level. This type of chromatic approach via augmented seconds and fourths becomes even more striking, when it is employed not as transition but as suspension. Such gentle chromatic additions to the major scale are very common in Haydn and even more common in Mozart, with regard to whom Hermann Abert called them 'freely introduced suspensions' or 'altered suspension[s]

29 'Aber eben darum, weil aller Widerstand hinwegfällt, so wird es hier [in der Idylle] ungleich schwieriger als in den zwei vorigen Dichtungsarten [satirische und elegische Dichtung], die Bewegung hervorzubringen, ohne welche doch überall keine poetische Wirkung sich denken lässt. Die höchste Einheit muss sein, aber sie darf der Mannigfaltigkeit nichts nehmen ...' Friedrich Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, ed. Klaus L. Bergahn (RUB, 18213; Stuttgart: Reclam, 2002), 74. Tr. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *On the Naive and Sentimental*, 66 (italics not mine).

30 The anonymous reviewer of 'Achstes Gesellschafts-Concert in Köln' (in *Niederrheinische Musikzeitung*, 9 (1861), 62) noticed 'a little violin-figure with an uncanny resemblance to one of Spohr's in the first movement of *Die Weihe der Töne*' ('... eine Violin-Figur, die eine täuschende Aehnlichkeit mit einer von Spohr im ersten Satz der Weihe der Töne hat').

Ex. 1. Gade, *Frühlings-Botschaft*, bb. 9–10, reduction.

Ex. 2. Louis Spohr, *Die Weihe der Töne* op. 86, I, bb. 49–52, reduction.

Ex. 3. Gade, *Frühlings-Phantasie* op. 23, II. *Allegro molto e con fuoco*, bb. 12–19, reduction.

from below.³¹ As others, Gade normally uses these suspensions only very occasionally, supposedly to add the impression of ‘charm’ or ‘lightness’ to a major tune, as for instance in some bars of the second movement of his *Frühlings-Phantasie* (Ex. 3) or in a passage from his *Idyllisk Ouverture En Sommerdag* (Ex. 4).

The image displays a musical score for a passage from Gade's *Idyllisk Ouverture En Sommerdag*. It is a reduction of measures 139-47. The score is written for Violin 1 (VI. 1), Violin 2 (VI. 2), Violoncello (Vcl. dolce), and Contrabasso (Cb.). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score shows chromatic suspensions in the violin parts, with a downward arrow pointing to a suspension in the first violin part at measure 143.

Ex. 4. Gade, *En Sommerdag*. *Idyllisk Ouverture*, bb. 139-47, reduction.

Whereas in the examples above this is a very exclusive means of ornamentation, in *Frühlings-Botschaft* similar chromatics are so frequently heard that they become structure, a unifying fundament of the whole musical language, not interspersed at random but very meticulously set. At the same time they are so subliminal and, in terms of potential anticipation, so imperceptible that they could hardly be called overdone. Ex. 5 shows some instances; many more can be easily identified hearing and reading the piece.

³¹ In German, Abert calls them ‘frei eingeführte... chromatische Vorhalte’ (Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart. Herausgegeben als fünfte, vollständig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Ausgabe von Otto Jahns Mozart, Erster Teil (1756 - 1782)*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919, 437) or ‘alterierten Vorhalt von unten’ (ibid., *Zweiter Teil (1783 - 1791)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921), 232).

a) 27

b) 35
Will - kom - men, hel - ler Früh-lings - klang!
O Früh - lings klang!

c) 40
Will - kom - men, will - kom - men, hel - ler Früh-lings-klang,
Will - kom - men, will - kom - men, hel - ler Früh-lings-klang,
Will - kom - men, will - kom - men, hel - ler Früh-lings-klang,

d) 93
o See - le, dich ge - fes - selt hielt;

e) Oboe 96
Vcl. 8th

Ex. 5. Gade, *Frühlings-Botschaft*, examples of chromatic suspensions: a) orchestra, bb. 27–28, piano reduction; b) choir and instruments, bb. 35–39; c) choir, bb. 40–42; d) choir, bb. 93–94; e) oboe and cello, bb. 96–97.

a) Clarinet, bar 9

b) Oboe, bar 29
Viola

c) Soprano, bar 40
[Will - kom - men]_____

d) Violin 1, bar 53
8va-----

e) Oboe, bar 96

Ex. 6. Gade, *Frühlings-Botschaft*, table of main motifs.

A slightly more obvious, nevertheless non-schematic framework of the composition is constituted by a recurring set of short musical elements that can be identified as five central motifs, listed in Ex. 6 in order of their appearance. They show varying degrees of elaboration but are all unspecific enough to be set in very different environments. The already witnessed rising chain of quavers in the exclusively instrumental motif a is much more specific than the simple but all-encompassing neighbouring note in motif b, shown here as overlapping in two voices. The fanfare-like motif c again contains an augmented fourth suspension as an alternative to what could be a plain triad figure. Linked – albeit not exclusively – to the ritornello (see below), motif c is a very prominent and always noticeable item of the piece. The again rather simple motif d causes a vocal impression but it is mainly executed by the orchestra; motif e finally is quite striking owing to its prominent seventh leap. Again as observed above, motif e is often followed directly by a chromatic suspension (see Ex. 5e).

Nearly all of these motifs are not restricted to certain sections but overlap formal caesuras, as can be witnessed in the synopsis of the piece's form (Fig. 2). Often they work, as it were, in the background of other distinctive melodic surfaces. Sometimes

they move to the foreground and create allegedly complex textures, as for example in the section given in Ex. 7, producing something similar to a double canon via the repeated combination of motifs b and e. In both ways, the motific network produces cohesion and the effect of a richly elaborated composition.

95

o See - le, _____ wirf ab _____ was dich hielt, _____ o See - le

o See - le, wirf _____ denn ab _____ was dich ge - fes - selt hielt, _____ o See - le

o See - le, wirf ab _____ was mit Be - schwer - den ge - fes - selt dich hielt,

o See - le _____ o See - le

VI. 2

p

Cb.

Ex. 7. Gade, *Frühlings-Botschaft*, choir, instruments, bb. 95–99.

Finally I shall consider the overall layout of the piece. The formal outline of *Frühlings-Botschaft* puts itself, to use James Hepokoski's term,³² in dialogue with a multitude of generic standards, yet none is carried out entirely. In this manner, Gade sets off a continuous play with expectations, comprehensible enough not to scatter the listeners' attention, open enough to remain suspenseful.

In musical idylls, one would probably estimate rounded forms like the ternary 'liedform' A-B-A or songlike strophic structures. Both are definitely hinted at in *Frühlings-Botschaft*. Necessary for this is a recursive element, which is formed by a vocal ritornello. For this purpose, the poem's second line 'Willkommen, heller Frühlingsklang' is unhinged from the first stanza to serve as the basis of the ritornello and finally also of the piece's coda. Yet, at the crucial point of recapitulation in bar 155, the words change: This is a remarkable decision, because it avoids verbal redundancy while at the same time it still – musically – fulfils its formal function. With regard to 'liedform', the music of the ritornello does mark two separated beginnings of a section

³² James Hepokoski, 'Sonata Theory and Dialogic Form', in Pieter Bergé (ed.), *Musical Form, Forms & Formenlehre. Three Methodological Reflections* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010), 71–89.

prelude 1-34 [34]	prelude ¹	1-8 [8]	-	G [#] , B ⁷ , d [#] , B ⁷	-
	prelude ²	9-16 [8]	-	E → g [#] → B → B ⁷	motif a
	prelude ³	17-26 [10]	-	E → F [#]	motif a
	prelude ⁴	27-30 [4]	-	F [#] → B ⁷ → E ⁷	motif b
	prelude ⁵	31-34 [4]	-	A → B ⁷	-
A 35-74 [39] and 73-107 [35]	ritornello ¹	35-39 [5] I, 2 'Willkommen'		B ⁷ motifs c, a	
	A	40-49 [10] I, 2+1 'Willkommen'		E → B motifs c, a	
	B ¹	50-53 [4] I, 3-4 'Nun rührt der Saft'		B → g [#] → B motifs b, a	
	B ²	53-66 [14] I, 5-6 'Es wandelt'		→ g [#] → B motifs d, b	
	'chorale' ¹	67-73 [8] I, 7-8 'Ein wunder-sames' B motifs b, a			
B 108-154 [47]	D	108-122 [15]	II, 13-16 'Der aus den'	a → C	motif d
	C ²	122-130 [9]	-	C → e	motifs a, b, e
	E	131-142 [12]	III, 17-18 'Und sind'	e	motifs d, b
	'chorale' ²	143-154 [12]	III, 19-20 'O glaube'	E → B	motif b
	A' 155-191 [37]	ritornello ³	155-159 [5]	~III, 20/19 'unergründlich' B ⁷	
F ¹		160-172 [13]	III, 21-24 'Lass nur'	E → c [#]	motifs a, b
F ²		173-183 [11]	III, 21-24 'Lass nur'	→ E → B	motif b
'chorale' ³		183-191 [9]	III, 21-22 'Lass nur'	E	-
coda 192-207 [16]	~C ² "	192-197 [6]	III, 23/24 'und du wirst'	E	motifs e, a, b
	~A""	198-207 [10]	~I, 2 'Willkommen'	E	motifs ~c, a

Fig. 2. Formal synopsis of Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft*. In terms of tonality, upper-case letters signify major and lower-case minor.

A (bb. 35 and 155). The whole outline however would still have to be regarded then as framed by an external prelude (b. 1) and coda (b. 192) and with a dual and varied exposition of A (the second cycle starting with the second ritornello in b. 73). Section B (b. 108) certainly works as a contrasting section according to its predominant minor keys, which are strikingly linked to passages of the text that speak of 'dark paths' and 'guilt'. This kind of minor insert (particularly its vocal version from bar 131) is quite characteristic indeed of a varied song, and it can be found quite frequently in examples by Schubert. On the other hand, section B is, quite un-generically, interspersed by an

instrumental interlude (b. 122) which consists of music already heard, and eventually with a harmonic recapitulation (b. 143) preceding the thematic one (b. 155). The alternation of refrain-like recurrences and contrasting episodes could also lead to the conception of a rondo, refrains of which then could be found in bars 35, 73 and 155, while the episodes were to be located in bars 50, 91 and 108. Yet already the first connection of assumed refrain and episode unmistakably points in the direction of sonata form. As it happens, on hearing the piece for the first time, one might think that after the instrumental prelude one were in fact to enter a veritable vocal sonata, embracing a main (b. 40), a subordinate (b. 50) and a closing theme (b. 67), including the expected harmonic shift from I to V, here from E major to B major as well. Adding to this assumption is the fact that the music from bar 73 suggests a generic repetition of the supposed sonata exposition. However, after bar 91 the piece continues with a contrasting section in the subdominant key of A major that is rounded once more by a recapitulation, yet with a new text.

Within this abundance of possibilities to cling to a formal discourse, there is still an outstanding series of sections deserving special attention. They are listed in the synopsis (Fig. 2) under the name of 'chorales'³³ (bb. 67, 143 and 183). These passages serve, with increasing intensity, as insular points of contemplation. This is achieved musically by the suspension of the otherwise continuous quaver-motoric motion and by concentrating the choir in a virtual a cappella and plain homorhythm. The first of these sections seems to serve as a closing theme of the alleged sonata exposition, but there it already surpasses this function. Tied to the word 'Segen' ('blessing'), it offers a first glimpse at the sacral grounding of text³⁴ and, ultimately, of music as well. For the first time in the piece, a (still small) window to transcendence is opened, to the mystery that lies behind the elation of spring (Ex. 8).

This effect is reinforced by the second 'chorale'³⁵ which serves as an immediate reply to the preceding minor section, the text of which runs 'And however dark your paths may be/And how heavily you may be pressed down by your own guilt' (Ex. 9).

In the surroundings of the third 'chorale', there appears no opposition in the sung words,³⁶ but a twofold musical illumination of them: The text of the 'chorale' is the same as in the piece's climax but its message is transformed from exuberance to

33 For the purposes at hand, this is admittedly a metaphorical term, of course, for no actual chorale is presented here, neither melodically, nor with regard to harmonic treatment. The overall texture of the music in the passages in question, however, seems to allow for the using of the term nonetheless.

34 'Ein wundersames Zukunftsträumen/Fließt wie ein Segen durch die Welt.' ('A wondrous dreaming of the future/Is flowing through the world like a blessing.')

35 'O glaube, größer ist die Gnade/Und unergründlich ist die Huld.' ('O do believe, grace is greater/And favour is inscrutable.')

36 'Lass nur zu deines Herzes Toren/Der Pfingsten vollen Segen ein.' ('Only let Pentecost's full blessing/Pass the gates of your heart.')

67 men

ein wun - der - sa - mes Zu - kunfts - träu - men
fließt wie ein Se - gen durch die Welt.

70

Ex. 8. Gade, *Frühlings-Botschaft*, choir, bb. 67–73 ('chorale 1').

O 143 glau - be, grö - sser ist die Gna - de, grö -

O glau - be, grö - sser ist die Gna - de, glau - be
O glau - be, grö - sser ist die Gna - de, glau - be
O glau - be, grö -

148

grö sser ist die Gna - de, und un - er - gründ - lich ist die Huld,

Ex. 9. Gade, *Frühlings-Botschaft*, choir, bb. 143–53 ('chorale 2').

contemplation (Ex. 10). While both the Hartmann's spring-pieces mentioned above, having broken out of a musical display of winter, end in *forte* exultations of new-born nature, the finale of *Frühlings-Botschaft* is a gesture of self-reflection that stops to ponder more intensely the joy that it has been singing of from the very start.

184

lass nur zu dei - nes Her - zens Tho - ren der

188

Pfings - ten vol - len Se - gen ein, ———

Se - gen ein, ———

Ex. 10. Gade, *Frühlings-Botschaft*, choir, bb. 183–91 ('chorale 3').

The subsequent coda (b. 192) repeats the initial 'Willkommen', but does not so by bursting out any more but as if speaking to itself. 'Welcome', the verbal gesture of acceptance, becomes an expression of humble thanksgiving.

What one might think of as a quite trivial musical praise of spring thus is charged with – at least a streak of – transcendence. Behind its compliant outward appearance, *Frühlings-Botschaft* hides a hypertrophy, in both semantics and structure that audiences will have noticed when dealing with this music, and be it only on a subconscious level. Gade's music in this particular case (and one could well be tempted to generalize the statement) does not brag about an obvious complexity but surrenders its subtle qualities almost unnoticed. This idyll is rich and modest at the same time and it is an idyll that Gade's audience would have bought, and, to put it bluntly, did buy from him as it represents an art that is balanced but not boring; furthermore, it gets less boring but ever more exciting the longer you deal with it. Less bluntly put, this conception corresponds again with something Schiller wrote about his ideal of idyll: 'Peace would thus be the dominant impression of this kind of literature but the peace of consummation, not of laziness; a peace which flows from equilibrium, not from the cessation of powers, which flows from richness, not from emptiness, and is accompanied by the feeling of an endless capacity.'³⁷ This may even sound a bit pompous perhaps, and much more pompous surely than *Frühlings-Botschaft* in a concert-hall, and yet: Could anything more fitting be said about a musical idyll of Gade's?

37 'Ruhe wäre also der herrschende Ausdruck dieser Dichtungsart, aber Ruhe der Vollendung, nicht der Trägheit; eine Ruhe, die aus dem Gleichgewicht, nicht aus dem Stillstand der Kräfte, die aus der Fülle nicht aus der Leerheit fließt, und von dem Gefühle einen unendlichen Vermögens begleitet wird.' (Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, 74; tr. and italics Watanabe-O'Kelly, *On the Naive and Sentimental*, 66).

Abstract

Drawing on Friedrich Schiller's theory of idyll in poetry, the text asks for the relevance of idyll for the music of Niels W. Gade, exemplarily with regard to his choral-orchestral *Frühlings-Botschaft* op. 35 to a text by Emanuel Geibel. Contemporary reception, which explicitly classified the piece as 'idyll', praised it for several decades. Analysis of text and music suggests that this connectivity might be the consequence of the composition's managing of creating a hypertrophy of aesthetic and structural layers, yet in an ulterior manner. With regard to Schiller's utopia of Elysian idyll, Gade's composition appears to come close to its ideal: by evoking tension without struggle, idyll without stagnancy. And it might be these kinds of assets that form not only a central trait of Gade's choral-orchestral work but of his music in general.

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Wagnerian Aesthetics as Expressionist Foundations of Alban Berg's Music and the Russian Silver Age

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When looking at the structures of ideas that span different epochs, it is necessary to recognize how cultural aesthetics evolve and yield new paradigms that are in small or large parts indebted to preceding trends and tenets. Indeed, cultural movements do not spring fully formed and conscious like Minerva from the skull of Jupiter, but manifest over a generally indeterminate duration of time which is often necessitated by a desire to dismantle and create anew. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine a specific type of change that shared many conceptual underpinnings, but that was manipulated and adapted to reflect the contemporary morals of the cultural ideologies in which the relevant, older structures were used as inspiration for creating and exploring that which was unprecedented. In its most rudimentary essence, the type of change to be investigated will be one that moves from an external cultural and social representation of motives and actions to one that focuses on the inner psychology of the individual artist and the multitude of emotions that are associated with a different perception of reality; one that is abstract and distorted.

The study will explore how Richard Wagner and his aesthetic theories were the basis on which Alban Berg and Russian artists and historians of the Silver Age interpreted and appropriated the Wagnerian paradigm to express what they felt were the most authentic representations of their inner truths. The details of Wagner's own theoretical adaptations will be observed to establish an awareness of the moral conflicts that he endured in order to reach a state of being that was to remain his indisputable personal belief for the rest of his life. The Russian cultural scene at the end of the nineteenth century will then be presented in order to discern how and why Wagnerian ideologies had become the catalyst that the Russians needed to break with old and no longer viable aesthetic paradigms. An appraisal will be made of the two major cultural factions in Russia at this time – the aesthetes and the symbolists – who adapted Wagner to forge their new path towards inner enlightenment.

The present article argues that like the Russians, Alban Berg also looked to Wagner as the ideological foundation on which he built both his socio-aesthetic beliefs and personal morality. Berg's Wagnerian adaptations were achieved in his opera *Wozzeck*, and his personal ethicality was seen most profoundly in his second opera *Lulu*. *Wozzeck* was portrayed through the dark, psychological distortions of reality that found their conceptual voice in the cultural movement of Expressionism. The main essence of this study is

organized around the tenets of Expressionism; however, it is necessary to first present a depiction of the importance that Berg and the Russians placed on Wagner in order to establish a context for how they then turned his ideologies into Expressionist representations. Therefore, an analysis will be presented that demonstrates why Wagner was seen as a forerunner of the Expressionist movement in his capacity for conveying emotional realities that reflect inner psyches, which are often steeped in anguish and conflict.

The following section will illustrate the strong Expressionist tendencies and the direct or indirect allusions to Wagner that the Silver Age Russians Wassily Kandinsky and Viacheslav Ivanov expressed characterizing the extent to which the composer had permeated their aesthetic perceptions towards their own art and moral ideology. The most important section, which then follows, shows the nature of Berg's Expressionist stage directions in *Wozzeck*. Then Russian theories on *Wozzeck* will be analysed, based on the writings of early Soviet musicologists; they were brought up on the Silver Age aesthetics derived from Wagner and saw very clearly in *Wozzeck* the Expressionist essence of inner turmoil which they all associated with Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. Finally, a detailed account of events leading up to and including the Leningrad *Wozzeck* premiere emphasizes the significance with which Berg's opera penetrated Russian society. This overall argument that started with Wagner's desire to instigate social change will seek to demonstrate how the ideals, inherent in what would be known as Expressionism, were, in various forms, evident in the collective consciousness of Wagner, Berg, and the Russians associated with the Silver Age, and how it was all derived from and indebted to Wagnerian ideologies.

Russian Wagnerism

For the first half of his life, Wagner was a left-wing revolutionary who led a popular revolt in Dresden in 1849 against the political establishment to bring social reforms so as to better establish art in people's everyday life. He did that by attempting to destroy every vestige of the unfavourable social perceptions towards art and every institution associated with those principles. Europe had encountered a sweep of socialist ideologies that had manifested itself in several mini-revolutions that engulfed the Continent in 1848. By 1849, the revolutionary zeal had not dissipated, and Wagner had strategically allied himself with Europe's leading anarchist, Mikhail Bakunin – taking up arms alongside him in the Dresden uprising that he had orchestrated that year. These revolutionary ideas that Wagner held maintained that society as a unified entity was both evil and corrupt and that the primary example of this is the marketability of art to satisfy capitalistic desires. This act would subsequently degenerate the essence of art just as had ultimately happened to the people of ancient Greece which was Wagner's ideal society.

Following the repercussions of his failed uprising, Wagner had experienced a profound existential crisis in the form of socio-political disenchantment which led to a complete personal self-reassessment. Wagner had come to the realization that he could

not change society the way he had envisioned with his present set of morals pertaining to humanity and art. Since he saw that there was no possibility for a revolutionary change in society and politics, there was no hope for his art achieving the future he had intended. This event was the personal catalyst that allowed Wagner to be particularly receptive to the philosophy of Schopenhauer. Following his first introduction to the philosopher's texts in 1854, Wagner would famously shift his entire morality from that of a left-wing revolutionary to a metaphysical spiritualist. The appeal of Schopenhauer was particularly strong because the philosopher crystallized ideals that Wagner knew that he himself possessed, but which were nebulous constructions to him. Schopenhauer granted him full clarity, and Wagner never again deviated from this ideological paradigm.

Similarly, the artistic and intellectual circles in Russia did the same with Wagner in that they adapted the composer's theories and aesthetics to bring clarity and direction to their own ideological archetypes. Once Russia had reached the same existential crossroads that Wagner had faced decades earlier – fomented in a similar crucible of moral unrest – they needed to determine a new and authentic doctrine that reflected the tides of change that were washing over the collective psyche.

Within the cultural framework of the Russian Silver Age, from 1890 to 1917, Wagner's ideology was essentially partitioned in two halves: his left-wing theories that centred on revolution, culture, and *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which were adapted by Russian aesthetes, and his post-revolutionary Schopenhauerian ideals of abstract mysticism, renunciation, and metaphorical religiosity that were adapted by the symbolists. Russian artists and intellectuals at this time were looking to find meaning in profound abstractions of the empirical world through psychology and spirituality. Wagner was particularly relevant because Russians saw within his art and ideology the dichotomy between the empirical and the metaphysical, and it reflected their own desires to understand the divisions that exist within the human psyche.¹ In their view, 'they admired Wagner's aesthetic treatment of internal conflict and moral dilemmas and marveled at his ability to express emotional states, to appeal to all the senses, to transport his audience to other worlds.'²

The Revolution of 1905 ushered in the need for new aesthetics; old and traditional cultural paradigms were seen as being outdated in the collective fervour that had gripped the nation's perspective against ideologies that no longer seemed viable under a climate of social and moral change. The Ballets Russes were a central institution in Russia that instigated the 'Russification of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*'.³ The company had embraced the Wagnerian penchant for appropriating Germanic mythology to propel narrative designs. The ballet endeavoured to do the same, but with a markedly Russian

1 David C. Large and William Weber (eds.), *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 198–202.

2 Ibid. 202.

3 Ibid. 209.

emphasis. In Wagner's literal concept of artistic unification, the ballet had sought to 'Russify' and embolden all levels of production, including dance, staging, and costumes, beyond just the musical and narrative aspects.

Concurrently, the symbolists were more focused on the figurative qualities of Wagner's music, and how they heard in it 'cosmic harmonies, the sounds of nature, the soul's inner depths, the divine in all creation'.⁴ They came to view Wagner as a proponent of mystical religiosity, and used his musical imagery to derive their own aesthetic theories of death and what may lie beyond.⁵ It is of vital importance to also note that following the 1905 Revolution, Wagner's prose texts were all translated into Russian within a short time, and voraciously read by his devotees, stimulating a literary outpouring of articles and analyses that saturated into the Russian consciousness as an addendum to the music of concert and stage performances. Ultimately, both the aesthetes and symbolists endorsed Wagner directly and indirectly because they identified with his position to rebel against constricting social structures that were centred on bourgeois capitalism. This became the principle tenet from which all subsequent ideologies were derived by the Russians. After all, as Wagner and Marx agree, society needs to be built on a self-serving communal bedrock on which new humanistic ideas can be projected upon.

Berg's Wagnerian Affinities

The desire to forge a new aesthetic path that would reflect a fundamental social paradigm shift in Russia was seen as being attempted by Wagner in the past. Alban Berg represented a further step in the evolution of aesthetic innovation, this time through Expressionist representation and reaction to the moral sensibilities that many artists felt were destroyed up to and during World War I, resulting in an abstraction of a dark and desolate realism. Therefore, it stands to reason that the metaphorical conception of the Bergian aesthetic was warmly received in the Soviet Union, because the Russians were already receptive to the use of music, and in particular German opera, as a catalyst for depicting reactionary ideals that they identified with.

Throughout his formative years and career, Berg was always acutely aware of his musical influences and from where his inspirations originated. It has been widely noted that Berg's music is an autobiographical representation primarily acting as an expressive impetus for his identity. Berg's lifelong devotion to Wagner manifested itself through not only musical quotations and allusions but also through romanticized idealizing, through which he had arguably chosen to tailor his personal (amorous) life choices in similar ways that Wagner had during his period of composing *Tristan und Isolde*. As Silvio J. dos Santos and many others have noted, one of Berg's most challenging points of reconciliation in his career was to balance the ideals of his contemporary compositional

⁴ Ibid. 213.

⁵ Ibid.

style with his instinctive compulsion to appropriate past musical aesthetics into his own musical constructs.⁶ Nicholas Baragwanath concurs how ‘few would deny that Alban Berg’s music owes much to Wagner. In particular, his work from around 1907 onward employs techniques that seem to correspond in significant detail to Wagner’s later practice. His use of symmetry, cyclical patterns, and cellular motives may well derive from an understanding and emulation of designs...’⁷ Berg’s musical borrowings throughout his career are well documented; however, the role of Wagner’s music and aesthetics was a central factor to Berg’s impulses. In addition, it is precisely due to this profound ability to bridge musical epochs through an avant-garde voice that made Berg’s music instantly accessible and appreciated. In an abstract notion, he had the supreme gift of instilling a sense of musical déjà vu in his listeners, where his musical structures that possessed these tenets of the past had instilled the perception that something simultaneously familiar yet entirely new was being experienced. Such an intuitive, subconscious awareness was the pivot on which Berg’s entire career and legacy ultimately turned.

Tristan was the one Wagnerian drama that burned brightest within Berg’s psyche. There is a popular anecdote that exists stating that if Berg entered a room that had a piano in it, he would always approach it and play the mythical *Tristan* chord. Indeed, Berg would strategically embed direct or indirect quotations of *Tristan* in two of the most personally reflective compositions of his later years: the *Lyric Suite* and *Lulu*. Although this essay would ultimately be an exposition on *Wozzeck*’s reception and representation of Berg’s Expressionist tendencies, Berg’s Wagnerian idealism pre-dates the composition of the *Lyric Suite* and *Lulu*. They are, nevertheless, applicable here as symbolic representations of the Wagnerian appropriations that have been an indelible facet of Berg’s psychology for far longer. To be sure, as Santos states, *Tristan* ‘provides the necessary elements in Berg’s constructions of narratives related to his personal experiences but also a mirror in which to express a sense of self-identity ... Wagner provided a vehicle through which Berg asserted his self-knowledge and identity.’⁸

Of all the Wagnerian principles that Berg was privy to, the notion of *Erlösung durch Liebe*, or salvation through love, was likely the most autobiographically personal ethos of Berg’s final decade of life that accompanied the idealized projection of his love for a woman. From 1925 until his death in 1935, Berg engaged in an affair with Hanna Fuchs-Robettin. Berg was keenly aware of the similarities between Wagner, the composition of *Tristan*, and Wagner’s love of Mathilde Wesendonck during the composition of his drama. Wagner had fallen in love with Wesendonck while living on her and her husband’s property in Switzerland and had elevated her to the role of muse. Wagner set

6 Silvio J. dos Santos, *Narratives of Identity in Alban Berg’s Lulu* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 3.

7 Nicholas Baragwanath, ‘Alban Berg, Richard Wagner, and Leitmotifs of Symmetry’, *19th-Century Music*, 23/1 (1999), 77.

8 Santos, *Narratives of Identity*, 3–4.

her poetry to music, resulting in the *Wesendonck Lieder*, which was viewed as a study for *Tristan*. Berg had used his love for Hanna Fuchs in equal measure as his own muse, first in his *Lyric Suite*, followed by the concert aria for soprano *Der Wein* (Berg's version of the *Wesendonck Lieder*), as it functioned as his own study for *Lulu*, which was replete with imagery of Hanna. Little is known of Hanna Fuchs, and it is uncertain to what extent she reciprocated Berg's love, but it would appear that neither of them intended to leave their respective spouses for the other. It has been proposed, therefore, that Berg subconsciously was not necessarily in love with Hanna as much as he was in love with being in love.⁹ Regardless of what the truth may be, his art reaped the benefits of his state of mind, and his sense of self as a result was introspectively superimposed onto his operatic characters. This notion was most profoundly manifested in his autobiographical depiction of the character Alwa in the opera *Lulu*. Berg also related Alwa to the Wagnerian character Tristan (thereby also equating himself with Tristan) and, as Santos claims, 'refashioned the relationship between Alwa and Lulu as a mirror of the one between Tristan and Isolde. Underlying the relationship between Alwa and Lulu is the Wagnerian notion that an ideal form of love cannot be fulfilled in life.'¹⁰ Musical quotations from *Tristan* abound to express these sentiments in crucial moments within the narrative of *Lulu*.

As previously mentioned, the Russian symbolists had appropriated Wagner's Schopenhauerian ideals of mysticism, renunciation, and metaphysics. These ideas were harnessed in order to shift the aesthetic focus inward to emphasize a deeper understanding of self, as well as of what lies beyond our understanding of empirical existence. Wagner was so adept at representing idealized notions of renouncing the Schopenhauerian empirical will that the young Berg was instantly attracted to the metaphysical transcendence of love that Wagner portrayed in *Tristan*. It is interesting to note that Schopenhauer did not elevate love as a tenet of metaphysical transcendence. Indeed, he saw death as the ultimate release of the empirical enslavement. Wagner, however, in his romanticized capacity as love-struck composer, portrayed love as the ultimate tool of denying the will in order to exist in a realm above space and time. Even while courting his future wife in early adulthood and then later when mesmerized by Hanna Fuchs, Berg expressed his intoxication with Wagner's ideal of salvation (and redemption) through love.¹¹ Santos further accentuates the degree with which Berg appropriated the Wagnerian aesthetic in general, and those of *Tristan* in particular, as the driving force for both his creative inspiration and sentimentalizing of his emotional affair with Hanna Fuchs, all of which were central in forming and consolidating the totality of his identity in particularly the last decade of his life.¹²

9 Nick Chadwick put forth this notion in his review of the English translation of *Alban Berg and Hanna Fuchs: A Story of a Love in Letters* by Constantin Floros in *Music & Letters*, 90/3 (2009), 504.

10 Santos, *Narratives of Identity*, 7.

11 Ibid. 21.

12 Ibid. 24.

Berg's own concept of Wagnerian metaphysics through love can best be elucidated through Santos's assessment of a letter that Berg wrote to Fuchs in 1931, where Santos writes that Berg

understood his existence in the real world as mere representation of himself: his real self lies in a metaphysical world where his true love can manifest itself. Such a view is bound to expose a conflict between ideal and reality, which could be resolved, as many artists have done, only through art. According to the Wagnerian discourse on metaphysics, only music would allow this resolution because it is directly related to universal concepts. Only through this concept of metaphysics would it be possible for Berg to project his love for Hanna Fuchs through his music, as he had done in the *Lyric Suite*.¹³

As previously mentioned, Berg created the character Alwa in *Lulu* as an autobiographical representation and aesthetic projection of his identity. This is the concept of musical metaphysics, where Berg in the most authentic way can concentrate his Wagnerian idealizations into creating the parameters that depict his truest self: one that is not inhibited by the empirical limitation of reality. Santos quotes Bergian scholar Patricia Hall and elaborates by noting how

Hall has rightly argued, 'many sketches for the Rondo [in *Lulu*] suggest that on some level Berg associated the character of Alwa with Tristan from Wagner's opera.' This conflation of Alwa and Tristan completely changes the dramatic plot in the opera and also affects Berg's musical choices, particularly the formal plan for the exposition of the rondo in the final scene of act 2. Although a prototype of a Wagnerian relationship between Alwa and Lulu is latent in Wedekind's *Erdgeist*, Berg created a narrative of love that, despite the grotesque aspects of the plot, is intensified through different stages of love evolving from sensual and spiritual to an attempt at a synthesis of the two. Ultimately, Berg sought to represent Wagner's notion of *Erlösung durch Liebe*, or salvation through love, as an autobiographical statement that compliments the narrative of his affair with Hanna Fuchs.¹⁴

In keeping with his tradition of using musical quotations at important moments within his narrative structures, it is interesting to note that Berg used the Tristan chord – the most idiomatic sound in all of *Tristan* – precisely twice, as Santos credits Bergian scholar Mark DeVoto for detecting. The first one appears at the end of the love scene between Alwa and Lulu in act two and the second right before Jack the Ripper kills Lulu in act three. The crux of this observation is that the Wagnerian chord is played in the love

¹³ Ibid. 31.

¹⁴ Ibid. 43.

and death scenes, implying the love-death or *Liebestod* of *Tristan*.¹⁵ These were not the sole motific borrowings from *Tristan*, but they were the only instances of that particular chord which underscored significant meaning to both Berg's identity and Wagnerian influence. The two sets of dying lovers in both operas, however, have vastly differing outcomes. Whereas *Tristan and Isolde* are bound by mutual love, thereby achieving presumed transcendence, *Alwa and Lulu* do not share reciprocal love. *Alwa*, as the abstract personification of Berg, desires the metaphysical salvation through love, but is incapable of achieving it due to *Lulu's* inability to love him. Since there is no love-death, all that remains is death. Perhaps this is a portrayal of Berg's conception of how his connection to *Hanna Fuchs* is destined to resolve, or perhaps it is meant to depict an absurdist/nihilistic irony in its deviation from the Wagnerian model. However, it is a Wagnerian model through and through, which is more significant when endeavouring to assign the constituent facets that comprise Berg's identity.

Aspects of Wagnerian Expressionism

Following an appraisal of Wagner's fundamental, overarching centrality to Berg's musical and personal essence, it is now imperative to turn to the cultural milieu in which Berg lived and composed his opera *Wozzeck*. The Wagnerian paradigm is innate within Berg, yet his compositions – particularly his operas – act as narrative reflections of the cultural values of the time. The aesthetic movement known as Expressionism was particularly popular and well represented through a variety of art forms, particularly in the German-speaking regions. Therefore, in order to place Berg and *Wozzeck* in their proper Expressionist context, it is necessary to first present an overview of the movement and to recognize how Wagner came to be seen as a forerunner of it. Expressionism itself can be seen as an aesthetic manifestation of emotions. It has been described as 'the expressive distortions of reality, the extent to which the external objective world is filtered through the internal subjective world of the artist's emotions in an attempt to express an inner reality – the psychological reality behind appearances.'¹⁶ In addition, 'it is an explosive, subjective awareness of anxiety, sordidness, and disorder beneath surface order, well-being, and beauty.'¹⁷ Furthermore, 'Expressionists were united only in their German and North European origins, their rejection of the classical ideals of beauty, their youthful passion, and their belief in an art that would break the bounds of aestheticism in its pursuit of emotional and psychological intensity.'¹⁸ This desire to

¹⁵ Ibid. 46.

¹⁶ Shulamith Behr, David Fanning, and Douglas Jarman (eds.), *Expressionism Reassessed* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 1.

¹⁷ John C. Crawford and Dorothy L. Crawford, *Expressionism in Twentieth-Century Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 1.

¹⁸ Behr et al., *Expressionism Reassessed*, 3.

reject was equally potent to the desire to create – namely an idealized paradise of ‘emotional expression’ that would yield the perfect collective society.¹⁹ The movement was also preoccupied with exemplifying an artist’s reflection of ‘society and the individual, rather than to the art itself.’²⁰

The Wagnerian tenets that foreshadow Expressionism are noticeable and distinct. Wagner strove to express the emotional realities of his operatic characters rather than their motives. Representations of the inner psyche were the dramatic nuclei of his operatic narratives. In the literary treatise *The Art-Work of the Future*, Wagner expressed the importance of distinguishing between inner and outer states of existence and how these bare influence over man’s psyche. He went on to say how:

Man’s nature is twofold, an *outer* and an *inner*. The senses to which he offers himself as a subject for Art, and those of *Vision* and of *Hearing*: to the eye appeals the outer man, the inner to the ear. But the inner man can only find *direct* communication through the ear, and that by means of his *voice’s* Tone. Tone is the immediate utterance of feeling and has its physical seat within the heart, whence start and whither flow the waves of life-blood. Through the sense of hearing, tone urges forth from the feeling of one heart to the feeling of its fellow: the grief and joy of the emotional-man impart themselves directly to his counterpart through the manifold expression of vocal tone; and where the outer corporeal-man finds his limits of expressing to the eye the qualities of those inner feelings of the heart he fain would utter and convey, there steps in to his aid the sought-for envoy, and takes his message through the voice to hearing, through hearing to the feelings of the heart.²¹

Here, Wagner elucidates how hearing one’s voice is the direct pathway to the inner psyche due to the tone of the voice, which in turn transmits the emotional turmoil of the heart thereby creating conscious awareness of those emotions. The future Expressionist ideal of aesthetically channelling anguished emotions is on full display in this passage. Wagner placed great importance on the recognition of emotional states as an aesthetic paradigm even before his discovery of Schopenhauer. Although his ideals shifted following his Schopenhauerian epiphanies, his Expressionist tendencies never faltered.

The philosophical evolution of those sentiments gained wider proportion in the ensuing years after Wagner’s turn to Schopenhauerian philosophy. Indeed, upon reflecting on some of the philosopher’s meditations, Wagner concurred that ‘after well weighing these extracts from Schopenhauer’s principal work it must be obvious to us that musical conception, as it has nothing in common with the seizure of an Idea (for the latter is

19 Ibid. 4.

20 Crawford and Crawford, *Expressionism in Twentieth-Century Music*, 1.

21 Richard Wagner, *The Art-Work of the Future and Other Works*, tr. William Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 91–92.

absolutely bound to physical perception of the world), can have its origin nowhere but upon that side of consciousness which Schopenhauer defines as facing inwards.²² By this time in his life, Wagner has completely rejected the tenets of *Gesamtkunstwerk* which were still deeply ingrained within him when he wrote *The Art-Work of the Future*. The inward-looking focus is now more profoundly associated with music than with any other art, yet the humanistic psychology of emotions still remains central. However, when accepting Schopenhauer there comes an acceptance of abstract spirituality as well, which for Wagner laid out profound Expressionist symbolism, among other things. Elements of the subconscious were never too far removed from these introspections, and Wagner would later also write about dreams. One insight expressed how ‘from the most terrifying of such dreams we wake with a *scream*, the immediate expression of the anguished will, which thus makes definite entrance into the Sound-world first of all, to manifest itself without...This cry is answered in the most positive manner by *Music*. Here the world outside us speaks to us in terms intelligible beyond compare, since its sounding message to our ear is of the selfsame nature as the cry sent forth to it from the depths of our own inner heart.’²³ The Expressionist sentiments in this passage are myriad, emphatic again of the inner subconscious, reflecting natural tendencies that transcend exterior limitations expressed in a scream, which is the most authentic, and above all, primal manifestation of this inherent inner turmoil. Later Expressionists would glean tremendous influence from the most famous aesthetic *Scream*, namely, Edvard Munch’s *The Scream*, which was seen as one of the earliest examples of Expressionist painting.

Wagner’s various musings on utopian societies based on artistic equality, as expounded in his theory of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, were decisive in influencing future Expressionism, as were his ‘experiments in musical prose, rapid texture change, extreme dissonance, and new vocal techniques in order to be directly responsive to the ever-changing emotions of the human psyche.’²⁴ Once more, these are the same ideals that the Russian symbolists came to value in Wagner, as they dealt with inner emotional and psychological states at the expense of moving beyond external and materialistic elements. As we will see, Russian historians were very much aware of these Wagnerian traits in Expressionism, and in turn, within the psychological fabric of *Wozzeck*.

Expressionist Tendencies in the Aesthetic Prose of Russian Silver Age Artists

Having identified the nature of how Wagner acted as a precursor to Expressionism (and perceiving fundamental tenets of the aesthetic movement), it is now necessary to contextualize how some of Russia’s leading intellectuals internalized these tenets and

22 Richard Wagner, *Actors and Singers*, tr. William Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 67.

23 Ibid. 69–71.

24 Ibid. 30.

appropriated them to reflect their own morality. Wassily Kandinsky was a central figure in Expressionist painting, but he also contributed aesthetic theories that eloquently captured the values of Expressionist art. Indeed, Kandinsky's interests went beyond the spheres of his own art and included ruminations on music and artists that piqued his appeal, such as Wagner and Schoenberg. Kandinsky even maintained a long-standing friendship with the latter, which is preserved in their published correspondence. But what is of primary interest is the recognition that his aesthetic ideologies stem from 'his Russian heritage, [from which] the artist began producing major Expressionist landscape paintings.'²⁵ Peter Selz concurs on this aspect of hereditary solidarity by noting how Kandinsky agreed 'with earlier writers such as the symbolists, [and] felt that art must express the spirit but that in order to accomplish this task it must be dematerialized. Of necessity, this meant creating a new art form.'²⁶ This emphasizes a direct association between Kandinsky's aesthetic and the symbolist values of tearing down and recreating ideological paradigms that gained conceptual structure via Wagnerian ideals. For Kandinsky, these sentiments evolved beyond just applying them to his own art but extended to the circles of artistic acolytes that he formed, always insisting that they produce works of an inner and emotional representation. Kandinsky maintained that 'I value only those artists who really are artists, that is, who consciously or unconsciously, in an entirely original form, embody the expression of their inner life; who work only for this end and cannot work otherwise.'²⁷ This singular principle additionally motivated Kandinsky to write his aesthetic treatise on these theories that aimed to capture 'the departure of art from the objective world, and the discovery of a new subject matter based only on the artist's "inner need".'²⁸

Kandinsky went on to say that

if the emotional power of the artist can overwhelm the 'how?' and can give free scope to his finer feelings, then art is on the crest of the road by which she will not fail later on to find the 'what' she has lost, the 'what' which will show the way to the spiritual food of the newly awakened spiritual life. This 'what?' will no longer be the material, objective 'what' of the former period, but the internal truth of art, the soul without which the body (i.e. the 'how') can never be healthy, whether in an individual or in a whole people. *This 'what' is the internal truth which only art can divine, which only art can express by those means of expression which are hers alone.*²⁹

25 Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, tr. M.T.H. Sadler (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977), vii.

26 Peter Selz, 'The Aesthetic Theories of Wassily Kandinsky and Their Relationship to the Origin of Non-Objective Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, 39/2 (1957), 129.

27 Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual*, vii.

28 Ibid. viii.

29 Ibid. 9.

This sentiment fully captures Kandinsky's faith in the tenets of Expressionism as an ideal to live by as much as to harness for artistic motivation. Quite so, his frequent discussion of the material as something both inherently constricting and also confined to the past, demonstrates his spirituality which is inherently Schopenhauerian in scope. The materialistic (empirical) enslavement of the will is a motivic abstraction that Kandinsky expresses in various ways. Yet, the underlying idea is always the same: it must be transcended in favour of this 'internal truth,' which will 'awaken spiritual life.' Selz contributes to this notion, agreeing that Kandinsky believed that 'the artist is involved in a constant struggle against materialism,'³⁰ and cites the artist who himself says that 'it is the spirit that rules over matter, and not the other way around.'³¹ And in regards to Kandinsky's inner truth and spiritual life, Selz maintains in equal measure the painter's view that 'the formal and representational aspects of art, have no importance by themselves and are meaningful only insofar as they express the artist's innermost feelings. Only through the expression of the artist's inner emotion can he transmit understanding of true spiritual reality itself.' Kandinsky spoke of the 'principle of internal necessity,' which Selz, furthermore, posits as 'the core and basis of Kandinsky's aesthetic theory and becomes a highly significant element in Expressionist criticism in general.'³²

Kandinsky's treatise often portrays music as the conduit of this spiritual awakening. He goes on to describe the distinction of hearing and reading as a phenomenon that influences one's spiritual reception of an experience. He continues explaining that '[t]he word may express an inner harmony. This inner harmony springs partly, perhaps principally, from the object which it names. But if the object is not itself seen, but only its name heard, the *mind* of the hearer receives an abstract impression only, that is to say as of the object dematerialized, and a corresponding vibration is immediately set up in the *heart*.'³³ The imagery of the hearer internalizing this experience through the heart is reminiscent of Wagner's theory of vision and hearing, where vision is a representation of the outer being, and hearing as one of the inner psyche, which is transmitted through the Expressionist anguish of the heart, thereby, as stated earlier, creating a conscious awareness of emotions. Like Wagner before him, Kandinsky draws this insightful parallel between the exterior and the interior as exemplified by the exterior vision and interior hearing, respectively. Kandinsky subsequently and coincidentally happens to name Wagner directly when discussing his operatic character portrayals via the *Leitmotiv* device. Kandinsky notes how Wagner's 'method of using a definitive *motiv* is a purely musical method. It creates a spiritual atmosphere by means of a musical phrase which precedes the hero, which he seems to radiate forth from any distance.'³⁴ An acknowledgement is

30 Selz, 'Aesthetic Theories', 130.

31 Ibid. 131.

32 Ibid. 132.

33 Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual*, 15.

34 Ibid. 16.

made towards Wagner's ability to create states of spirituality, thereby attributing Kandinsky's indebtedness, of sorts, to his Expressionist predecessor.

Upon this vein, Kandinsky also acknowledges other composers whom he felt were attuned to their inner spirituality, noting in particular Arnold Schoenberg, and discussing his desire to 'make complete use of his freedom [by which he] has already discovered gold mines of new beauty in his search for spiritual harmony. His music leads us into a realm where musical experience is a matter not of the ear but of the soul alone and from this point begins the music of the future.'³⁵ The Expressionist associations are replete in this statement, and an inference can perhaps be made to associate Berg to this sentiment by proxy of his profound and public association with Schoenberg, as well as due to the recognition that *Wozzeck* has garnered along these same lines that Kandinsky has expressed towards Schoenberg. A more directly abstract, yet unintended connection to Berg's Expressionist tendencies, can be seen via Kandinsky's belief that 'a red sky suggests to us sunset, or fire, and has a consequent effect upon us – either of splendor or menace.'³⁶ This statement is in direct accordance to Berg's Expressionist imagery of the moon in *Wozzeck* – precisely as it both foreshadows and signifies menace, or more appropriately doom, in its depictions as being red. Kandinsky, however, was certainly familiar with Berg for many years by the time *Wozzeck* was premiered. In the same year that he published his treatise *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, he also edited and published the *Blaue Reiter Almanac* which was a collection of essays (to which Kandinsky contributed) that expounded upon the various Expressionist representations in contemporary art. Schoenberg himself contributed an article, and the score of one of Berg's songs for voice and piano was also published in the almanac. Theodor Adorno later wrote how these songs by Berg were his earliest attempts at 'breaking away and freeing themselves from neoromantic ornamentation, leading to Expressionism in the strict sense: the last of the songs was published in the radical Expressionist manifesto *Der blaue Reiter*.'³⁷ The significance of this inclusion, as well as Berg's profound association with Schoenberg, would have most assuredly made Kandinsky acutely aware of Berg's later, more sophisticated compositions. In the end, Selz concurs that to Kandinsky, music 'was most effective in inspiring spiritual emotion in the listener.'³⁸ Selz, furthermore, agrees with Kandinsky's personal identification with Schoenberg's musical innovations in that they have guided [Schoenberg] 'to the most uncompromising self-expression.'³⁹

A summation of Kandinsky's underlying Expressionist theory of art can be concentrated in his declaration that

35 Ibid. 17.

36 Ibid. 48.

37 Theodor W. Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link*, tr. with introd. by Juliane Brand and Christopher Hailey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 48.

38 Selz, 'Aesthetic Theories', 133.

39 Ibid. 132.

[e]very artist chooses, from the forms which reflect his own time, those which are sympathetic to him, and expresses himself through them. So the subjective element is the definite and external expression of the inner, objective element. The inevitable desire for outward expression of the *objective* element is the impulse here defined as the ‘inner need.’ It is clear, therefore, that the inner spirit of art only uses the outer form of any particular period as a stepping-stone to further expression. In short, the working of the inner need and the development of art is an ever-advancing expression of the eternal and objective in the terms of the periodic and subjective. The close relationship of art throughout the ages, is not a relationship in outward form but in inner meaning.⁴⁰

The Russian poet and symbolist theorist, Viacheslav Ivanov, was a central figure in the cultural milieu of the Russian Silver Age and, indeed, had written numerous theoretical essays that expound upon the aesthetic theories of his time which he thoroughly embraced and endorsed. Ivanov, like Kandinsky – albeit less directly than his contemporary fellow citizen – signified tenets that exemplified undertones of Expressionist theory in his writings. For example, he described his own symbolist movement with imagery that can just as easily be ascribed to Expressionism: ‘we hasten to explain that by “Symbolism” we mean not only art in and of itself but, more broadly, the contemporary soul that has given rise to this art, [which is] the general orientation of its emotional landscape and the characteristics of the inner and half-subconscious tendency of its creative energies.’⁴¹ Once more, we see references made to emotions, the soul, and inner, subconscious tendencies.

Unlike Kandinsky, who only looks to convey present and future aesthetic trends with light references to the past, Ivanov is more willing to define the past in order to express why he believes an aesthetic evolution is required. He goes on to say that ‘romanticism, if it is *only* romanticism, is only a lack of faith; it lacks faith because its faith’s center of gravity is not only outside of it, but even outside of the world, and it does not find within itself the strength to follow mysticism *ab exterioribus ad interior* [from exterior things to interior ones], into itself away from everything external, in order that creative will might achieve self-awareness in the depths of inner experience and define itself as the dynamic principle of life.’⁴² Ivanov here essentially assimilates Expressionist-like values which he sees as the next stage of aesthetic evolution.

Ivanov goes on to speak about Wagner’s contributions to the aesthetic evolution of theatre, but only in reference to the earlier *Gesamtkunstwerk* theory, although he does describe the Wagnerian theatrical orchestra as a depiction of ‘the metaphysical

40 Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual*, 34–35.

41 Viacheslav Ivanov, *Selected Essays*, tr. Robert Bird (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001), 95.

42 *Ibid.* 96.

chorus of universal Will,' and that 'even as a mystical throng, [it] would still be the voice of merely human consciousness.'⁴³ Despite using Wagner to invoke Schopenhauerian imagery here, Ivanov is contradicting Schopenhauer's belief of music as being the greatest metaphysical art form by saying that it would merely voice a human (or empirical) consciousness. Unlike Wagner and Schopenhauer, Ivanov expresses the need for text to be present in order to convey an aesthetic whole, citing Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (with its interwoven quality of music and text) as an example.⁴⁴ Indeed, Bernice Rosenthal also isolated this point: 'Wishing to improve on Wagner's concept of the theater-temple, Ivanov focused on the chorus rather than the orchestra, and on the theurgical aspects of myth.'⁴⁵ Ivanov once again acknowledges the Wagnerian paradigm in so much as it is a precursor of symbolist ideals via the *Gesamtkunstwerk* theory. In spite of this, however, Ivanov still alludes to, as mentioned earlier, the need for art to reflect an inner representation which is less focal in *Gesamtkunstwerk* and more indicative of Wagnerian and Schopenhauerian metaphysics. It may seem somewhat tenuous to ascribe Expressionist paradigms to Ivanov's views, yet he consistently courts imagery of that movement, not least by acknowledging how 'modern drama wants to become inner drama.'⁴⁶

Ivanov's Expressionist leanings are further emphasized by noting that 'theaters of choral tragedies, comedies, and mysteria must become the hearths of the nation's creative or prophetic self-determination. The problem of fusing the actors and spectators into a single orgiastic body [a *Gesamtkunstwerk* fusion of the arts] will only be resolved when, with the vital and creative mediation of the chorus [written/sung text], the drama becomes not a spectacle offered from outside, but the inner work of the national *community* that has chosen this particular *orchēstra* as its focus.'⁴⁷ To this idea, Ivanov acknowledges the indebtedness to Wagner by saying that 'Richard Wagner's art has initiated the restoration of primordial *myth* as one of the determining factors of universal consciousness.'⁴⁸ This is not a form of Expressionism that focuses on distorted and chaotic inner anguish in the Germanic representation, but rather an awareness of a general inner psychology that is more mystical in nature than anything else. This awareness, however, made the Russians particularly sensitive to Expressionist symbols and representations, precisely because it too sought to overcome the exterior decadence in order to delve into the inner psyche.

43 Ibid. 106.

44 Ibid. 107.

45 Large and Weber, *Wagnerism in European Culture*, 215.

46 Ivanov, *Selected Essays*, 109.

47 Ibid. 110. Text in square brackets is what I believe Ivanov alludes to.

48 Ibid. 124.

Berg's Expressionist Stage Directions in Wozzeck

Opera as theatre was a perception that was as paramount to Berg as it was to Wagner before him. Both composers were acutely aware of the stage, and how integral it was to the whole opera that the element of theatricality be properly and effectively executed. Berg was very vocal on this matter, and when speaking of *Wozzeck*, noted how

apart from the wish to make good music, to fulfill musically the intellectual content of Büchner's immortal drama, and to translate his poetic language musically, from the moment when I decided to write the opera I had nothing in mind about a technique of composition, nothing in mind at all except to give the theater what belongs to the theater, that is, to create music that *at every moment* fulfills its duty to serve the drama. Furthermore, to create music that provides everything that is needed to bring this drama to reality on stage...⁴⁹

John and Dorothy Crawford concur that Berg's theatrical instincts were so closely aligned with Wagner, that in *Wozzeck* 'Berg was able to draw on his strong theatrical and visual talents to create a total work of art, in which all the elements of the stage are pressed into the service of the drama.'⁵⁰ Furthermore, Berg's student, friend, and first biographer, Willi Reich, adds to the Wagnerian association by noting that *Wozzeck* 'can be considered throughout as a "music-drama" in the Wagnerian sense – clear evidence of Berg's endeavor to "guarantee" his compositional method from several points of view: by reinterpreting the scenic process in terms of musical architecture, and by the leitmotivic structure of the thematic action.'⁵¹ On the other hand, however, George Perle perceives the Leitmotiv device as being diametrically opposed between Wagner and Berg, claiming that

the *Leitmotiv* in Wagner's operas serves two essential *musical* purposes that it is not required to serve in *Wozzeck*: the recurrence of the same salient musical details throughout a work plays a significant role in its overall unity and coherence; contrapuntal elaboration of *Leitmotiv* is the compositional technique on which the extensive through-composed sections are based. In freeing the *Leitmotiv* from the *necessity* of performing these musical tasks, Berg enhanced, rather than lessened, its usefulness as a dramatic device.⁵²

49 Bryan R. Simms (ed.), *Pro Mundo – Pro Domo: The Writings of Alban Berg* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 216.

50 Crawford and Crawford, *Expressionism in Twentieth-Century Music*, 143.

51 Willi Reich, *Alban Berg* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965), 227.

52 George Perle, *The Operas of Alban Berg: Wozzeck* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 94.

Perle does mention, however, a musically theoretical similarity that occurs in the music of both *Wozzeck* and Wagner's *Tristan*, thereby acknowledging a resemblance between the two composers even if it is of marginal consequence that does not warrant further consideration. Yet, in regard to the specific nature of these composers' use of Leitmotifs as musical and even narrative devices, it becomes negligible when considering that the fundamental point of departure for both Wagner and Berg (as is evident from Berg's statement above) was the inherent dramaturgy: the theatrical coefficient that allows the narrative to function as an opera. In this sense, the device of the Leitmotiv served the same purpose for both composers, regardless of how they may have incorporated them differently. In addition, Berg's student and friend, the philosopher Theodor Adorno, advanced the Wagnerian element in *Wozzeck* by noting how '*Wozzeck* fulfills Wagner's demand that the orchestra follow the drama's every last ramification and thus become a symphony, and in so doing finally eliminates the illusion of formlessness in music drama.'⁵³ Yet another drama-related implication that allies Berg and Wagner within a critical analysis.

Despite the musical and conceptual similarities and derivations between Wagner and Berg, there were, however, fundamental differences between them as well. Wagner stated that 'music can never, regardless of what it is combined with, cease being the highest, the redemptive art.'⁵⁴ All of Wagner's operatic narratives dealt with a resolution based on redemption which is the fundamental difference between Wagner and Berg's operas: Redemption does not fit into Berg's Expressionist paradigm of chaos and misery. Wagner's operas are also largely allegorical, abounding with metaphorical meaning derived from gods, monsters, sorcerers, etc. that personify humanistic ideals. Berg's operas dispense with such subtleties, because the composer of *Wozzeck* and *Lulu* sought to project the grotesqueries of reality in a more literal sense that would have been obscured if viewed through an idealized lens. Indeed, one can ostensibly observe Berg's operas as a testament to his disgust of social and moral decadence, stemming from his involvement in World War I and acquiescence of the Expressionist ethos. On the other hand, Wagner strove to exemplify transformative, transcendent, and ultimately redemptive notions that idealized humanity's potential for something greater. These divergent attitudes are what inherently separate the operas of the two composers and must nevertheless be kept in mind when investigating their similarities.

Another of Berg's most enduring Wagnerian tendencies was to provide detailed and frequent stage directions which were not merely directions on movement but rather on emotional states that were often complimentary to the libretto and the music. However, Berg only set *Wozzeck* to music after having seen the play *Woyzeck* (which was

53 Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link*, 87.

54 Quot. in Bryan Magee, *The Tristan Chord: Wagner and Philosophy* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), 187.

the original spelling)⁵⁵ and having been mesmerized by the Expressionistically-relative nature of the play. Indeed, like Wagner, the playwright Georg Büchner foreshadowed Expressionism in his play, which predates Berg's opera by almost a century. Despite being left incomplete at the time of Büchner's death, the play exemplified all the future hallmarks that would make it a monumental success in the German-speaking countries in the early twentieth-century: A hideous distortion of psychological temperaments, dehumanizing immorality, and a blurring of lucid and hallucinatory states. To this effect, as Adorno suggests, 'the composition of *Wozzeck* outlines an exceedingly rich, multi-faceted curve of the inner plot: Expressionistic in that it takes place entirely in an inner realm of the soul. It registers every dramatic impulse to the point of self-forgetfulness.'⁵⁶

Once Berg was exposed to these stylistic and psychological features of the narrative, he was able to give it the dramaturgical shape necessary to make it relevant to the operatic stage. Certainly, Berg's stage directions were his own characterizations and representations that acted as a bridge between his music and the libretto which he appropriated and adapted. Yet the stage directions are purely his and represent the most profound subconscious imagery that was additionally abstracted by the music. Perle concurs by noting how the stage directions 'are Berg's own invention and must be strictly adhered to in performance, since such visual recapitulations are interrelated with musical recapitulations whose significance is obscured or even destroyed without them.'⁵⁷ Berg himself stated in an Expressionist vein that 'the music follows the man *Wozzeck* into the abyss which he sees opening before him,' with the purpose 'of the music as representation and illumination of the unconscious'; the opera is 'naked inwardness, made transparent by the interpretive power of the music.'⁵⁸

A chronological assessment of the directions in the opera's three acts, along with some motific elements throughout, will demonstrate these Expressionistically-stylized characteristics. Act I opens with *Wozzeck* shaving the Captain. Berg injects a series of descriptive staging adjectives for the Captain, such as 'mysteriously, artfully, sympathetically, striking up an attitude, very dignified, very grand, somewhat nonplussed, pacifying, exaggerating, and anxiously',⁵⁹ as some psychological signifiers of his character in the opening scene to compliment the general condescending absurdity of his text with

55 Douglas Jarman, *Alban Berg: Wozzeck* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 8; decades after Büchner's death, the novelist Karl Emil Franzos engaged in editing the play for a complete edition of Büchner's works. Jarman states that Büchner's handwriting was 'microscopically small', virtually illegible, and had almost completely faded away, thus prompting Franzos to misread and ultimately publish the play's title as *Wozzeck*. Berg had used the Franzos version for his libretto.

56 Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link*, 87.

57 Perle, *Operas of Alban Berg*, 41.

58 Reich, *Berg*, 117–18. Reich notes that these are Berg's remarks that he (Reich) adapted under Berg's supervision.

59 Alban Berg, *Wozzeck* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1955), 6–36; present author's translation.

Wozzeck. The subsequent scenes of interest in the act portray Wozzeck's various interactions with Marie, the Doctor, and the Drum Major. The stage directions in this act depict immediate, diametric changes in behaviour that would imply a lack of balance, continuity, and predictability, in an effort to exemplify perpetual disjointedness. These diametric behavioural changes represent the dark inner subjectivity of the character's true nature – the stage direction – and then the calming deception of niceties – the text – when one character interacts with another in reality. There is this persistent interplay of interior monologue and exterior dialogue, which emphasizes the duality of inner Expressionist turmoil with the false illusion of admiration towards the other. Scene two of Act I goes further into the darkness of the psyche by presenting the directions 'in mounting fear' and 'stares into the distance'.⁶⁰ The expression of fear is to become a motific reaction when characters are jarred out of near-hallucinatory reveries that are accompanied by the consciously absent quality of staring into the distance. The subsequent direction of 'feigning calmness'⁶¹ acts as an opposite of the previous 'mounting fear.' Yet, it is not an authentic calmness and is therefore just another distortion of reality. The third scene with Marie continues these trends where the directions depict, at one point, how she is 'sunk in thought'.⁶² The following ten bars of music have no libretto or directions but represent this detached reverie again, albeit with short and jolting injections of the music associated with the military band's entrance, to remind the audience, perhaps as a warning not to forget reality entirely. Marie ultimately 'starts with fright'⁶³ out of her reverie, thereby again associating fear with reality and the dark Expressionist realism therein. At the end of the scene, Marie 'anxiously'⁶⁴ looks at her child and then 'breaks out in sudden anguish'⁶⁵ after reflecting on the darkness outside. This moment is full of Expressionist imagery.

The fourth scene with the Doctor is a testament to the sordid, dehumanizing mercilessness inherent of Expressionism. The directions that accompany the Doctor include 'groaning, flaring up, flaring up again, with sudden anger, vigorously, and waxing ecstatic'.⁶⁶ In another display of a disjointed, diametric behavioural change, the direction reads 'at the height of ecstasy' immediately followed by being 'suddenly quite calm'.⁶⁷ The fifth and final scene of Act I involves Marie and the Drum Major. Both display immediate and opposing behavioural traits but in an inverse to each other. Marie goes from a negative to a positive characterization (i.e. from 'mockingly' to 'admiringly')⁶⁸

60 Ibid. 59, 61.

61 Ibid. 64.

62 Ibid. 87.

63 Ibid. 90.

64 Ibid. 98.

65 Ibid. 103.

66 Ibid. 111–45.

67 Ibid. 150–51.

68 Ibid. 162.

while the Drum Major goes from a positive to a negative characterization (i.e. ‘ingratiatingly’ to ‘menacing determination’)⁶⁹ in order to maintain a lack of predictability and to ensure that the act closes with an image of foreboding.

Act II delves deeper into abstraction of the subconscious. Berg here builds emotional and inner climaxes in his directions that mimic the flow of the music and narrative. The inner tension always builds in displays of negative agitation that are always diffused in a return to ‘calmness’ which is ultimately the real illusion because it negates the authentic, visceral displays of the character’s truest selves. In the fascinating first scene with Marie and her child, Marie uses a small, broken shard of a mirror to great suggestive effect. She subsequently addresses her child ‘with a feigned eeriness of expression, but roguish and almost wanton.’⁷⁰ She then ‘looks at herself again in the mirror’⁷¹ representing inner reflection which leads to an outburst of ‘sudden intensity’⁷² and further illusory projections. Interactions with the child continue to be ‘very calm’, and then she reacts ‘crossly’ and ultimately ‘flickers the mirror’⁷³ in order to instil a paranoid, illusory obedience in her restless child, thereby attributing the symbolism of the mirror to both her fantasies and her child’s fears, both of which are born from idealized distortions of reality. Wozzeck enters at the end of the scene, displaying behavioural disjointedness as his directions go from ‘looking at [Marie’s] earring’s questioningly’, escalating to ‘somewhat menacing’, further still to ‘flaring up suddenly’, and then back to ‘calming her.’⁷⁴ The Captain and the Doctor enter into the fold in the next scene where the Doctor exemplifies the essence of an inner dark reflection of negative agitation and hostility that is eased by a diametric opposite of outer deception; here his direction indicates how he ‘observes the Captain cold-bloodedly’ but then addresses him ‘in a pleasant tone of voice.’⁷⁵

The third and final act of the opera acutely capitalizes on one of Berg’s most skillful theatrical devices: the use of nature to foreshadow anxiety and ultimate doom. He does this in equal merit through his music and the imagery of his stage directions. Indeed, every single scene in the entire opera, without fail, describes the time of day. The scene descriptions at the start of Act III also emphasize threatening undertones. Boris Asafiev (who will be introduced in the next section) draws attention to this natural phenomenon by citing an example from Act I, scene two where ‘Andres, a friend of Wozzeck, finds himself face to face with nature, and sings a song not as a natural manifestation of romantic feeling, but to drive out fear and horror. [The scene] is set in an atmosphere

69 Ibid. 168–69.

70 Ibid. 180.

71 Ibid. 183.

72 Ibid. 184.

73 Ibid. 186.

74 Ibid. 192–93.

75 Ibid. 218.

of gloomy foreboding and a nightmare.⁷⁶ The scenes pass in chronology of time, both in relation to subsequent scenes within each act as well as in relation to corresponding numbered scenes in subsequent acts. However, in context of the climactic final act, it is necessary to focus all attention on the symbolic value of the moon, which rises in strength, and significance as the sun of the previous acts gradually weakens into twilight and eventual darkness. This will ultimately come to symbolize the inevitable disintegration of all remaining illusions of positivity in order to make way for the Expressionist damnation of the moon which yields absolutely no prospect of salvation. Indeed, the first indication of this steadfast decay was illustrated in the first act with the stage direction reading ‘The sun is just setting, the last rays are colouring the horizon... in glaring sunlight, then suddenly (with the effect of deepest darkness)... twilight sets in to which the eye gets gradually accustomed.’⁷⁷ The dichotomy of light and dark is a play on diametric opposites again, but in this case it can also be seen as a natural foreshadowing for pending darkness that will give way to the destructive forces of the moon. Douglas Jarman classifies this dichotomy as a ‘symmetry of this overall [formal] design [which is] underlined by the correspondence between the two most striking visual effects in the opera – the setting of the red sun in Act I scene 2 and the rising of the blood-red moon in Act III scene 2.’⁷⁸ Jarman further acknowledges the adverse effect on Wozzeck by noting how ‘the appearance of the moon precipitates a further development in Wozzeck’s increasing madness...’⁷⁹ As mentioned previously, Wozzeck even displayed anguish in the form of his reflective reverie at the growing darkness outside. He is symbolically the only character that is so affected by the darkness for which his awareness can clearly be seen as mounting anxiety towards the ensuing deadly climax of Act III.

The stage directions of the third act evolve from suggestively negative signifiers to downright murderous indications. In the scene of Marie’s murder, the staging says that Wozzeck ‘bends over her in deadly earnest’ and then ‘kisses her.’⁸⁰ This is followed by ‘a long silence’⁸¹ which is obviously subtext for inner machinations and reflections and then the climactic death knell: ‘the moon rises.’⁸² Wozzeck then stabs Marie in the throat once, killing her. Berg somewhat curiously next writes that ‘Marie sinks down’⁸³ possibly providing a foreshadowing to water and Wozzeck’s later drowning, where the image of sinking may reference this phenomenon, or possibly as another diametric opposite to

76 Igor Glebov [Boris Asafiev], ‘Muzyka *Wotstseka*’ (The Music of *Wozzeck*), *Novaia Muzyka*, 1/4 (1927), 31; translation by present author.

77 Berg, *Wozzeck*, 61–64.

78 Jarman, *Alban Berg: Wozzeck*, 60.

79 *Ibid.* 55.

80 Berg, *Wozzeck*, 405.

81 *Ibid.* 410.

82 *Ibid.*

83 *Ibid.* 414.

the rising of the moon. The fourth scene is described as a ‘moonlit night as before’⁸⁴ where the ‘as before’ implies that another pending death will result as it did earlier when the moon was also out. This foreboding suggestion is again confirmed, now with Wozzeck’s death knell being precipitated by the direction which reads ‘the moon comes up blood-red through the clouds.’⁸⁵ It bares noticing that Wozzeck’s drowning was symbolized in the music by a rising chromatic figuration from the lowest to highest orchestral tessitura, once more abstractly portraying the deadliness of nature in this opera. The final moments of the opera reinforce the utter Expressionist bleakness and destitution of reality as Marie and Wozzeck’s now fully orphaned child – the definition of innocence and purity – naively marches to discover his own mother’s murdered corpse, bringing to an emphatic close the unrepentant mercilessness of the Expressionist paradigm within Berg’s narrative. Jarman surmised that the abrupt termination of sound – without any sort of decline in tempo or dynamic – that signifies the end of the opera ‘suggests that the whole tragedy could start again with the child taking his father’s place.’⁸⁶

Russian Theories on Wozzeck

Following an overview of the Expressionist symbolism in *Wozzeck*, Berg’s stylistic connection to Wagner and how Wagner came to be associated with Expressionism, attention will now be turned to how in Russia Berg and Wagner coalesced in context of the Leningrad premiere of *Wozzeck*. Bringing Berg’s opera to Russia was an endeavour that was entirely spearheaded by Boris Asafiev. His contribution was imperative in establishing an association between the two composers on Russian soil.

Asafiev was a Russian musicologist, whose aesthetic sentiments reached maturity during the Russian Silver Age. Asafiev was both privy of and eager to contribute to the ideologies that would usher in social and moral change. Certainly, he was active in a variety of musical spheres and took on the role of composer, teacher, and writer beyond his musicological endeavours. His musical studies allowed him to recognize the value of contemporary music which helped motivate him to instigate the Leningrad Association for Contemporary Music in 1925.⁸⁷ The timing of this inception was fortuitous, as Berg’s *Wozzeck* had its famous world premiere at the end of 1925. Asafiev was undoubtedly aware of *Wozzeck* at this time and, upon his initiative, would lobby for the opera’s Russian premiere which took place in the presence of the composer in Leningrad in 1927. Asafiev prepared numerous texts on *Wozzeck* in conjunction with the premiere, including a booklet that he wrote under his pseudonym, Igor Glebov. Berg himself keenly

84 Ibid. 436.

85 Ibid. 449.

86 Alban Berg, *Drei Bruchstücke aus der Oper “Wozzeck”* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1924), xiii; translation by present author.

87 Boris Schwarz, ‘Schoenberg in Soviet Russia’, *Perspectives of New Music*, 4/1 (1965), 88.

observed the Russian awareness of the aesthetic movement that gave rise to *Wozzeck* by noting to Adorno how the Leningrad *Wozzeck* production was ‘a very Expressionistic constructive directorial production,’⁸⁸ among other praise lavished upon the entire staging of his opera, as well as the abundant publicity that the premiere received.

Asafiev’s essay on *Wozzeck* contained the general insights pertaining to music, narrative, staging, and acting; however, he was particularly to draw various parallels to Wagner throughout. Asafiev emphasized the aesthetic ideals of both Expressionists and Russian symbolists by speaking of the psychology and spirituality that was appropriated from Wagner as abstractions of the empirical world. The internal conflict of the human psyche in *Wozzeck* was described by Asafiev as ‘the revival of mental naturalism in which the action unfolds as a process of transformations into music of our consciousness’s reactions to the external world.’⁸⁹ Asafiev draws a parallel of this process between Berg and Wagner’s *Tristan*, and it becomes apparent that he is projecting the Russified Wagnerian ideal of introspection that is ultimately meant to convey a spiritual oneness with nature that was vital to the symbolists. Asafiev saw that *Wozzeck* possessed the same dichotomy of the empirical and metaphysical which the Russians first saw in Wagner’s art. He further compared Berg with Wagner by emphasizing how each musical moment in *Wozzeck* exudes a reaction ‘as in any organic phenomenon of the material world. In this respect, I do not know of any other modern opera more bound with Wagner, where there is no more passionate, emotionally truthful, and deeply impressive music drama than *Wozzeck*.’⁹⁰ The philosophical imagery that Asafiev attributes to the material world is once more a Wagnerian ideal that he derived from the values of his Russian society and which he saw as equally viable to Berg, cementing the correlation between Wagner, Russian aesthetics, and Berg.

Asafiev’s direct contemporary, the critic and lecturer Ivan Sollertinsky, came to the same aesthetic conclusions as his countryman when he described the Schoenbergian paradigm from which Berg was fundamentally derived, where ‘its starting point is not the outer world, but the creative activity of the mind. The essence of the Expressionist metaphysics represented by Schoenberg is not surprising, and begins in music as a typical subjective ideal. He [Schoenberg] grew up in the atmosphere of Wagnerism, and like the great master of Bayreuth, was a staunch supporter of Schopenhauer’s aesthetic. He enthusiastically proclaimed Schopenhauer’s definition of music and held to it exhaustively.’⁹¹ Once more, we see the same metaphysical introspection derived from Wagnerian ideologies that were appropriated by the Russian symbolists and used

88 Henri Lonitz (ed.), *Theodor W. Adorno and Alban Berg: Correspondence 1925–1935* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 105.

89 Glebov, ‘Muzyka *Wotstseka*’, 34; translation by present author.

90 *Ibid.* 35.

91 Iwan Sollertinski, *Von Mozart bis Schostakowitsch* (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam, 1979), 194; translation by present author.

by Sollertinsky to quantify Schoenberg's aesthetic. Later on, Sollertinsky bridges the gap to Berg by noting how *Wozzeck* fits into this paradigm and is naturally derived from *Tristan*.⁹² His logic teems with Wagnerian sentiments as he superimposes Schoenberg, and in turn Berg, over this specific ideology of psychology and spirituality. Like Asafiev, Sollertinsky is theorizing from the foundation of his Russian aesthetic, which demonstrates its indebtedness once more to the Wagnerian outlook.

In similar fashion to how Asafiev drew an evolutionary line between Wagner and *Wozzeck*, Soviet musicologist Yuri Keldysh concurs how 'Expressionists themselves recognized romantics in some respects as their spiritual ancestors.'⁹³ Keldysh represents the generation of musicologists succeeding Asafiev and Sollertinsky, yet he was old enough to have been aware of both Expressionist theories circulating in Russia and the *Wozzeck* premiere in Leningrad in 1927. He goes on to say that *Wozzeck* 'is one of the most typical and more significant examples of post-war Expressionism.'⁹⁴ And just like Asafiev, who described the dark and dreadful Expressionist atmosphere of a particular scene in the opera, Keldysh applies the same symbolism when he explains how 'in Berg, dramatic contrasts are largely muted due to the impenetrable, gloomy delirium enveloping the whole action. Events flow like a dream; they are distorted, as in a heavy nightmare.'⁹⁵

Asafiev's essay on *Wozzeck* – with its explicit comparisons to Wagner – was certainly internalized by his Russian readers, since he had 'decisively influenced Leningrad musical life in the first third of the twentieth century.'⁹⁶ Therefore, an awareness of this foundational conception within the minds of Russians that links Wagner and Berg is necessary when recounting the Leningrad premiere of *Wozzeck* in more detail, and pinpointing the cultural impact that the opera had on the Russian people. Even before he examined the Wagnerian and Expressionist elements of *Wozzeck*, Asafiev and his allies were initially eager to import music of Europe's leading contemporaries in a desire to stimulate the Soviet public and, more importantly, to expose young Soviet composers to progressive compositional trends. The Leningrad Association for Contemporary Music believed that the new aesthetic paths that the country was seeking to establish were to be found in the music of such composers as Schoenberg, Berg, Krenek, and Schreker.⁹⁷

In this context, *Wozzeck* was seen as the perfect example to stand as a model of future Soviet opera, as it merged a new compositional language with the relatable psychological tenets of Expressionism. Through his musicological connections, Asafiev was aware of

92 Ibid. 213.

93 Yuri Keldysh, 'Wotstsek i muzykal'nyy ekspressionizm' (*Wozzeck* and Musical Expressionism), *Sovietskaya Muzyka* (March 1965), 105.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

96 Isolde Matkey, 'Alban Bergs *Wozzeck* in Leningrad', in Horst Seeger and Mathias Rank (eds.), *Oper heute: Ein Almanach der Musikbühne* (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1985), vol. 8, 217; translation by present author.

97 Ibid. 216–18.

Wozzeck's popularity in Europe and had reached out to Berg in order to procure the music and performance rights.⁹⁸ Once the opera had been accepted for production, and well before its premiere, various periodicals earnestly began publishing analyses on Berg's music to edify the Russian populace. Vladimir Dranischnikov, the production's conductor, wrote about Berg's path to creating a new type of opera, and noted how 'in *Wozzeck*, there are trends of Wagner's *Tristan* propped up through the filter of the Schoenberg doctrine. But for the listener in the old days, the road from *Lohengrin* to Act III in *Tristan* was further than from *Tristan* to *Wozzeck*.⁹⁹ Simeon Ginsburg discussed the opera's harmonic language and Berg's musical ideas in the context of a contemporary Russian framework; Sergei Radlov provided biographical information on Georg Büchner; all in addition to Asafiev's above-mentioned analyses.¹⁰⁰ Through the assorted efforts of these Russian scholars and musicians, the cultural implications of *Wozzeck*, even before its premiere, can be seen as a pervasive force within Russian aesthetic perceptions.

The premiere itself on 11 June 1927 was 'a great artistic event. Eyewitnesses report that broad circles of the population enthusiastically took up the opera and staging. Of course, the premiere was of particular interest to the musicians and artists. The second performance of *Wozzeck* on 13 June also marked the end of the theatre season before the summer break. In the next season, the opera was performed again on 14 October, 1927. While the first performance of the new season attracted 944 concertgoers, attendance was less than 50 percent of the theatre's capacity which was c. 2,000 seats. The attendance increased to 1,275 patrons on 19 November and to 1,451 on 29 March, 1928. The public's interest was prompted through the reviews published in many journals and newspapers about the *Wozzeck* staging at the Great Academic Opera Theatre.¹⁰¹ This passage confirms once again the influence of analytical texts on the public and the implication that they were aware of the Wagnerian associations within Berg's opera. Asafiev summarizes *Wozzeck*'s inherent value to Soviet culture saying that

Wozzeck in particular causes traditionalists to become angry. The work becomes that much more necessary and important for us! It creates opportunities for our new music, and not just through new relationships and revolutionary texts! In terms of music, the restitutive post-war period has not yet ended, and new requirements in musical life are emerging. The mutual social relationship has changed between the creative musical production and the masses affected by it.

98 Ibid. 218.

99 Vladimir Dranischnikov, 'Wotstsek' (*Wozzeck*), *Novaia Muzyka*, 1/4 (1927), 21; translation by present author.

100 Matkey, 'Alban Bergs *Wozzeck* in Leningrad', 218–19; the quotations in the following discussion are from Matkey and translations by present author.

101 Ibid. 219.

The theatres, under the influence of revolutionary zeal, were given new tasks: to attract to music those social circles that had no access to music before the revolution. Therefore, emotions and ideas must now penetrate into the music to inspire Soviet society. That is the task of a socialist cultural construction! The seeds of the new culture must be carefully sown.

What is needed is the popularization of our musical-creative and artistic-ideological achievements among the broad masses, as well as the struggle to improve the quality of our artistic sensibilities. This includes the propaganda of the musical-creative and interpretational-technical achievements of the West. Soviet music will be strong and realistic when it combines its revolutionary content with contemporary compositional mastery. The familiarization of the masses with the musical art of the West creates the criteria for the evaluation of Soviet musical creation. If one emphasizes the ideological and artistic value of these premieres, one must also ensure that the works impact the consciousness of the audience and are absorbed by them.¹⁰²

In addition to scholarly reception, Russian journalists also felt the cultural impact of *Wozzeck*. In the magazine *Rabotschi i teatr* (Workers and Theatre, no. 25, 1927), Julian Weinkop wrote: 'With the performance of this opera, the strongest and most daring operatic work of the twentieth-century is introduced into our everyday musical life. The day of the first performance is a historical date for us.'¹⁰³ Another critic, Stefan Mokulski, explains that '[t]he premiere of *Wozzeck* is a significant event not only in the musical, but also in the theatrical life of Leningrad. With this performance, we were not only introduced to a brilliant work, but experienced its implementation on stage in an unusually effective, theatrically impressive form. It corresponded fully to the spirit of the music of Alban Berg and the fiery, Expressionist pathos of the tragedy of Georg Büchner.'¹⁰⁴ Finally, in the anthology *Musyka i Revoljuzija*, pianist Maria Grünberg wrote that '[t]he premiere of *Wozzeck* is a significant event in the operatic life of the city.'¹⁰⁵ All accounts, both critical and public, emphasize that Berg's opera was of particular importance to Leningrad – to Russia. Russian society was acutely receptive to the multi-faceted dimensions of *Wozzeck* and saw within its Wagnerian and Expressionistic underpinnings, among other things, a model for which they believed their own cultural paradigms should strive.

102 Ibid. 220–21.

103 Ibid. 222.

104 Ibid. 223.

105 Ibid. 224.

Conclusion

Change as evolution and metamorphosis has been the macro hallmarks of this study. Change in terms of evolution takes place within the arts as they expand upon that which had initially motivated and inspired them but which was no longer viable under the present set of values. Change as metamorphosis takes place when the need for massive paradigm shifts becomes apparent. In this study, the latter change was exemplified in the shift from external elements of experience and awareness to inner emotions which governed perceptions that were far more abstract and devoid of realism.

Richard Wagner, Alban Berg, and intellectuals of the Russian Silver Age were compared and contrasted in ways that drew specific examples of how Wagner's theories and aesthetics were integral in forming the morals and perceptions of Berg and the Russians, both for their personal truths as well as for that of their art. The concept of Expressionism was the cement that fused all these ideals and individuals across the aesthetic changes that took place between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his capacity as the central figure, Wagner was shown to be a forerunner of Expressionism due to his early ideas on the role of culture in society as well as his later, more important preoccupation with inner states of consciousness and being which were recognized and valued by Expressionists from a variety of art forms. The important distinction being, however, that recognition of these traits within Wagner's output was only the beginning. Indeed, both Berg and the Russians would then appropriate these Wagnerian ideals for their own purposes, thereby both evolving and morphing the foundation that Wagner established for them in order to enact the changes they felt to be natural and necessary.

The Russian aesthetes and symbolists of the Silver Age had come to see the opposing and distinct Wagnerian features of *Gesamtkunstwerk* and Schopenhauerian philosophy as warranting Russification for new trends and innovations that would lead the Russian consciousness forward. At the turn of the twentieth century, all Russian art had come to bare these Wagnerian influences in some form, even if they were merely reactionary views. The cultural permeation was so extensive, though, that regardless of the nature of the reaction the overarching narrative of virtually all Russian intellectual culture had taken on a Wagnerian tone that had not existed in such a capacity before.

On the other hand, the psychological worldview of Alban Berg was as much tied to Wagner the man as to Wagner the philosopher-composer. Berg had derived an autobiographical representation of his life within his operas in ways that Wagner had done nearly identically before him. Berg had been seduced and perpetually thereafter intoxicated with Wagner's metaphysics of love and transcendence which was also seductive to the Russians for their mystical properties that they viewed as the tool of liberation from empirical limitations. There was a truth to this philosophy for both Berg and the Russians, yet they harnessed them for different purposes. Berg saw himself in the adaptation of Wagner's late philosophy, and the Russians saw their overall moral salvation in it.

Berg was, nevertheless, a conceptual child of the Expressionist movement, and therefore needed to reconcile his Wagnerian outlook with the aesthetic trends of his time which were just as absorbing for him.

Berg's opera *Wozzeck* came to be seen as the operatic crowning achievement of the Expressionist movement, and yet its potency and subsequent legacy is entirely indebted to its composer's Wagnerian leanings. Berg's staging of the opera is as much Wagnerian as it is Expressionistic, which is precisely what makes it as thoroughly captivating a theatre piece as a musical work. However, the opera would not be a vessel of Expressionist drama had it not been for the play by Georg Büchner on which it was based. Certainly, Büchner's narrative was profoundly Expressionistic decades before similarly expressive elements and ploys would find voice in the arts again. Büchner's play, *Woyzeck*, was so realistic for the poet that it was, in actuality, a parody of his own experiences. Specifically, he had created a character parody of the real-life doctor that treated Woyzeck when his sanity was to be determined in the aftermath of the murder of his wife.¹⁰⁶ Berg had done the exact same thing in his opera with his doctor, citing the appalling way his own barracks doctor treated patients in World War I.¹⁰⁷ These personalized adaptations demonstrate the autobiographical and realistic depictions that both Berg and Büchner, respectively, weave into their separate narratives of *Wozzeck* in order to represent a distorted grotesquery of something that was real, thereby once again illustrating inherent Expressionist tendencies.

In regard to Büchner's Expressionist foreshadowing, the symbolic imagery of the moon, especially in the murder scene, is an integral representation in both the literary and operatic narratives. Berg's moon imagery in his stage directions have been thoroughly analysed, but it is worth noting that Büchner himself used the moon to anticipate the murder when Marie utters: 'Moon's coming up as red as red,' to which Wozzeck replies, 'like a bloody knife.'¹⁰⁸ Büchner has Wozzeck refer to the moon one final time, yet with differing results between the narratives. When Wozzeck subsequently says that 'the moon's like a bloody knife,'¹⁰⁹ this anticipates his death in Berg's opera; however, it only signifies the apex of the character's madness – but without death – in the play. This moment may therefore act as a distinction between Expressionist foreshadowing and proper Expressionism which must yield the bleakest outcome possible.

It may be worth speculating how Wagner would have handled this scene had he composed his own operatic version of the story. *Wozzeck's* death would only have had meaning for him if it had resulted from some kind of transcendence over the empirical bondage that he had experienced throughout. For Wagner, the pessimism and torment of existence ceased once one experienced a metaphysical transcendence. There was hope

106 Nicholas John (ed.), *Wozzeck Opera Guide* (Overture Publishing, 2011), 16.

107 Jarman, *Wozzeck*, 66.

108 Georg Büchner, *Complete Plays, Lenz and Other Writings* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 134.

109 Ibid. 137.

for salvation. For Berg's character, there is no salvation. Death is simply the final injustice on the inevitable path towards complete oblivion. For these reasons, Wagner was never an authentic Expressionist composer. He was merely the foundation on which Expressionist metamorphosis occurred.

The Russian musicologists and artists of the Silver Age, discussed in the present article, knew of Wagner's central influence upon their moral and aesthetic views, and virtually all of them recognized the inherent Wagnerism found within Berg's music and especially within *Wozzeck*. The Russians saw within *Wozzeck* the same evolution and metamorphosis that they were striving to achieve, yet with a different positioning of Wagner as a catalyst, of sorts, for all parties. Elements of this awareness was made evident in the acclaimed reception of *Wozzeck's* Leningrad premiere. The future tenets of Expressionism, as it came to be known after Wagner's life, were central to Wagner, Berg, and the Silver Age Russians in their capacity to go beyond that which was viewed on the surface. Looking inwards can never be anything but an abstraction due to its profound subjectivity. The only way that Wagner's posterity could universalize such subjective abstractions would be to give it a nebulous form where the only consistent detail would be a total lack of realism, as they had known it up to that point. Perhaps the ultimate desire was to make no reality the new reality. Whatever the reasons may be, these creative artists and thinkers stood united in their quest to incite a change to take everything they had known further in order to achieve even greater humanistic enlightenment.

Abstract

Richard Wagner, Alban Berg, and intellectuals of the Russian Silver Age are compared and contrasted in ways that draw up specific examples of how Wagner's theories and aesthetics were integral in forming the morals and perceptions of Berg and the Russians, both for their personal truths as well as for that of their art. The concept of Expressionism is the cement that fuses all these ideals and individuals across the aesthetic landscape between the mid-nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Wagner is shown to be a forerunner of Expressionism due to his early ideas about the role of culture in society. The article also reveals that his later, more important preoccupation with inner states of consciousness and being were recognized and valued by Expressionists from a variety of art forms. The important distinction being, however, that recognition of these traits within Wagner's output was only the beginning. Indeed, both Berg and the Russians would appropriate Wagnerian ideals for their own purposes, thereby simultaneously evolving and morphing the foundation that Wagner established for them in order to enact the changes they felt to be natural and necessary.

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An experiment in musical unity, or: The sheer joy of sound. The anonymous *Sine nomine* mass in MS Cappella Sistina 14

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

In his book *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* Reinhard Strohm introduces the cyclic cantus firmus mass as the most outstanding genre of sacred polyphony in the later part of the fifteenth century in terms of numbers of settings as well as of the artistic effort involved: ‘The genre was obviously concerned with the problem of musical unity, or rather, diversity within unity.’¹ In the following I want to take a closer look at a mass dating from the decade just after 1450, the *Missa Sine nomine* in MS Cappella Sistina 14, in which the anonymous composer was intensely involved with the problem of unity, so involved that he – according to our ideas about music – has focused on ‘unity’ to such a degree that it became rather to the detriment of ‘diversity.’² Apparently, his ambition was to create a sounding ‘unity’, that is, a unity incorporating all the five ordinary settings of the cyclic mass that was immediately perceptible by hearing alone. I think that most of today’s listeners and readers will agree that the mechanical construction of his mass, its simplistic musical language and not least its repetitiveness make it a bit unappealing in the role of a musical work of art. Obviously, the contemporary assessment of the mass was different as compilers of prestigious choirbooks included it in their repertoires, and this fact puts our aesthetic understanding of the period’s music to test. In addition to the classical analysis of how such a cantus firmus mass is structured as a musical architecture transmitted in writing, we have to ponder how it served as a sounding reality, and how it may have related to the little we know about the musical practices of the period.

Context, sources and origin

The polyphonic mass cycle emerged as an important musical genre during the first half of the fifteenth century. Beginning with pairs of settings of mass ordinary items, which were sung in close succession during Mass such as Gloria and Credo as well as

- 1 Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 228. Strohm’s book tells among many other things the story of the early mass cycles, which is summarized in the following paragraphs, and it contains references to the classical literature on the subject.
- 2 The mass is readily available in my online edition, *The anonymous Missa Sine nomine in MS Cappella Sistina 14. Edited with an introduction by Peter Woetmann Christoffersen* (http://sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_An01.pdf). Furthermore, it has appeared recently in two printed editions: Reinhard Strohm (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music VI. Mass Settings from the Lucca Choirbook. Transcribed and edited by Reinhard Strohm* (Early English Church Music 49; London, 2007), 98–133, and Richard Sherr (ed.), *Masses for the Sistine Chapel. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, MS 14. Edited and with an Introduction by Richard Sherr* (Monuments of Renaissance Music XIII; Chicago, 2009), 273–315.

Sanctus and Agnus, a cycle of five ordinary settings (including the Kyrie) crystalized in the second quarter of the century. The polyphonic settings making up a cycle might be united by a shared voice disposition, shared rhythmical and formal layouts and by recurrent motifs or polyphonic modules. A simple way to unite the mass sections was to let each section begin with the same music or variations of it, functioning as a *motto* or head-motif, which was easy to recognize by hearing alone; also subsections could have secondary *mottos*.

The *motto masses* often were freely composed and without any connection to a designated feast or saint, therefore they today appear in lists of named masses as *missae sine nomine*, masses without names. In another type of mass a different sort of unity was obtained by setting the liturgical tunes belonging to the five ordinary songs in a plainchant mass. Both types of mass continued during the fifteenth century. During the late 1440s, however, the main focus of the musicians shifted towards another type of mass, which had developed in England, the *tenor mass*.

Composers had begun to expand the technique of the motet with a repeated cantus firmus in the tenor voice to include the whole mass ordinary. In addition to shared voice disposition and the presence of head-motifs, the unity of the polyphonic mass was immensely strengthened by a fixed pattern of mensurations connected to the repeats of the same tenor in all mass sections. The use of a pre-existent tune in the tenor, the cantus firmus, a sacred or – in later masses – a secular tune, provided the mass with a name and attached it to a specific function in the liturgy, to a feast or a class of feasts, or it made it fit to adorn an important courtly or civic event, or the choice of a tune simply reflected the preferences of a patron instituting a sacred service.

Most mass music was composed for three voices with the tenor as the generally lowest sounding voice. An English mass of the 1440s composed for four voices turned out to be of enormous influence on the development of the genre. Its anonymous composer used as his tenor a strict rendering of the long melisma on the final word ‘caput’ in the antiphon ‘Venit ad Petrum’ for Maundy Thursday, which is found in liturgical sources from England and France from this period.³ This Mixolydian tune begins on and insistently returns to the note *b*-natural, which in the diatonic scale system of the Guidonian hand could not sound combined with a fifth above – the tune was singularly unfit for a polyphonic setting with the tenor as the fundamental voice. The solution was to add a free voice, a low contratenor, below the tenor, which offered the composer freedom to control and vary the harmonies in the now four-part texture. This made it possible for this type of cantus firmus masses to obtain a clearer identity, and it anchored it in the tradition of the motet with its rhythmical manipulation of the repeated tenor tune as well as making its sound distinct from other mass types.

3 Concerning its place in the liturgy, an analysis of the tune and its transformation into a mass tenor, see Manfred F. Bukofzer’s classical study ‘Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study’ in his book *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York, 1950), 217–310.

Missa Caput was a resounding success. It appears in sources copied in England, Flanders, Southern Germany and in North Italian Trent, which testify to a wide and varied early circulation of the mass. In two Trent manuscripts (MSS Trent 88 and 89) it even was mistakenly attributed to ‘Duffay’ (Guillaume Du Fay) and was long regarded by modern musicology as a central work by the most prominent composer of the period.⁴ A short time later, another anonymous English mass, almost a twin of *Missa Caput*, the *Missa Veterem hominem* began to circulate on the Continent. Their influence on the Continental mass repertory was unmistakable.

Some musicians expanded the *Caput* model into brilliant concepts, which defined new developments of the mass cycles for the next generation. This is what we, for example, meet in Petrus de Domarto’s *Missa Spiritus almus*, in Guillaume Du Fay’s *Missa Se la face ay pale* or in Johannes Ockeghem’s *Missa Caput*, which all seem to be created under the spell of the early triumphal progress of the English *Missa Caput*.⁵ Other named or anonymous musicians emulated the model during the next decade without quite the same degree of originality.⁶ Christopher Page has said it very clear: ‘In fact the structure and layout of *Caput* and *Veterem hominem* became the blueprint for a spate of four-voice Continental Masses in the 1450s, some of which clone their models so comprehensively that it is difficult or even impossible to determine whether their composers were English or Continental.’⁷ *Missa Sine nomine* belongs to the group of followers of the *Caput* model.

4 It was included in Guillaume Dufay (ed. H. Besseler), *Opera omnia I–VI* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 1; American Musicological Society, 1951–1966), vol. III, 33; see further Alejandro Enrique Planchart, ‘Guillaume Dufay’s Masses: Notes and Revisions’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 58 (1972), 1–23, and Reinhard Strohm, ‘Quellenkritische Untersuchungen an der Missa “Caput”’, in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Datierung und Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit. Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance II* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 26; Wiesbaden, 1983), 153–76.

5 On the development of cantus firmus techniques through canon prescriptions and mensural and proportional manipulation, see Rob C. Wegman, ‘Petrus de Domartus’s *Missa Spiritus almus* and the early history of the four-voice mass in the fifteenth century’, *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 235–303.

6 The study of this repertory has been greatly facilitated by the publication of Rebecca L. Gerber (ed.), *Sacred Music from the Cathedral of Trent. Trent, Museo Provinciale d’arte, Codex 1375 (olim 88)*, (Monuments of Renaissance Music XII; Chicago, 2007). The MS Trent 88 was copied in Trent during the years 1456–1460/61 and contains a repertory from the 1440s and the first part of the 1450s. Especially the representation of anonymous polyphony for the Proper as well as the Ordinary is overwhelming and produces a much more balanced impression of the music of the period than the complete works of known composers.

All the masses mentioned (except for *Sine nomine*) are present in Trent 88 and edited by Gerber: *Veterem hominem* (no. 1), *Caput* (no. 11, Kyrie and Agnus dei only, for a complete edition see latest Strohm, *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music*, 46–81), *Se la face ay pale* (no. 29), Ockeghem, *Caput* (no. 98), *Spiritus almus* (no. 143).

7 Booklet for *Missa Veterem hominem. An anonymous English Mass setting from c1440* (The Spirits of England and France 5). Gothic Voices directed by Christopher Page. Hyperion CDA66919 (1997).

Missa Sine nomine is preserved complete in one source only. It appears in a very large, illuminated choirbook on paper, Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 14 (hereafter *Rome CS 14*), where it is found fols. 65^v–75. It stands like something of a misfit among masses by famous composers whose music has attracted far more interest: Du Fay (three masses), Regis (two masses), Domarto, Vincenet, Eloy d'Amerval, Busnoys, Ockeghem, Caron, Faugues, Weerbecke and Wrede – all witnessing the dominance of French-Flemish music in leading Italian institutions.⁸ It is the only mass in the Vatican manuscript not identified by a written composer ascription or a title.⁹ Only a large painted letter 'K' with a depiction of God the Father with the Book of Life functions as a visual marker at the start of the Kyrie.¹⁰ MS Rome CS 14 was probably created at the end of the 1470s in Naples, Ferrara or Rome for a wealthy sacred institution or as an expensive gift, and it ended up in the then new papal institution, the Sistine Chapel, some years before 1487. It contains a carefully selected repertory of masses from the preceding 25 years, quite retrospective in nature, representing exactly the sort of music that Johannes Tinctoris knew and commented upon in his series of treatises written in Naples during the 1470s. The selection of repertory for the big choirbook may very well have been strongly influenced by Neapolitan circles.¹¹

The other source for *Missa Sine nomine* consists of a single folio, which on its front side has the high contratenor and the tenor of the final sections of its Credo, and on its reverse side the beginnings of the highest voice and the 'Contra bassus' of the Sanctus. The folio once formed part of a choirbook belonging to the cathedral of Lucca. Today only a collection of more or less connected bifolios and single sheets remains, because the book in the early seventeenth century was dismembered and used as binding materials for account books. Pieces of the manuscript are found in other archives, and new may still turn up, but the main corpus is preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Lucca as MS 238 (hereafter *Lucca 238*). Reinhard Strohm identified the fragments in 1963,

8 Cf. Sherr, *Masses*, 26–45, and Adalbert Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV. (1471–1484). Die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Capellae apostolicae sistinaeque collectanea acta monumenta 1; Città del Vaticano, 1991), 471–83. The MS can be visited online at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Capp.Sist.14.

9 *Missa Puisque je vis* on fols. 161^v–171 is anonymous too, but has a title. Therefore, to name our mass 'Missa Sine nomine in CS 14' constitutes an unambiguous identification of it among the multitude of *missae sine nomine* in other sources.

10 Reinhard Strohm has tried to identify the miniature as a representation of St Andrew, the patron saint of the house of Valois (*Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, (rev. ed.; Oxford, 1990), 126–27. That is why he refers to this mass as *Missa [de Sancto Andrea?]* in this book p. 165 and in *The Rise of European Music*, 430. Roth has convincingly refuted this identification in his *Studien*, 118.

11 Cf. John D. Bergsagel, 'Tinctoris and the Vatican Manuscripts Cappella Sistina 14, 51 and 35', *Collectanea II. Studien zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Kapelle. Tagesbericht Heidelberg 1989* (Capellae apostolicae sistinaeque collectanea monumenta 4; Città del Vaticano, 1994), 497–527.

and he has reconstructed the manuscript and its provenance. It was a costly production, written on large format parchment and embellished with illuminated initials, and Strohm proposes that the choirbook was created for use in the chapel of the English Merchant Adventurers in the Carmelite friary in Bruges during the years 1463–64.¹² A few years later, the banker Giovanni Arnolfini acquired the choirbook and donated it to the choir school of the cathedral in his hometown Lucca. Arnolfini died in 1472, so the transference of the choirbook to Lucca must have happened around 1470. Its original repertory consisted of 14 masses and a smaller group of motets from the preceding decades by English musicians (masses by Henry Thick, Walther Frye and several anonymous including *Missa Caput*) and by Continental musicians (including Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* and Du Fay's *Missa L'homme armé*).

Missa Sine nomine must have enjoyed a circulation that was much wider than these two sources suggest. Even if only a very small part of it is preserved in Lucca 238, we can establish that the manuscripts belonged to different transmission traditions, and that the younger source, Rome CS 14, probably represents the original version of the mass. The single folio of Lucca 238 contains the complete high contratenor of the duos, which begin the second half of the Credo, and this permits us to reconstruct the Lucca version of them.¹³ As in many other Credo-settings of the mid-fifteenth century, *Sine nomine* omits some sentences of the Credo text. In Rome CS 14 words and music fit like fingers in glove, while it in Lucca can be difficult to place the words. The selection of sentences has here been revised in order to include the words 'qui ex patre filioque procedit', which were central to a long-standing controversy between the Eastern and Western churches concerning the understanding of the Holy Spirit.¹⁴ This shows that in the North the mass circulated in a version, where someone before the early 1460s had found it important to take the trouble to revise the text of the Credo in order to include the controversial word 'filioque'.

Nearly every scholar who has commented on *Missa Sine nomine* has assumed that it was of English origin. There are some good reasons for this view, first and foremost its very long setting of the Kyrie, its placement among English masses in MS Lucca 238, and the appearance of certain 'English' cadential formulas. Its Kyrie could in fact

12 On its provenance, see Reinhard Strohm, 'Alte Fragen und Neue Überlegungen zum Chorbuch Lucca (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Manoscritti 238 = I-Las 238)'; in Ulrich Konrad (ed.), *Musikalische Quellen – Quellen zur Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Martin Staehelin zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 2002), 51–64. A facsimile edition has been published by Reinhard Strohm, *The Lucca Choirbook: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238; Lucca, Archivio Arcivescovile, MS 97; Pisa, Archivio Arcivescovile, Biblioteca Maffi, Cartella 11/III* (Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile II; Chicago, 2008). A partial facsimile is available online at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/196/#/images>; this does not include the folio with *Missa Sine nomine*.

13 The Lucca version of the duos is published in the Appendix to my online edition.

14 Cf. Ruth Hannas, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 5 (1952), 155–86.

have had a nine verse Kyrie-trope, a prosula, as its original text, just like it is the case with the English masses *Caput* and *Veterem hominem*; in Lucca 238 *Missa Caput* has retained its prosula text. In the introduction to my online edition of the mass, I have discussed the question of its Englishness in some detail.¹⁵ My conclusion is that it is most probable that *Missa Sine nomine* was composed in Northern France or in Burgundian Flanders by a musician who had personal experiences of the English masses and who had sung the masses *Caput* and *Veterem hominem* and probably several other English works at services around 1450, during the years when these masses were widely admired and emulated on the Continent. The many English traits in the mass are results of the composer's decision strictly to adhere to a simplified version of the *Caput* model, and of – as we shall see – direct quotations. Here I find myself in agreement with Strohm who seems to maintain his early characterization of the mass as 'Burgundian', even if he included the mass in his volume of *Early English Church Music*.¹⁶

The anonymous composer reacted to the *Caput* model in a similar way as contemporary colleagues, but the sound of his efforts became different. Composers from this part of Europe grabbed the *Caput* model and created new types of masses: Petrus de Domarto instituted an influential use of mensural transformation of the tenor tune in *Missa Spiritus almus*, Guillaume Du Fay perfected the proportional transformation in *Missa Se la face ay pale*, and Johannes Ockeghem in his early *Caput* mass borrowed the *Caput* tenor more or less as written in the English mass, transposed it down an octave in order to let it sound at the bottom of the texture, and thereby defied the whole idea of the *Caput* model. The anonymous composer of *Missa Sine nomine* made his contribution in the same spirit as his colleagues. It has been difficult for modern musicology to realize this, because the obviousness of its many English traits routinely has placed the mass in a different category.

The music of the mass, its tenor tune and layout

Missa Sine nomine is composed for voices having the same ranges in all the five settings: The tenor has a range of an octave (*f-f'*) only. The two contratenors share this range, but add respectively a third above (*f-a'*) in the high one (altus) and a fourth below (*c-f'*) in the low voice, named 'Contra' in Rome CS 14. This quite compact complex of grown male voices is supplemented by a superius, usually performed by boys, which moves between a fifth and an octave above the tenor (*c'-e''*). The total range of the mass, *c-e''*, lies comfortably within the Guidonian Hand, and it may easily be set at a lower pitch to enable a performance by grown up voices alone.

15 Christoffersen, *The anonymous Missa Sine nomine*, Introduction, pp. xvi–xxi. Concerning the sources, the tenor tune and the layout, this introduction contains more detailed discussions and bibliographic references than space permitted in the present article.

16 Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 95, and *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music*, p. x.

In Kyrie, the beginning of which is shown in *Ex. 1*, only the tenor has a key signature of one flat, which signals that the part has to be performed with a combination of the soft hexachord on *f* and the natural hexachord on *c'* as the default choice. In Rome CS 14 the tenor has this one-flat signature in all the settings. The superius is without any signature all the way through, but exhibits several accidentals that signal hexachordal shifts. Signatures with or without a b-flat changes constantly in the two contratenors. They are not inconsistent in notation, even if we cannot exclude a few copying errors, rather, in most cases they are practical. If a flat would govern a very few notes only, it does not appear on the staves. On the single folio left of the mass in Lucca 238, the high contratenor has a one-flat signature, where Rome CS 14 has none. It makes no difference for the performance of the music, as the hexachordal positions are unmistakable.

The constant oscillation between F- and G-hexachords, causing a fluctuation between B-natural and B-flat, is a characteristic of the music of the mid-fifteenth century. If we study *Ex. 1*, the Kyrie opens with a duo in free polyphony for the two highest voices. The superius sets out in an inverse melodic curve within the combined *g'*- and *c'*-hexachords with a counter voice based entirely on the *c'*-hexachord, and of course the first phrase ends in a cadence to C. The next phrase forces the superius into the combined *f'*-*c'*-hexachords, while the altus voice jumps into the *f*-hexachord, and accordingly the duo ends with a cadence on F. Now a new duo between the two contratenors takes over, in F, with chains of parallel thirds and sixths. When the duo nears a cadence to C in bar 21, the voices seem to get struck on a unison imitation of a small motif, formed by the main notes of the F-hexachord: *c'-d'-c'-a-f*, which occupies both voices in bars 20–23, before they run on to the cadence to C. This motif, which I have named 'x', is to become of great importance for how we hear the mass.

When the tenor comes in bar 28 on *c'*, the other three voices dress it in consonant harmony. Not so much by singing counter melodies as by presenting steps consonant with the tenor notes as well as with each other, enlivened by passing notes. The low contra keeps mostly below the tenor and moves often in leaps between fundamentals of triads, more or less functioning as a real bass voice. Only when the tenor rests or holds a long note, the melodic profiles of the two contratenors may become stronger, more linear (bars 38–39, for example). The highest voice seems to be added to the rather self-contained structure of the three voices in the tenor range. After its melodic swing in the first duo it becomes curiously restricted, almost keeping within one single hexachord at the time. It goes back and forth within either the sixth *f'-d''* (bars 28–33 and 35–37) or the sixth *g'-e''* (bars 34–36 and 39–45), inserting cadential movements wherever they may fit.

When the tenor reaches *f'* in bars 32–33, the music comes to a standstill, while the superius and the altus make a short imitation of the x-motif at the octave. The superius succeeds in getting this motif placed again in bars 36–37. This melodic dependency on motifs and lines formed by a changing array of hexachords must be a trait derived from

Ex. 1, *Missa Sine nomine*, Kyrie, bars 1–46

[Superius] Mensura = ♩

[Altus]

Tenor

Contra

Ky - ri -

e e - ley -

son,

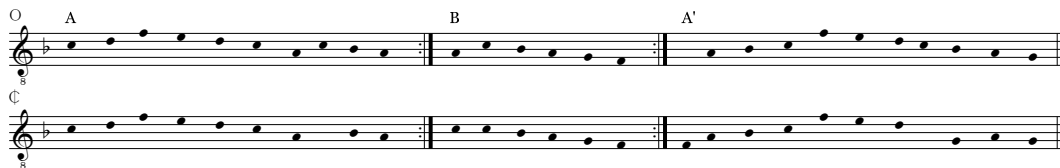
son, Ky - ri - e e -

Ky - ri - e -

Ky -

ley - son, Ky -

ley son,



Ex. 2, *Missa Sine nomine*, pitches of the tenor tune

improvised counterpoint. If you keep to the selection of steps offered by a hexachord and keep an eye on the tenor tune while selecting the steps to sing, it cannot go very wrong. This technique is characteristic of all the four-part music in *Sine nomine*, and it clearly contributes to the prominence of ostinato passages, which we here see the first glimpses of. Of course, *Missa Sine nomine* is not improvised music. It was painstakingly worked out in notation, but its composer consciously relied heavily on the style and sound of singing polyphony *super librum* in the liturgy.

After getting acquainted with the first pages of the mass, we know broadly the music of the whole cycle. But before going on with that, we have to take a short look on its tenor tune and whole layout.

It has not been possible to identify the tune, which the tenor voice presents twice in every part of the mass. If we remove the tenor's mensural attire, disregard a few decorative notes and most of the repeated notes we get a very simple structure (see *Ex. 2*). As already mentioned, *Missa Sine nomine* adheres to the mass model set up by the English *Missa Caput*. The Mixolydian antiphon melisma, which *Caput* builds on, is long and highly repetitive. The much shorter *Sine nomine* tune is repetitive as well: A A B B A', and could be a quote from a similar melisma lifted from some plainchant. Its melodic shape is, however, a bit peculiar: Most of the tune tends towards F, but it ends on G, which places the tenor in the G-Dorian realm, and much of the tune – four or five notes at the end of each segment – is taken up by descending patterns, which are convenient for cadencing in four-part polyphony. This makes it rather implausible that it had existed as part of a real song. It looks more like a construct made by its composer in emulation of the *Caput* tune; it was just very much easier to set in four parts. Where the *Caput* tune lacks descending lines and cadencing opportunities, this one is nearly nothing but such possibilities.

The *Caput* model requires that the tenor tune is sung twice in each setting, the so-called double *cursus*, first rhythmized in triple time (O) then in double time (C), while keeping the pitches unchanged. In *Sine nomine* this repeat is not absolutely strict. In the double time version the cadencing on A in first segment and on G in the last segment has been made more emphatic, and by repeating the last note in the B-segment at the start of the last segment he gets the full *f-f'* range to sound before ending on G. Why he choose this ending is impossible to know. Maybe he simply wanted to follow

Ex. 3. *Missa Sine nomine*, comparison of tenor parts

Gloria

Credo

Sanctus

Kyrie

Agnus dei

27 2 2 4

34 2 2 16

26 2 2 23

27 2

22 8 1

Gloria

Credo

Sanctus

Kyrie

Agnus dei

58

129

72

63

61

his model by ending in G. A bright Mixolydian sound colours the final chords of most sections in the mass.

The mensural shape of the tenor is shown in *Ex. 3*. It is obvious that the Gloria tenor presents the original layout on which the other settings are based (the example only shows the differences that appear in the other settings; numbers indicate the many whole-bar rests). In Gloria, Credo and Sanctus the sound of the tenor is exactly the same. The differences in ligatures affect solely the distributions of the words. This is also true of most of the differences in Kyrie and Agnus dei, which do not change pitches – except for some conventional formulas at cadences – or the total duration of phrases. In Agnus dei I, bar 35, a *brevis*-bar rest is transformed into an upbeat *semibrevis a* preceded by rests (marked by an ‘a’ in the example). This was a decision made while composing the four-part structure and probably caused by the wish to hear the tenor imitate the superius two bars earlier. This, however, prolongs the sounding duration of the tenor to 45 bars instead of the 44 bars we hear in all other sections. The composer apparently liked the idea and made a similar insertion in the Kyrie (b. 40), which along with a prolongation of the notes *d'-e'* shifts the tenor by two *brevis*-bars in relation to the fixed plan. This delay is, however, soon recovered by shortening the two long *c'*-notes in the following phrases (marked by ‘b’). Apparently, the structure of regular durations in the tenor part was important to the composer.

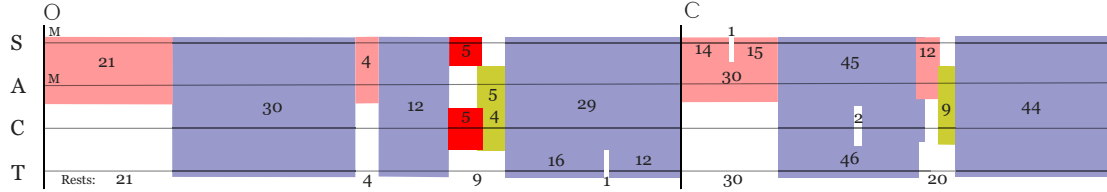
The double *cursus* layout stands out in the schematic representation of *Missa Caput* shown in *Fig. 1*.¹⁷ The patterns of the tenor tune (shown as the lowest line in the scheme) appear unchanged in every setting except for the shortened Agnus dei. It sings for 30+12+16+12 *brevis*-bars in the sections in triple time (O), and in double time sections (C) it is segmented into 46+44 bars (Agnus dei, 32+32). The tenor only comes in after introductory duos between the superius and the highest contratenor in every section. The tenor is normally set in four-part polyphony, which can be prolonged by changing the durations of the rests in the tenor tune and by insertion of duo passages of varying length, all in order to accommodate the number of words in the texts. In this way the Kyrie, which includes the long trope or prosula ‘Deus creator omnium’ has become of nearly the same length as Credo. The long stretches of four-part polyphony may be lightened by longer rests in the other voices, see Gloria and Credo. This thinning out is in Sanctus and Agnus dei in the triple time sections developed into duo (and trio) passages, in which the tenor participates, in order to set off ‘Pleni sunt’ and Agnus II as independent sections. The relationship between the settings consists not only in their building on the exactly same double *cursus* tenor and in varying the same pattern, each setting opens with a short two-part part *motto* (see *Ex. 4a*), slightly varied through the mass.

That this pattern became an established standard is demonstrated by the English *Missa Veterem hominem*, which is close being a clone of *Caput*. It appeared along with

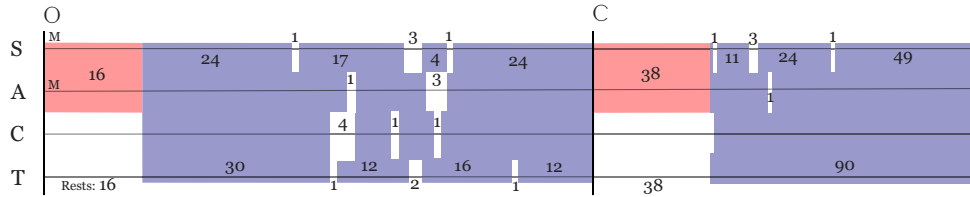
¹⁷ Based on the edition in Strohm, *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music*, 46–81.

Figure 1, schematic overview of *Missa Caput*

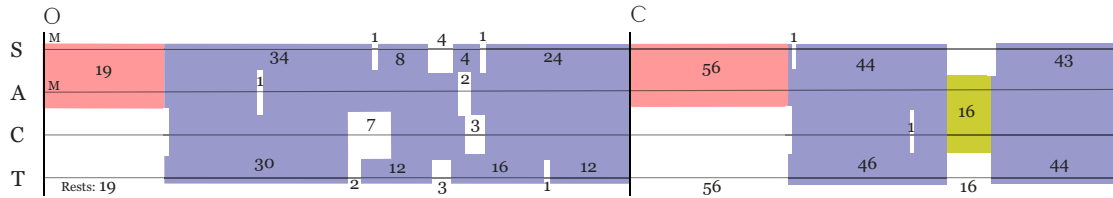
Kyrie



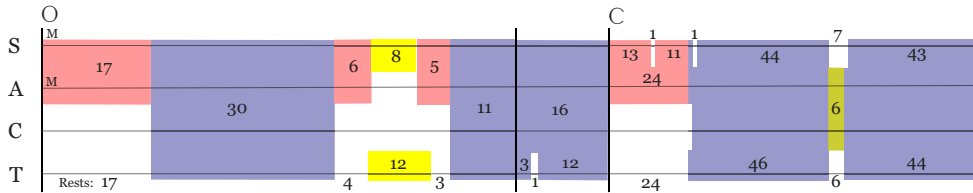
Gloria



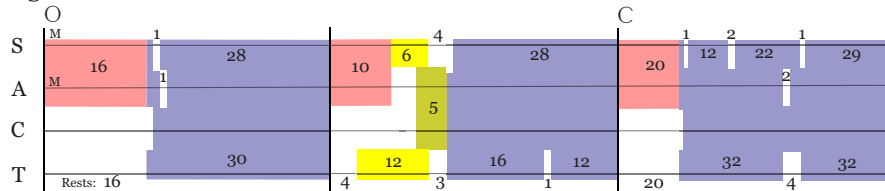
Credo



Sanctus



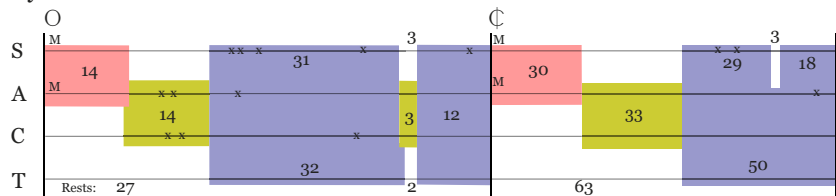
Agnus dei



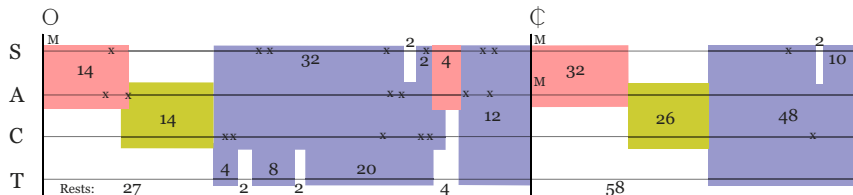
The horizontal lines stand for the voices. The tenor carrying the cantus firmus is placed as the lowest line. The coloured areas show the extents of their sounding with numbers indicating notated *brevis*-bars, the widths of these areas represent their temporal duration. Colour scheme:
 Blue = four or three voices singing;
 yellow = duo involving the tenor;
 light red = duo superius-high contratenor;
 red = duo superius-low contratenor;
 green = duo high-low contratenors;
 white = rests (showing rests of one whole *brevis*-bar or more only);
 M = *motto* in one or two voices.

Figure 2, schematic overview of *Missa Sine nomine*

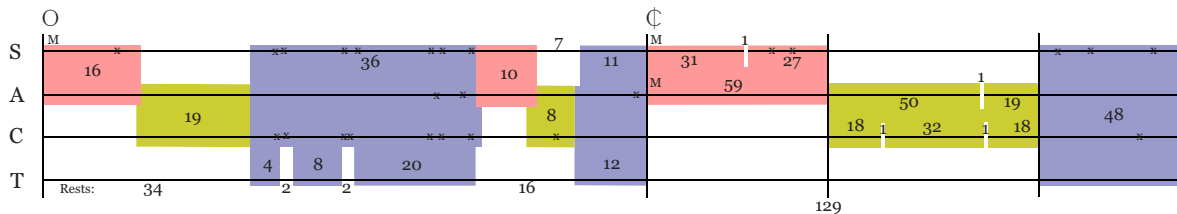
Kyrie



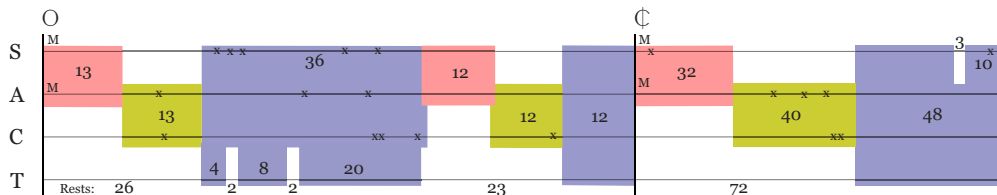
Gloria



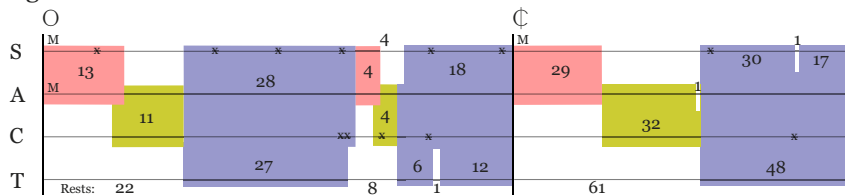
Credo



Sanctus



Agnus dei



Guillaume Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* in the 1450s in the manuscript Trent 88. Du Fay changed the pattern to include a triple *cursus* in his Gloria and Credo, developing the motet tradition into a 'modern' concept.¹⁸

Compared to *Missa Caput*, the overview of *Missa Sine nomine* appears simple (Fig. 2). Every single section of the five settings of the mass ordinary texts consists, as we saw in Ex. 1, of first a duo between the superius and the high contratenor followed by another duo between the two contratenors; then the tenor comes clad in four-part harmony. In Credo an extra round of duos has been inserted into the triple time tenor presentation (O), probably to lengthen the section and give it musical weight, because the last fourth of this section sets quite a few words. We find the same procedure in the two last settings, but here the duos mark the start of 'Pleni sunt' in Sanctus and the second 'Agnus' in Agnus dei. In Credo the two duos in double time has grown to independent sections, 'Et incarnatus est' and 'Et resurrexit', both set off by double lines in the voice parts. Nowhere in the music does the tenor take part in anything like duos, as it does for short passages in other masses. A special trait is the appearances of the *motto* in every section of the mass, not only at the beginnings of the settings as normal, but also at the start of the sections repeating the tenor in double time (♢). It looks as if the composer was familiar with the *Caput* double *cursus* pattern, simplified it radically for use in his first sections in triple time, and then just repeated the whole procedure in the double time sections in a near mechanical manner. In the overview the four-part passages look denser than in *Caput*, and this is also how the music sounds, counterbalanced, however, to some degree by the long, more airy duo passages.

Its *motto* or head-motif was clearly derived from the *Caput* tradition. Ex. 4 shows the *mottos* of four masses. They are all constantly varied through the masses but easy recognizable. The *Caput motto* (Ex. 4a) presents the basic idea, an inverted melodic curve reaching from the opening *c''* to *d'* and up again involving some rising fourths. This idea is further developed in *Missa Veterem hominem* (Ex. 4b), which moved the leap of a fourth forward and imitated the melodic line in the contratenor. Presumably Du Fay knew this opening and took it over in a more elegant, less fuzzy shape (Ex. 4c). The *motto* of *Missa Sine nomine* is of the same mould (Ex. 4d). One could say that the descending line of the superius simply passes through the 'safe' concords for an improvised voice against a long-held note: octave, sixth, fifth etc., until the held note changes. However, its inversed curve is so similar to the others' that the *motto* most probably was inspired by this tradition. Moreover, the composer discovered that the *caput motto* could be combined with a short quotation of his tenor tune in the contratenor: *c'-d'-f'-e'-d'*. This combination of the superius figure and the tenor tune appears more or less prominent at the start of the Kyrie (see Ex. 1), in 'Et incarnatus est' in Credo, in both sections of Sanctus, and at the start of Agnus dei. The use of a *motto* to underscore the

18 Schematic overviews of these masses can be found in my introduction to the online edition; concerning *Missa Se la ace ay pale*, see further my online edition at http://sacred.pwch.dk/Ma_Dufo2.pdf.



Ex. 5a, *Missa Sine nomine*, end of first section in Sanctus



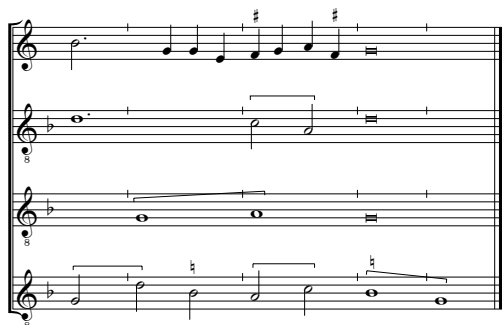
Ex. 5b, *Missa Caput*, end of Gloria



Ex. 5c, *Missa Sine nomine*, Kyrie, bars 145-147

of the ‘English figure’ may appear in quite dissonant textures. In Kyrie, bars 145–146 (Ex. 5c), two sets of cadential movements are played out simultaneously, one to A (in altus and tenor with the ‘English figure’) and one to C (superius and the low contra). This is what happens in improvisatory music!

Like *Caput* and its companion *Veterem hominem*, the mass excels in non-standard embellishments of cadential points, with or without suspensions. A typical one can be



Ex. 6a, *Missa Sine nomine*, end of Gloria



Ex. 6b, *Missa Caput*, end of first section in Kyrie

found at the end of Gloria (see *Ex. 6a*). A very close relation to it ends the first section in the Kyrie of *Caput* (*Ex. 6b*). These examples demonstrate that *Missa Sine nomine* was composed by someone with an intimate knowledge of the *Caput* mass more than they are signs of an English origin. They stand out as quotations. Like much else in the mass they appear to fit in with the composer's preconceived plan.

An experiment in unity in sound – the sound of improvised polyphony

The most remarkable trait of *Missa Sine nomine* is its curious, absolutely rigid construction scheme. As mentioned above, it seems as if the composer did analyse the *Caput* model, and reduced its essential characteristics into a minimum setup. He distilled it so to say into a basic formula. In every setting of the mass items this formula is first presented in triple time (O) and then repeated in double time (C), the only variable being the lengths of the sections, which may be expanded or slightly reduced. The last 12 *brevis*-bars of every first section and the last 48 bars of the second are close to being fixed elements (cf. *Fig. 2*). In this way *Missa Sine nomine* comes out as a musical entity, which ten times runs through the same overall course of events, where only some of the notes, those not sung by the tenor, may be varied.

Singing in two voices occupies a great part of the duration of its settings, between 43 and 55 per cent, almost double the time the duos fill out in *Missa Caput*, where their percentages lie between 24 and 34 per cent. A great number of contemporary masses can be found with long introductory duets, but these duets nearly always involve the two highest voices only, or are quite variable in their choice of voice-pairs. *Sine nomine* seems to be unique in its adherence to this rigid scheme. The duos are as we saw in *Ex. 1* very easy on the ears. After the motto, the voices continue in free polyphony, which often turn to imitative passages, but always at the unison or the octave. In general, there are much more imitation in the duos than in the four-part music, and we find even passages in canon as in *Sanctus* bars 66–68, a unison strict canon resulting in parallel thirds.

The first impression of hearing the mass is that much of it is pure sound, the sound of singing voices. This impression stems from the Kyrie, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus dei* and passages in the *Credo*, where only a few words or syllables carry long stretches of music. The composer, however, has been careful to place the text so it can be heard without difficulties. The words for the three 'Kyrie'-invocations are, for example, precisely notated in the tenor voice, which is quite unusual. In the settings of long wordy texts as *Gloria* and *Credo*, a syllabic declamation of the words is quite common. Especially the duos take care to let the words be clearly heard, and they can be quite expressive – see for example the syllabic setting of 'Cruxifixus etiam pro nobis' in bars 131–137 in the second section of the *Credo* (*Ex. 7*). In the music for four voices we find another sort of text setting, which rather may be characterized as a polyphony of words: The words can be heard distinctly in the top voice, stretched out in long melismas or recited in

131

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ci - o Pi - la - to

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ci - o Pi - la -

Ex. 7 *Missa Sine nomine*, Credo, bars 131–40

fast notes, all on top of lower voices trailing behind or participating with the superius in the delivery of words.

In *Ex. 7* we hear again the motif I named ‘x’ combined with triadic figures in imitation on ‘etiam pro nobis’. I have singled out and marked this figure with an ‘x’ in the schematic overview of *Sine nomine* (see *Figure 2*) in places where it is foregrounded in varying shapes, also in inversion. A single glance at the scheme shows that this figure appears so often that it becomes a strong element in the sounding identity of the mass. This figure belongs to the stock of trade of improvised polyphony, of singing a counter voice against a held tenor note. The concords of fifths, sixths and thirds are safe to use, and moving between them in the shape 5–6–5–3 only and variants hereof are even safer (*Ex. 8a*), and they can be combined into interlocking imitative patterns (*Ex. 8b*), which produce an ostinato effect. In Credo and Sanctus the composer seems to be ‘in love’ with his x-motif, which generates a lot of imitating ostinatos. Agnus dei is similar, but here he succeeds in letting the melodic lines flow more freely, less busy and obsessive with hexachordal figures. Especially the end of Agnus dei is successful.

Ex. 8a, basic figures of counterpoint

8b, combined into an imitative pattern

The last appearance of this figure in the first section of Gloria is in the form of a linear ascent *a'–d''* and then back to *a'* repeated three times (*Ex. 9*, bars 72–76). It creates an ostinato effect similar to the three-part imitations on the x-figure. The ostinato is a characteristic technique of improvising multiple voices against an unmoving tenor. Here the composer performs the ostinato against a moving tenor. It is a very effective way of building up tension towards the final cadence. The first sections of Kyrie, Credo and Sanctus make similar use of ostinato passages leading to their final cadences, and ostinato effects are heard in several other places, in the duos as well.

Ex. 9, *Missa Sine nomine*, Gloria, bars 72–79

In the duos that introduce the second section of Gloria another basic motif appears, which also belongs to the improvisatory bag of tricks. In bars 112–119 the two contratenors moves down and up the F-triad in unison close imitation on the words ‘Qui tollis peccata mundi’ (Ex. 10). The triadic motif, which we could call ‘y’, appears often in the mass in different guises (Kyrie, bb. 58 and 119, Credo, bb. 3, 19, 110, 141, 162 and 207, Agnus dei, bb. 17, 89 and 117). Along with the x-figure this imitative motif reaffirms the musical sameness of all the mass sections.

Ex. 10, triadic imitation figure in altus and contra (Gloria bars 112–24)

To conclude on the sound of *Missa Sine nomine*, we must say that it contains nothing spectacular, only smooth unchallenging counterpoint in an unchanging pattern of duos leading to four-part carpets of sound decorated with swarms of standard figures, a sound of many concords of thirds and full triads with the occasional improvisatory sharp dissonance. If anything, we experience the same sound picture again and again. It is not that exactly the same music is repeated; in fact, it is quite admirable how the composer has avoided repeating passages note for note, even if some of the imitative passages on the x-figure are close. However, all the diversity put into his use of expressive, declamatory passages, imitations and his play with imitative figures only serves to maintain an extremely consistent sound picture.

On the whole, *Missa Sine nomine* observes the rules of artful polyphony, which was codified in the famous *Liber de arte contrapuncti* from 1477 by Johannes Tinctoris. This book appeals to improvising singers as well as to musicians creating polyphony

on paper.²¹ It describes the process of creating music as the same one in both cases, but with differing expectations of how strictly all rules can be kept. The composer is responsible that all voice parts relate correctly to each other, while the singers in *cantus super librum* (improvising on the book) often are able to relate only to the tune of the tenor, which they can see in the page of ‘the book’, a liturgical chant collection. There cannot, however, be any doubt that for Tinctoris the ideal was the artful music, and in his last rule he underscores that the request for *varietas*, variety, during the sounding of music to the same degree applies to improvised music as to composed music. In his eight rule Tinctoris defined *varietas*:

Also, any composer or improviser . . . of the greatest genius may achieve this diversity if he either composes or improvises now by one quantity, then by another, now by one perfection, then by another, now by one proportion, then by another, now by one melodic interval, then by another, now with suspensions, then without suspensions, now with fuga, then without fuga, now with pauses, then without pauses, now diminished, now plain ...²²

This means composing with variation in tempo and rhythmic activity and in melody, with changes between simple declamation and textural complexity, with and without fuga etc. – everything but repetitions. It is not a very clear definition of the desirable *varietas*. It could include Tinctoris’ own *Missa L’homme armé*, of which Edgar Sparks remarked that ‘Tinctoris, without doubt, is following his own recommendation that a composer make use of all artifices in a large composition such as a Mass, but the effect, on the whole, is rather jumbled.’²³ If we disregard some repetitive elements, *Missa Sine nomine* could also fit his definition of *varietas*, even if it is near being the opposite of Tinctoris’ own *cantus firmus* mass. However, we must keep in mind that Tinctoris formulated his rules and opinions on the background of his knowledge of the music of the preceding generations, to which *Missa Sine nomine* belongs. It is highly probable that in the middle of the century, long before, for example, pervading imitation became a standard structural device in sacred polyphony, there was no consensus on the balance between unity and diversity.

In a sister manuscript to Rome CS 14, the contemporary MS Cappella Sistina 51, we find an anonymous mass building on Ockeghem’s chanson ‘D’ung aultre amer’ (fols. 113^v–122), which Rob C. Wegman characterized as ‘an experiment’. Here the experiment went strongly in the direction of diversity. The anonymous composer used ‘the

21 Allan Seay (ed.), *Johannis Tinctoris Opera theoretica* (Corpus scriptorum de musica 22; American Institute of Musicology, 1978), vol. 2.

22 Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, Liber III, Cap. VII. Translation quoted after Alexis Luko, ‘Tinctoris on *varietas*’, *Early Music History*, 27 (2008), 99–136 (at 129).

23 Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420–1520* (Berkeley, 1963), 241. The mass is published in J. Tinctoris (W. Melin. ed.), *Opera omnia* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 18; American Institute of Musicology, 1976), 74.

whole range of contemporary cantus firmus treatment—from strictest to freest—’ within a double *cursus* framework in order to create the greatest possible variety. This resulted in reaching ‘a point where the tenor had ceased to be effective as a structural voice. ... The composer’s solution, the chain structure, was a masterstroke, it not only enabled him to present a wide range of styles in succession, but also offered the possibility of creating a new type of musical coherence, replacing the coherence provided by the cantus firmus.’²⁴ This mass may be a decade younger than *Missa Sine nomine*, and it too relies heavily on two-voice passages. In Gloria and Credo especially, we find duos just as extended as in *Sine nomine* – and in similar patterns – but also quick exchanges between changing pairs of voices. The voices move through their ranges in a way quite different from the hexachord fixation in *Sine nomine*; the long stretches of four-part polyphony are characterized by the greatest possible variety and care for word expression. As Wegman remarked, *Missa D’ung aultre amer* is far more listener-oriented than the pure cantus firmus mass.

Alexis Luko offers a different interpretation of Tinctoris’ concept of *varietas*. It must first and foremost be understood as advice on the organizing of music as well-formed and impressive speech in accordance with the classic rules of rhetoric. In her analysis of Tinctoris’ freely composed four-part *Missa Sine nomine III*, she finds that he was in favour of using motif repetitions (*redictae*) and musical modules as expressive means at rhetorical important moments. ‘What is new ... is Tinctoris’s propensity for employing units of *redictae* at rhetorically significant musical junctures. Ideas presented in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* and his *Missa sine nomine no. 3* suggests that his attempts at forging links between music and rhetoric were not only theoretically based, but also textually motivated.’²⁵ Decades earlier, *Missa Sine nomine* may in all its repetitiveness have represented a different musical experiment concentrating on the unity of the mass music.

The sound of the Sanctus

Musical unity is a constituent trait of the four-part cantus firmus mass as it emerged during the decades around 1450. The use of a liturgical or a secular tune as a recurrent element could link the single mass cycle to a specific liturgical feast, to a civil occasion,

24 Rob C. Wegman, ‘The Anonymous Mass *D’ung aultre amer*: A Late Fifteenth-Century Experiment’, *Musical Quarterly*, 74 (1990), 566–94 (at 588). The mass was published in Rex Eakins (ed.), *An Editorial Transnotation of the Manuscript Cappella Sistina 51*, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, Liber Missarum* (The Institute of Mediaeval Music, Ottawa, Canada, vol. 3, 2001), 235–315; an online edition is available as Agostino Magro (ed.), *Missa D’ung aultre amer (4 vv)*, (Le Corpus des Messes Anonymes du XVe siècle; Programme Ricercar, 2016) at <http://ricercar-old.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/MessesAnonymes/sources/75.pdf>.

25 Alexis Fleur Luko, *Unification and Varietas in the Sine nomine Mass from Dufay to Tinctoris* (PhD-diss., McGill University; Montreal, 2007), 371. The mass is published in Tinctoris, *Opera*, 55.

to a donor's preferences, or it could enrich the mass music as participant in a rich network of symbolic associations. And combined with the recurrent motto, it assured a degree of unity between the five elements of the ordinary. Moreover, the majority of composers sought to keep the music within carefully circumscribed stylistic boundaries, not least in order to maintain a recognizable personal style in the developing fierce competition among musicians. The *Caput* model carried on from the older motet a heritage of varying a set of melodic ideas within a strict framework. This comes into a full flowering of expertly varied elegance in Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*, and it may have inspired the composer of *Missa Sine nomine*. However, after a short time the fast development of the complexity of contrapuntal skills, of displays of musical artifice, tended to make the musical surface of many masses difficult to perceive for the lay listener; the unity of the liturgy became veiled by a maze of sound, which was enjoyable to the expert listener, and which intrigued the reader of musical notation.

In his book *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass* Andrew Kirkman concludes that for the believers participating in the High Mass the sacred moment of transubstantiation and Elevation of the Host, which was performed by the celebrant in secrecy during the singing of Sanctus, could be stretched out through the whole Mass. 'It is not hard to see how the spread of imagery ... of the redeemer throughout the Mass could have encouraged a similar consistency in physical phenomena devised to enhance and adorn its message, including the music. This, I propose, is the ultimate force behind the creation of the cyclic cantus firmus Mass and its celebrated musical unity.'²⁶ This may also be the reason for the creation of *Missa Sine nomine*. It is difficult to think of any candidate better equipped to demonstrate the unity of the mass music in a way so easily perceivable to any believer, even when the listener was placed in a humble position outside the choir, far away from the altar. The musical world of the sacred actions performed during the Sanctus sounds already from the first notes of the Kyrie, and it never stops or changes.²⁷ It celebrates the Eucharist in a musical language of relative anonymity that was cultivated in improvised polyphony, in the practice of *Singing upon the book*, which adorned a great number of liturgical services.

Missa Sine nomine may be regarded as an experiment in musical unity comprehensible to everybody. Obviously, it was a conscious compositional decision to reduce the *double cursus* layout from the *Caput* model to essentials in a rigorously maintained structure of duos and four-part polyphony, to introduce every first and second section of the setting with a *motto*, and to pervade the music with easily recognizable contrapuntal commonplaces. We have as little knowledge of the identity of the tenor tune as

26 Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass. Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge 2010), 203.

27 A digital performance of Kyrie and Sanctus can be heard at <http://sacred.pwch.dk/>; a different interpretation of the complete mass is available on Rob C. Wegman's site *Renaissance Masses, 1440–1520* (at <http://www.robcwegman.org/mass.htm>).

the fifteenth-century scribes. If it was a tune constructed by the composer for use in this mass composition, it fits perfectly into the way he planned all its other elements. The composer has shown the utmost care to assure that coherence and structure are immediately accessible to listeners as well as to the officiating clergy. The total effect may be bordering on the naive, but there is nothing naive about his boldness in using improvisatory practices to create a pervasive, sacred sound. It offers the participants in the Mass a feeling of security and predictability – in its core not very different from much popular modern music for relaxation.

The existence of two such ‘experimental’ masses, however different they are, in the repertory of the representative collections, which ended up in the Cappella Sistina in the early 1480s, shows that the development of the cyclic cantus firmus mass during its first decades was anything but linear. Alongside the masses developing complex cantus firmus treatment, canonic sophistication and use of multiple tunes as in the works by Du Fay, Domarto, d’Amerval and Regis and the series of five *L’homme armé* masses in Rome CS 14, a keen interest in the direct appeal of sacred music persisted, even if musicology largely disregarded such music when telling the history of the cyclic mass. The legacy of the *Caput* model had many facets. *Missa Sine nomine* is evidence of the model’s success and potential of opening up for different directions, and as such it fits perfectly among the masses of Rome CS 14. Like *Missa D’ung aultre amer* the mass was received favourably in international musical life from Flanders to Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century and is preserved in the same sources as the works by famous musicians.

Abstract

In the middle of the fifteenth century a principal concern of the new sacred genre, the cyclic cantus firmus mass, was the question of musical and liturgical unity. How to balance the quest for unity and the wish for diversity in musical expression or *varietas*, which Tinctoris advised in his teachings of counterpoint. I take a closer look at an anonymous mass dating from the decade just after 1450, the *Missa Sine nomine* in MS Cappella Sistina 14, in which the composer was intensely involved with the problem of unity, so involved that he – according to our ideas about music – has focused on ‘unity’ to such a degree that it became rather to the detriment of ‘diversity’. The mass was highly regarded in its time, and this fact puts our aesthetic understanding of the period’s music to test. In addition to the classical analysis of how such a cantus firmus mass is structured as a musical architecture transmitted in writing, we have to ponder how it served as a sounding reality, and how it may have related to the little we know about the musical practices of the period.

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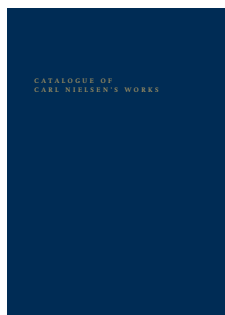
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Reviews

Værkfortegnelser (Nielsen, Hartmann og Scheibe)

Review essay

Thomas Holme



Catalogue of Carl Nielsen's Works

ed. Niels Bo Foltmann, Axel Teich Geertinger, Peter Hauge,
Niels Krabbe, Bjarke Moe and Elly Bruunshuus Petersen
Danish Humanist Texts and Studies, 53

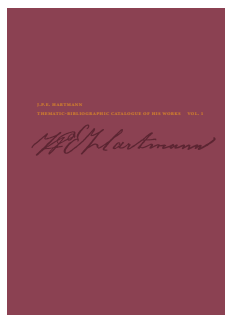
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Dansk Center for Musikudgivelse (DCM) har i 2016 og 2017 udgivet tematisk-bibliografiske værkfortegnelser over hhv. Carl Niensens (1865-1931), J.P.E. Hartmanns (1805-1900) og Johann Adolph Scheibes (1708-1776) værker, og dermed søsat de akronymer – hhv. CNW, HartW og SchW – som fremover vil blive anvendt til identifikation af komponisternes værker, og som dermed endegyldigt afløser flere tidligere eksisterende værkforkortelser. Ud over de trykte udgaver er de tre fortegnelser tilgængelige i elektronisk format og tilmed gratis.

Helt overordnet er det bogproduktioner på meget højt niveau, flot og overskueligt sat op, let læselige, osv. Nodesatsen med de mange incipits er ualmindelig skarp og meget velafbalanceret i forhold til tekstkorpuset. I det hele taget fremstår bøgernes layout, i detalje såvel som in pleno, yderst professionel, for hvilket arbejde Hans Mathiasen uforbeholdent må roses. De udarbejdede reduktioner af musik med større/stor besætning fremstår overskuelige og indbyder – som også teksten – til nærmere studium.

Der er således tale om monumentale publikationer, storslåede og imponerende udgivelser, gedigent udstyrede, milepæle i dansk musikeditions og musikvidenskabs historie. En grøn, en rød og en blå. De er uden sammenligning de hidtil største danske værkfortegnelser, og i international henseende indtager de deres naturlige pladser i den lange række af værkfortegnelser over betydelige komponister, og dette fuldt berettiget, uanset på hvilke parametre og værdier man udmåler dem. *Laudabilis!*

Men samtidig melder sig så spørgsmålet om den fortsatte berettigelse af trykte værkfortegnelser. Og vel navnlig, når en værkfortegnelse også eksisterer i online-format, med alt hvad det medfører af søgemuligheder, links til klingende musik, facsimile-udgaver, og meget mere – og som tilfældet faktisk er med de tre værkfortegnelser, som her er under lup.

Som bekendt er mulighederne for digital publicering vokset enormt i løbet af det seneste kvarte århundrede, hvilket opslag i de to største internationale musikleksika, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (MGG2, 2. udgave) og *New Grove Dictionary* (NG2, 2. udg.) ganske slående understreger. Det gælder såvel Hartmut Schaefers artikel 'Thematische Verzeichnisse, Thematische Kataloge' i MGG2 (1998, publ. online 2016) som Barry S. Brooks artikel om 'Thematic catalogue' i NG2 (2001, publ. online samtidig med den trykte version). Den seneste reference i begge artikler daterer sig til 1997, dvs. før muligheden for egentlig internet-publicering blev teknisk mulig, hvorfor en sådan af forståelige grunde ikke omtales som andet end en prospektiv mulighed (at ingen af de to artikler – tilsyneladende – siden er blevet opdateret, synes så tilsvarende uforståeligt).

De begrænsninger, som dengang – såvel som i tiden forud – var gældende for en trykt værkfortegnelse, fremgår blandt af et par excerpter fra Schaefers artikel: "Es ist jedoch utopisch, von einem modernen T.[Thematische Verzeichnisse, Thematische Kataloge] zu erwarten, daß es alle Funktionen eines Kompendiums für die von ihm erfaßten Werke nach einheitlichen Regeln übernehmen kann. Viel zu unterschiedlich sind bei den einzelnen Komponisten die Eigenart und der Umfang des Schaffens, die Breite

und der Vollständigkeitsgrad der Quellenüberlieferung und der Grad ihrer Erschließung sowie der Stand der Forschung. ... Es ist ... unbestritten, daß die breite Verzeichnung der Sekundärliteratur nicht von T., sondern von musikwissenschaftlichen Bibliographien und speziellen Periodika geleistet werden soll” (sp. 555-56). Med nutidens tekniske muligheder er disse begrænsninger og forbehold ikke længere relevante; (næsten) alt kan lade sig gøre.

Selv om nærværende anmeldelse primært drejer sig om de trykte udgaver af fortegnelserne, vil det give et noget ufuldstændigt billede af de samlede udgivelser, såfremt online-udgaverne ikke blev inddraget, omend blot i begrænset omfang. Og hvad angår de tre fortegnelser, viser det sig, at det bestemt ikke er uvæsentligt at klarlægge forholdet mellem de to meget forskellige typer af udgivelse.

Det er en stor fordel, at Dansk Center for Musikudgivelse (<http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/dcm/index.html>) også har varetaget arbejdet med online-udgaverne, hvis struktur, navigation og brugergrænseflade er ens. Det samme gælder søgefunktionen, som er effektiv og virker pålidelig (mere herom nedenfor). Alt i alt velfungerende og med varierende mængder af links til supplerende materialer; fx er det ganske overvældende således med nogle få klik at kunne få adgang til alle Carl Niensens værker i en state-of-the-art-nodesats.

Årsagen til, at online-udgaverne baserer sig på samme matrice, fremgår af DCMs hjemmeside: “I forbindelse med forarbejdet til en tematisk fortegnelse over Carl Niensens værker (CNW) har DCM udarbejdet et system til redigering og håndtering af musikalske metadata, baseret på XML-formatet MEI (Music Encoding Initiative). Systemet, der udvikles under titlen Metadata Editor and Repository for MEI Data (MerMEId), kan tjene som inddateringsværktøj i forbindelse med værkfortegnelser, database over værk- og kildeoplysninger i forbindelse med udarbejdelsen af kritiske nodeudgaver, samt levere output til værkfortegnelser både online og på tryk” (<http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/dcm/projekter/mermeid.html>).

Det synes således helt indlysende, at de trykte udgaver må italesætte deres respektive udformning, omfang, osv. i forhold til online-udgaverne. Men sådan forholder det sig ikke. Klarest i mælet er CNW, som indledningsvist anfører, at katalogets “main form of publication is the online edition” (s. vii) og anfører den relevante internet-adresse.

I HartW gøres opmærksom på, at kataloget er udarbejdet i databaseprogrammet MerMEId (s. vi, vii), men ikke engang online-versionens internet-adresse anføres og der henvises ikke yderligere hertil. Nogenlunde det samme gør sig gældende i SchW, hvor læseren blot henvises til “the online version which also provides links to the available digitised sources” (s. xviii), også her uden angivelse af internet-adressen eller henvisninger undervejs. Selvom det ikke nævnes eksplicit, kan tilføjes, at i hvert fald CNW-online er dynamisk, idet yderligere informationer fortsat tilføjes. Det gælder fx henvisninger til den engelske udgave af Carl Niensens breve (*Carl Nielsen. Selected Letters and Diaries*, 2018).

Selv om det er en velkendt sag, at bl.a. internet-bårne databaser sjældent er stabile over længere perioder – og med Det Kgl. Biblioteks aktuelle sammenlægning med Statsbiblioteket i Aarhus venter uden tvivl mange tekniske problemer i så henseende – så er den af DCM etablerede identiske udformning af de tre katalogers online-udgaver i sig selv en markant stabilitet, hvilket blot gør det endnu mere uforståeligt, at i hvert fald to af de tre trykte udgaver i så markant grad lukker sig om sig selv. Og dermed på en måde er med til yderligere at problematisere eksistensberettigelsen af den gamle, ærværdige trykte komponist-værkfortegnelse.

Lad med disse indledningsord, overvejende dybt anerkendende og rosende, så også være meldt ud, at de følgende redegørelser for og kommentarer til de tre fortegnelser i ret overvejende grad mere vil have karakter af kritisk stillingtagen end yderligere ros. Derudover er præsentationer af de tre komponister helt valgt fra, og det samme gælder en detaljeret stillingtagen til korrektheden af (nodesatsen af) de mange, mange incipits. Her må eksperter træde til.

J.P.E. Hartmann

J.P.E. Hartmann. Thematic-bibliographic Catalogue of His Works (HartW), udgivet af Inger Sørensen, er en mastodont-udgivelse. Godt 1000 sider med 1200 incipits, registrerende godt 500 værker af J.P.E. Hartmann, komponeret over en periode på lige knap 80 år, og med den solidest tænkelige basis i udgiverens forudgående publikationer, *Hartmann – et dansk komponistdynasti* (1999) samt *J.P.E. Hartmann og hans kreds. En komponistfamilies breve 1780-1900* (1999-2002). Det er således “den første tematisk-bibliografiske fortegnelse over Hartmanns samlede oeuvre” (s. ix), som omfatter Hartmann-numrene HartW 1-510, HartW tilføjet A, B, C eller D, ialt 57 numre, samt HartW Coll. 1-23 (samlinger).

De mange sider trykt på lækkert, tykt papir har nødvendiggjort en opdeling i to bind. Mens dette er fornuftigt, forekommer snitpunktet derimod ganske uforståeligt. Man har tilsyneladende valgt at gøre de to bind præcis lige store, hvilket afstedkommer, at den første underkategori af vokalmusikken abrupt afslutter bind 1. Dette afsnit kunne sagtens have været flyttet til bind 2, så det første bind kun havde indeholdt scene- og instrumentalmusik, og bind to udelukkende vokalmusikken. Hermed så også være sagt, at kæmpeværket i øvrigt er veldisponeret og oversigterne over indhold og nummerring (s. v, xiii) meget overskuelige. I betragtning af hele værkets statelige fremtoning er det dog ærgerligt, at der ikke engang er ofret plads til overskrifter for de relativt få underafsnit. Overgangen fra afsnittet om opera til det følgende om ballet – og overgangen herfra til skuespilmusikken, osv. – fremgår således kun af sidehovedets mikroskrift. Hvorfor nu det?

Nærmest i kontrast til alt det voluminøse står en ualmindelig kort indledning, som oplister tidligere oversigter over Hartmanns produktion, lapidarisk skitserer kilde-forholdene (stort set alt relevant materiale befinder sig i dag på Det Kgl. Bibliotek) samt meddeler de

nødvendige forklaringer vedrørende nummerering, titler og strukturen i de enkelte poster. Det kan gøres så kort, men hvorfor ikke benytte lejligheden – denne enestående – til fx en kort præsentation af Hartmann samt uddybning af flere af de enkelte elementer?

I serieredaktørens forord nævnes det, at “fra 2002 påbegyndtes en praktisk-videnskabelig monumentudgave over et udvalg af hans [Hartmanns] værker” (s. vi), men bortset herfra henvises kun helt overfladisk til denne Hartmann-udgave, som opererer med JPEW-numre. Investerer man selv lidt benarbejde, kan det konstateres, at udgaven indtil videre omfatter Symfoni nr. 1 (opus 17, JPEW I/1; 2002), Symfoni nr. 2 (opus 48, JPEW I/2; 2003), operaen *Liden Kirsten* (opus 44, JPEW IV/1; 2005), *Vølvens Spaadom* (opus 71, JPEW V/1; 2006), *Et Folkesagn* (JPEW IV/2b; 2009) samt Klaverværker (JPEW III/1-2; 2012). Inger Sørensen burde have ladet et par ord falde om udgaven, og da navnlig, når hun anfører, at “[K]ildebeskrivelsernes omfang [i HartW] afspejler, at der ikke eksisterer en samlet praktisk-videnskabelig udgave af Hartmanns værker, hvor disse findes i udførlig form, men udelukkende en selektiv udgave” (s. xi). Med ‘omfang’ må Sørensen mene kildebeskrivelsernes store – i visse tilfælde meget store – omfang. I den forbindelse ville det tilsvarende have været relevant med en kommentar vedrørende forholdet mellem den trykte udgave af kataloget og online-udgaven af samme. Fx en begrundelse for, hvorfor disse meget omfattende kildebeskrivelser så in extenso er medtaget i den trykte udgave. Men online-versionen omtales som nævnt overhovedet ikke.

Dan Fogs *Hartmann-Katalog. J.P.E. Hartmanns trykte kompositioner* (1991) fremhæves flere gange som et af de væsentligste forstudier til HartW (til identifikation af de enkelte værker anvendes således ud over opus- og HartW-numre de hos Fog etablerede DF-numre), blandt andet er “dateringen af de trykte kilder ... hentet fra DF, hvad angår de danske udgaver”. Hvad angår de udenlandske udgaver er de hentet fra “Hofmeister” (s. xi), og der henvises til et www-site, som end ikke i forkortelses-oversigten (s. 986) forklares yderligere. At det drejer sig om den såkaldte ‘Hoffmeister IX’, som registrerer “330,000 records of music publications” fra perioden 1829-1900, og dermed “is the most extensive resource for establishing what was published where and when during that period” (<http://hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/index.html>), burde have været nævnt – tillige med, at denne database senest blev opdateret i 2008.

Meget kunne altså være nævnt og yderligere uddybet i indledningen, som sine steder tenderer det overfladiske. Det stik modsatte gør sig gældende for selve kataloget.

Katalogets enorme mængde af data giver et indtryk af, at alt hvad der har kunnet skræbes sammen af information om hver enkelt værk er inkluderet, hvilket på den ene side resulterer i meget voldsomme dokumentationsmængder og på den anden side – derfor – har resulteret i voldsomme ujævnheder imellem posterne. Dertil kommer, at selve opstillingen af data heller ikke er ensartet og ofte indeholder en uforståelig stor mængde gentagelser. Til sammenligning indeholder hver post i CNW nogenlunde den samme mængde information under hver data-kategori, hvilket gør denne værkfortegnelse betydelig mere overskuelig at orientere sig i.

Afsnittet om kilder er med få undtagelser det mest massive og dermed i en kategori for sig, jf. ovenfor. Derudover findes kategorierne opførelser (inkl. anmeldelser) i Hartmanns levetid, breve og bibliografi.

Hvad angår opførelserne, så mangler der vigtig information om, hvorvidt de anførte opførelser er et reelt udtryk for, hvor mange gange det pågældende værk faktisk blev opført i Hartmanns levetid. Det gælder fx de hhv. 128 og 150 opførelser af operaen *Liden Kirsten* (HartW 3) og balletten *Et Folkesagn* (HartW 6). Mange poster indeholder – vel forståeligt nok – derimod ikke oplysninger om opførelser overhovedet. Til ‘Flyv fugl, flyv ...’ (HartW 327) er i detaljer oplistet ikke mindre end 63 opførelser, men hvis der til sammenligning kigges på eksempelvis de 25 efterfølgende sange (HartW 328-353), så er der ved 21 af disse kun anført i alt 8 opførelser. Er disse registreringer så et reelt udtryk for ‘Flyv fugl, flyv ...’s enestående popularitet? Forståeligt nok er der stor forskel på detaljegraden i oplistningerne; nogle lister er komplette med dato, sted, orkester, medvirkende, osv., mens andre kun registrerer datoen for opførelsen. Men en iøjnefaldende ujævnhed er dog de lister, hvor fuldstændig identiske data mekanisk gentages, fx de 14 opførelser af ‘Overture til “Aksel og Valborg”’ (HartW 40) med Det Kgl. Kapel (et andet eksempel er HartW 33). Her skinner manglen på stringens tydeligt igennem.

Hvad angår anmeldelser af opførelser, er forventningerne betydelig mere begrænsede, og man kan sige, at enhver oplysning er velkommen. Derfor forekommer de også her optrædende ujævnheder mere pudsige end egentlig alvorlige. Ved de fleste værker er ikke anført anmeldelser, til *Et Folkesagns* 150 opførelser er oplistet 4 anmeldelser af premieren 20. marts 1854, mens førsteopførelsen af *Overture og scenemusik til Chr. K.F. Molbeck's Drama “Dante”* (HartW 23) er oplistet med 11 recensioner. Til de meget pudsige hører anmeldelsen af den først daterede opførelse af melodramet ‘Der Taucher’ (HartW 27); den fandt sted på Det Kgl. Teater 27. marts 1837, og blev i hvert fald anmeldt i *Thisted Kongelig allernaadigst privilegerede Amtsavis og Avertissementstidende eller Den nordcimbriske Tilskuer*, et par dage senere (!).

Registreringer af (eksistensen af) breve optræder heller ikke ved alle værkerne, men er pænt repræsenteret. En søgning i online-udgaven (dog på “breve”, ikke på “letters”) giver således 149 hits. Tages *Liden Kirsten* (HartW 3) og *Et Folkesagn* (HartW 6) igen som eksempler, er der registreret hhv. 24 og 2 breve i forbindelse med værkerne. Igen spørger man sig selv, om denne ret markante forskel er et reelt udtryk for overleveringen af relevante breve. Her kunne en – evt. globalt gældende – henvisning til Inger Sørensens allerede nævnte brevudgave måske have været på sin plads.

At der til langt størsteparten af værkerne er tilknyttet en bibliografi er i sig selv imponerende og en flot læserservice. Men også her er den fuldstændig mekaniske gentagelse af helt identiske kilder mildest talt uforståelig, navnlig fordi et lille antal kilder er meget dominerende. Det drejer sig i særdeleshed – og ganske forståeligt – om Inger Sørensens allerede nævnte *Hartmann – et dansk komponistdynasti* (1999) samt Richard Hoves *J.P.E. Hartmann* (1934); i betydelig mindre grad om Nils Schiørrings *Musikkens historie i*

Danmark (1978) samt Kai Aage Bruuns *Dansk musiks historie fra Holberg-tiden til Carl Nielsen* (1969). Hertil kommer en lang række kilder, som kun anføres lejlighedsvist. Kigges der tilbage til fx Wolfgang Schmieders BWV-fortegnelse fra 1950 – for nu blot at tage et klassisk eksempel – samt et utal af efterfølgende værkfortegnelser (og for den sags skyld megen anden musiklitteratur), så er det en næsten ufravigelig regel, at litteratur, som der henvises til gennemgående, forkortes på en eller anden måde. At det ikke er gjort i HartW peger igen i retning af et påfaldende fravær af fornuftige editions-mæssige beslutninger. Et ekstremt eksempel findes i forbindelse med Hartmanns klaverværker, som tæller 66 HartW-numre (HartW 63-128). At der til hvert værk er tilføjet et begrænset antal tekster overrasker ikke, men så meget desto mere påfaldende er det, at Niels Krabbes 20 sider lange artikel “Udbredelsen af J.P.E. Hartmanns klavermusik” (2012) anføres 63 gange med fulde bibliografiske oplysninger. Udformningen af denne kategori er altså også stærkt medvirkende til, at kataloget er svulmet ganske uforholdsmæssigt op, og dermed langt hen ad vejen har sat et godt overblik over styr.

Hvad angår værkstitlerne kun nogle få bemærkninger. Selv om der i indledningen gives information om, hvor og hvorfor titler (kun) gives på dansk og/eller (kun) i oversættelse, er det samlede indtryk, at de meget kortfattede retningslinjer ikke er fulgt konsekvent. Under alle omstændigheder opstår der hurtigt spørgsmål og panderynker. For blot at nævne et par eksempler, så savnes en begrundelse for, hvorfor titlerne på de første 8-10 værker i bind 2 (HartW 185ff.) fremtræder hhv. kun på dansk og på dansk med engelsk oversættelse. Det samme gør sig gældende med samlingen *Folmer Spillemands Viser* (HartW 367-372 og HartW Coll. 07), hvor kun én af de 6 sange, ‘Til Friheden’ (HartW 368), anføres uden engelsk oversættelse. Og tages Sørensens forklaringer på ordet, burde de øvrige 5 vist slet ikke have været oversat. Hvad angår indekset over titler og førstelinjer (s. 987-1007), så forekommer det relativt pålideligt, hvad angår titler på dansk og tysk. De snesevis af oversættelser til engelsk er med undtagelse af en håndfuld (HartW 72, 113, B 24 samt B 25) derimod ikke lokaliserbare via indekset. Denne frapperende mangel på konsekvent udarbejdelse af et af de vigtigste hjælpemidler til lokalisering af enkeltkompositioner kan således uhyggelig nemt dokumenteres, men udvælges de 10 kompositioner, der følger umiddelbart efter HartW 113 (jf. ovenfor), så er deres titler alle oversat til engelsk, men ingen er medtaget i indekset. En slem lapsus.

Set i forhold til fortegnelsens omfang er mængden af trykfejl derimod relativt lille og de begrænser sig oftest til små sådanne, som fx dobbelt-punktum, manglende anførselstegn (fx s. 77, 148) og lignende. Flere mere ærgerlige fejl har dog også indsneget sig. Alene i indholdsfortegnelsen (s. v) kan konstateres ikke mindre end fire fejl (‘Incidental music’: recte 148, ‘Music for vocal soloists’: recte 377, ‘Songs for two voices’: recte 912, samt mest iøjnefaldende bd. 2’s allerførste side: recte: 509), og i nummereringen (s. xiii) en enkelt (Appendix D: recte D 01). I titel-indexet er nummeret for *Christel* (Hab’ oft...) også smuttet (recte: HartW A 10). Med en lidt grundigere korrekturlæsning kunne disse skønhedsfejl nemt have været fanget.

Hvad angår indspilninger af Hartmanns værker, så er oplysninger herom fravalgt (omend det ikke nævnes i indledningen). Her kan det synes ærgerligt, at der ikke er angivet en henvisning til 'Hartmann Online' i Det Kgl. Biblioteks regi (<http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/tema/musikteater/hartmann/bibl.html>). Ud over en fyldig Hartmann-bibliografi er oplysninger om indspilninger her tilføjet de enkelte værker. Begge Hartmanns symfonier er således indspillet af Danmarks Radios Symfoniorkester (dir. Thomas Dausgaard. Dacapo: Marco Polo 1996), og til *Liden Kirsten* er oplistet ni indspilninger. En sådan oplysning kunne vel nemt være inkorporeret i HartW.

Carl Nielsen

Catalogue of Carl Nielsen's Works (CNW), udgivet af Niels Bo Foltmann, Axel Teich Geertinger, Peter Hauge, Niels Krabbe, Bjarke Moe og Elly Bruunshuus Petersen, kan med rette siges at afrunde den række af store udgivelsesprojekter med tilliggender, som Danmarks nationalkomponist par excellence igennem de seneste omkring 20 år er blevet til del: *Carl Nielsen Udgaven* (CNU, 1998-2009), *Carl Nielsen Brevudgaven* (CNB, ed. John Fellow 2005-2016) samt tidsskriftet *Carl Nielsen Studies* (CNS, 2003-2012). Og kort tid efter færdiggørelsen af CNU etableredes Dansk Center for Musikudgivelse, som står som ansvarlig for udgivelsen af CNW. Hvad angår økonomiske ressourcer, er der samlet set tale om danmarkshistoriens største musikrelaterede projekt, og det anføres, at "CNW is a natural extension of CNU and builds to a large degree on information accumulated in connection with the editing project and to a certain extent also in connection with other projects" (s. vii).

At forordet til CNW indledes med konstateringen, at "[T]he Catalogue of Carl Nielsen's Works (CNW) is the first ever thematic-bibliographic registration of all Nielsen's compositions" – altså 'all inclusive' – er ikke overraskende, og det samme gælder den følgende allerede citerede passus, nemlig at "The Catalogue's main form of publication is the online edition while the present printed edition is an abridged version of the online catalogue" (s. vii). Derfor vil det følgende – ud over naturligvis en beskrivelse af og stillingtagen til selve CNW – også berøre forholdet mellem de to publiceringsmuligheder.

Lad det være sagt med det samme. Det er ubegribeligt, at CNW ikke indeholder en brugbar indholdsfortegnelse, endsige detaljerede oversigter over de forskellige værkgrupper/genrer og enkeltværker (jf. HartW, s. v, xiii samt SchW, s. v og xvi-xvii). Onlineversionen af CNW indeholder en 'Table of contents', men kun over selve introduktionen. I forordet fastslås det, at det ofte ikke er muligt at datere Niensens værker, hvorfor "[T]he CNW numbers are ... arranged according to genre" og at værkerne i hver genre i grove træk "follows the Nielsen edition" (s. x). Denne oplysning er for så vidt ikke irrelevant – og kan tjene som en (dog ufortalt) begrundelse for, at der ikke findes en kronologisk oversigt over Niensens oeuvre – men det ændrer ikke ved det faktum, at de

tre hovedkategorier af værker – scenemusik, instrumental- og vokalmusik, som omfatter hhv. to gange 100 og 325 sider – i bogen ikke er underinddelt. I praksis er det således umuligt at anvende fortegnelsen som den oversigtsbog, den selvfølgelig burde være, og som er et af de fremmeste formål med en værkfortegnelse. CNW-numrene er af indlysende grunde ikke at finde i CNU, men at etablere en oversigt, om ikke andet så i form af et index over CNU med henvisninger til CNW-numrene ville have været ganske uproblematisk og ville som sådan have udgjort en indlysende læserservice. Dette forhold skæmmer i den grad den ellers meget flotte bogproduktion.

Da anmelderen selv havde lavet en omtrentligt oversigt, blev det klart, at de to operer, *Saul og David* samt *Maskarade* (CNW 1 og 2), indleder afdelingen med ‘scenemusik’ (CNW 1-24, i selve fortegnelsen dog benævnt ‘sceneværker’), hvorefter følger Carl Nielsens musik til forskellige skuespil. Afdelingen med ‘instrumentalmusik’ (CNW 25-99, benævnt ‘instrumentale værker’) indledes med de 6 symfonier, efterfulgt af – i store træk (men altså umuligt at få overblik over) – anden orkesttermusik, koncerter, strygekvartetter (samt blæserkvintetten), romancer og sonater, og med klaver- og orgelværkerne som afslutning. Vokalmusikken (CNW 100-419, her så med den korrekte betegnelse ‘vokalmusik’) omfatter de tre store værker for soli, kor og orkester – *Hymnus Amoris*, *Søvnen* og *Fynsk foraar* – efterfulgt af kantater, en første afdeling med værker for sang og klaver, værker for (hhv. inddragende) kor samt afsluttende de mange sange med klaver. Kataloget afrundes med en oversigt over samlinger af sange, samt fem appendices.

Forordet har en passende længde og er ikke for detaljeret, men alligevel med de fleste nødvendige informationer, bl.a. de helt uundværlige meldinger vedrørende, hvilke kompositioner – komplette, bortkomne, fragmentariske, tvivlsomme, mm. – der (ikke) er inkluderet, og som derfor (ikke) har fået tildelt de nu etablerede CNW-numre, nemlig CNW 1-419, CNW Coll. 1-27 (samlinger), samt CNW tilføjet A, B eller C samt et nummer; altså samme struktur som i HartW. Ikke overraskende knytter en del af forviklingerne og dermed de kategoriale udfordringer sig til de mange sange, som blev publiceret som del af et større værk, i en sangbog – i særdeleshed *Folkehøjskolens Melodibog* – eller på anden vis. Detaljerne omkring disse aspekter skal ikke udredes her, men en af konsekvenserne af, at “it is the source situation that determines the evaluation of a song’s status as a work” (s. x), er, at fx ‘Jeronimus’ sang’/‘Fordum var her fred paa Gaden’ fra 1. akt af *Maskarade* ikke er tildelt et særskilt CNW-nummer (s. x). Stringens er en nødvendighed i en værkfortegnelse, men at denne kendte sang heller ikke kan fremfindes i katalogets indeks over titler og første-linjer – og dermed ud fra en ikke-kenders synspunkt ikke umiddelbart kan lokaliseres i Carl Nielsens værkfortegnelse – er stringens med benspænd.

Forordet afrundes med en gentagelse af, at det trykte katalog “is a condensed version of the full CNW available online” (s. xiii) og derfor ikke indeholder information om opførelser (bortset fra den først kendte), anmeldelser, henvisninger til breve mm. samt supplerende litteratur. Desuden meddeles kun basale oplysninger om kildematerialet til de enkelte værker, og kun til kilder, som daterer sig frem til Nielsens død.

Når fokus rettes på katalogets egentlige raison d'être, selve opstillingen af de enkelte værker, er det påfaldende, at oplisningen af 'sources' ved de enkelte kompositioner i mange tilfælde er meget dominerende. Ved de store værker kan dette vel forsvares – to tætskrevne sider fylder kildeoversigten til *Maskarade* således – men at der fx til et flertal af de enkelte sange oplystes 4-6 kilder, nogle gange flere, håndskriftlige og trykte kilder, kan synes lidt ude af proportioner. Her skinner 'arven' fra CNU tydeligt igen. Mens de seks symfonier hver fylder – kun – to sider i fortegnelsen, og det vel at mærke inklusive incipits, optager "Fædrelandssang/Du danske mand! af al din magt" (CNW 288) og "Der er et yndigt land" (CNW 351) – deres ubetvivlelige kvaliteter ladet uførtalt – hver hele fem sider.

Men bortset herfra er kataloget forbilledligt. Overskueligt sat op, letlæseligt, med henvisninger til CNU og til Carl Niensens Samling på Det Kgl. Bibliotek, samt til de tidligere anvendte FS-numre, som blev etableret i Dan Fog og Torben Schousboes *Carl Nielsen. Kompositioner. En Bibliografi* (1965). I det omfang, Carl Nielsen selv tildelede en komposition et opus-nummer, strækkende sig fra 1 til 58, er dette naturligvis også at finde.

Men selvfølgelig kan der rundt omkring udpeges småfejl og lapsusser. Et enkelt sted – s. 111 – svigter systematikken i det i øvrigt overordentlig hjælpsomme sidehoved. I taktoptællingen i *Maskarades* anden akt, nr. 8, samt i *Hymnus Amoris* (op. 12, CNW 100) konstateres et par fejl (recte hhv. 'bb. 536-552' (s. 17) og 'bb. 228-267' (s. 209)), og i navneindekset har der indsneget sig flere fejl i sidehovedets indeksering.

Hvad angår netop navneindexet (s. 588-592), så omfatter det desværre ikke katalogets indledende sider (s. v-xiii). Det betyder eksempelvis, at Knud Jeppesen, som af flere årsager retteligt bør nævnes i forbindelse med Carl Nielsen, og som omtales tre gange i introduktionen (s. viii), ikke kan lokaliseres.

Rettes fokus igen på forholdet mellem den trykte udgave og online-udgaven, efterlader stikprøver mht. søgefunktionens anvendelighed og præcision et positivt og pålideligt indtryk, og den kan tydeligvis håndtere mange af de 'forespørgsler', der ved studiet af Carl Niensens værker måtte melde sig. Skulle man være interesseret i at få fastslået, hvor hyppigt fx 'piatto sospeso' (ophængt bækken – der bruges konsekvent italienske betegnelser) anvendes af Carl Nielsen, vil fremdragelse af en sådan oplysning kræve en ganske omfattende gennembladrning af den trykte udgave. Her er online-udgavens søgefunktion en fantastisk hjælp. Det nævnte instrument anvendes i øvrigt fem gange.

Men en søgefunktion har altid sine begrænsninger, og det gælder også CNW's. Vendes blikket til forkortelses-oversigten (s. 566), så indbefattes her – foruden fem danske biblioteker og museer – (kun) et tysk arkiv og to svenske biblioteker, som derfor må formodes at optræde flere gange i forbindelse med værkernes kilde-henvisninger. Men hvor mange? Til dette er søgefunktionen tydeligvis ikke sat op. Mens de danske samlinger alle får 446 hits (!) – det samme som en søgning på 'Carl' – er der ingen hits på de to svenske, mens statsarkivet i Leipzig fremkommer med 173. En søgning på 'FS'

(jf. ovenstående) giver 3 hits, 'fragments' ligeledes 3. En løselig bladrning i den trykte udgave afslører hurtigt, at ingen af disse tal kan være korrekte, nok bortset fra de 446 på Carl Nielsen.

En information, som desværre slet ikke omtales i CNW, er spørgsmålet om indspilninger af de enkelte værker. Det er en vanskelig håndterbar informations-kategori, men når den for stort set alle andre informationer gældende akribi tages i betragtning, ville i det mindste en editoriel kommentar have været på sin plads. Søges der på 'recording' (og på 'wax'), fremkommer 2 hits (som også er at finde i den trykte udgave), nemlig "Humoreske-Bagateller" (op. 11, CNW 83) og "Sangen til Danmark" (CNW 237). Til begge værker findes en "Recording, wax cylinder", indspillet mellem 1920 og 1924, og – ikke uinteressant – udgivet på CD af Statsbiblioteket, Århus, i 2003. At efterlyse, hvad der måtte eksistere af mere nutidige indspilninger af Carl Niensens værker, ville være urimeligt, men det ville have været et fantastisk supplement til CNW, hvis forskellige ældre, historiske indspilninger havde været inddraget. Findes der mon en indspilning af fx Niensens 'Grammofon-vals' fra 'Musik til Helge Rodes skuespil "Moderen"' (op. 41, CNW 18), for nu at udpege et lidt skævt eksempel?

Hvad angår forskelle mellem online-versionen og den trykte version, og herunder informationen om, at den trykte udgave er en kondenseret og forkortet version af online-kataloget, fremstår allerede selve introduktionens tekst uklar. Online-versionen indeholder selvfølgelig vejledende tekniske bemærkninger (herunder flere nyttige søgefunktioner), som ikke findes i den trykte version, men påfaldende er det så, at flere ikke-uinteressante afsnit i den trykte version (s. ix, xii, xiii) af uvisse årsager ikke indbefattes i online-versionen.

Som allerede anført indeholder den trykte version ikke information om bl.a. opførelser og forskellige tekstlige kilder, og det er især med hensyn til sidstnævnte, at online-publiceringen manifesterer sin overvældende styrke. Tages Symfoni nr. 3, *Sinfonia espansiva* (CNW 27), som eksempel – og det vel vidende, at dette uden tvivl er et taknemmeligt et af slagsen – så henvises der i online-kataloget til ikke mindre end ca. 200 breve og ca. 35 dagbogs-indførsler (alle umiddelbart tilgængelig i CNB), samt en righoldig bibliografi og adskillige interviews med Carl Nielsen. Ganske imponerende!

Afslutningsvist en bemærkning om den sproglige fremstilling. Man har heldigvis valgt at skrive hele kataloget på engelsk, og det er derfor fuldt forståeligt, at samtlige værk- og sang-titler er blevet tilføjet en engelsk oversættelse. Af samme grund er indexet over titler og førstelinjer opdelt i hhv. et dansk og et engelsk afsnit. Ingen er dog formodentlig i tvivl om, at Carl Nielsen skrev 'på dansk', og kataloget dokumenterer entydigt, at Nielsen udelukkende anvendte tekster på sit modersmål. Lige så entydigt er det, at kun meget få sange blev oversat til andre sprog og publiceret, i hvert fald i Niensens egen levetid. Et eksempel er dog 'Lieder von J.P. Jacobsen' (CNW Coll. 3), et udvalg af seks sange fra to forudgående samlinger af sange med tekst af Jacobsen, oversat til tysk og udgivet i 1895 (de tyske oversættelser af titlerne er dog ikke at finde i katalogets index).

En enkelt undtagelse fra valget af dansk som tekstligt grundlag er imidlertid *Tre Motetter* (op. 55, CNW 345-347 samt CNW Coll. 24), som er Niensens eneste bidrag til netop denne genre og samtidig er den eneste gang, at han anvender tekster på latin. I kommentarerne til motetterne anføres, at “[T]he actual work on *Tre Motetter* lasted from the beginning of April 1929 until the fair copy was ready in the middle of August that year. In this period, Nielsen studied vocal polyphonic works of Renaissance composers. Nielsen thought highly of his *Tre Motetter*, both in terms of the finished product and as a compositional process.” (s. 551). Motetterne blev tilegnet Mogens Wöldike, som med Palestrina-Koret uropførte dem 11. april 1930.

En relevant og vigtig tilføjelse til oplysningerne om, at Carl Nielsen på dette tidspunkt beskæftigede sig med studier af værker fra renæssance-perioden, kan utvivlsomt etableres på baggrund af den mangeårige relation, som Nielsen havde til Knud Jeppesen, herunder hans kendskab til Jeppesens banebrydende disputats, *Palestrinastil med særligt Henblik paa Dissonansbehandlingen*, samt den efterfølgende lærebog *Kontrapunkt. Vokalpolyfoni* (1930). Allerede ved disputatsens udgivelse i 1923 havde Nielsen skrevet en meget rosende anmeldelse i *Politiken* (12.6.1923), og i et brev til Jeppesen fulgte han – ganske vist flere år senere – op på sagen: “Kære Knud Jeppesen! Igaar blev jeg paany færdig med Studiet af Deres ‘Palæstrinastil’ og saa maa jeg takke Dem. Mon der overhovedet i Verden er skrevet noget bedre eller betydeligere Værk om et hvilket-somhelst musikalsk Problem? Jeg tvivler derom; ... – Jeg har i de sidste to Maaneder daglig tænkt paa Dem og er blevet beriget og belært af Deres enestaaende Arbejde. ... Jeg længes nu efter at læse Deres Kontrapunkt-Lære, skøndt jeg bilder mig ind at jeg gennem Palæstrinabogen allerede nøjagtigt ved hvordan den er. Et er sikkert: Det bliver et glimrende Værk.” (Carl Nielsen til Knud Jeppesen, 15.6.1930 [CNB 11, 148]; jf. T.H. Hansen: “Carl Nielsen and Knud Jeppesen. Connections and Collaborations, Influences and Significances”, *Carl Nielsen Studies V* (2012), s. 133-34). Et par måneder senere – efter kontrapunkt-bogens udgivelse – fortsætter Nielsen: “Kære Knud Jeppesen! Det var dog en stor Overraskelse at holde Bogen i sin Haand og nu er jeg naturligvis øjeblikkelig på Hovedet i den! Og jeg glæder mig rigtigt til at gaa den grundigt igennem, paa samme Maade som sidst – Palæstrinabogen. Forunderligt at tænke paa at – saavidt jeg allerede kan se – nu endelig det 16de Aarhundredes Musik bliver rensende forklaret med Beviser vristet ud af Kunstens eget Væsen” (Carl Nielsen til Knud Jeppesen, 26.8.1930 [CNB 11, 218]; jf. Hansen, *ibid.*, s. 134-35). Disse to breve er ikke medtaget i online-udgavens liste over relevante dokumenter i forhold til motetterne. Men brevenes ordlyd peger entydigt i retning af, at Carl Nielsen under sine studier af renæssancens vokalpolyfoni var afgørende påvirket af Jeppesens to bøger. Selv om brevene er fra 1930, åbner første brev bemærkning om, at Nielsen “paany [blev] færdig med Studiet af Deres ‘Palæstrinastil’” klart op for muligheden for, at Nielsen studerede bogen allerede under udarbejdelsen af de tre motetter, og brevenes generelle ordlyd indikerer, at Nielsen fortsatte disse studier i tiden efter motetternes færdiggørelse.

Johann Adolph Scheibe

Johann Adolph Scheibe. A Catalogue of His Works (SchW), udgivet af Peter Hauge, adskiller sig fra de to andre på en række væsentlige punkter. CNW og HartW er milepæle, naturligt forventelige – Hauges Scheibe-katalog en ganske anderledes milepæl. Selv om de tre fortegnelser som nævnt er udført over samme læst, såvel indholds- som udstyrmæssigt, og online-mæssigt er støbt efter nøjagtig samme form, så indbefatter betegnelsen 'katalog' hos SchW en anderledes vægtning af indholdselementerne.

Kataloget repræsenterer en forskningsindsats i særklasse. Der kan måske sættes spørgsmålstegn ved det udsagn, som Erland Kolding Nielsen indleder bogen med, nemlig at "Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708-1776) must be considered the most important composer and Kapellmeister in Denmark in the eighteenth century" (s. vi), men der kan ikke stilles spørgsmål ved den tour de force, som værkfortegnelsen repræsenterer. Det er ganske enkelt imponerende, hvor meget Peter Hauge får sat på papir, og ofte på basis af, hvad der tilsyneladende for mange forudgående forskere enten er forekommet uoverkommeligt eller som er blevet betragtet som 'ingenting'.

I forhold til både Hartmann og Nielsen var Scheibe en mindre kendt komponist, hans værker er ikke tilnærmelsesvist så talrigt overleveret, kun få af disse er blevet trykt, og – måske vigtigst – sammenlignet med de to nationalkoryfæer har han ikke været genstand for dybdegående forskning. Derfor repræsenterer Hauges Scheibe-katalog en afgørende indsats inden for alle aspekter af musikvidenskabelig (grund-)forskning: lokalisering og indsamling af kilder, registrering og katalogisering af kilderne, beskrivelse og delvis tilgængeliggørelse af kilderne, samt endog analyse af og delvis syntetisering på basis af kilderne. Der er således tale om et pionerarbejde, men dermed også et arbejde med de børnesygdomme, som altid opstår i sådanne komplicerede arbejdsprocesser, og som dermed også forlener det med elementer af *tour de faible*.

Ikke overraskende er det udredninger omkring kildesituation og formidling, som præger indledningen. Lidt usædvanligt er det, at seriens hovedredaktør, Erland Kolding Nielsen, med såvel en levnedsskildring som kildekommentarer – "... the somewhat sparse source material ... many of the musical works have been lost ..." (s. vii) – forudgriber Peter Hauges indledning, som også indledes med en kort biografi. Branden på Christiansborg Slot i 1794 – og dermed tilintetgørelsen af den kongelige samling – efterlod også for Scheibes vedkommende et gabende hul i kildematerialet, og hvad der resterede, blev for en stor dels vedkommende spredt efter hans død. Hauge anfører, at "it seems reasonable to assume that he may have composed around 1,200 musical works in all" (s. xii), og redegør – givetvis i meget kondenseret form – for det møjsommelige og komplicerede arbejde, som har været udført for at samle kildemateriale sammen, mestendels musikalsk kildemateriale, men eftersom Scheibe også var forfatter til en række bøger om bl.a. musikteori og komposition, samt virkede som oversætter, mm., også andre former for kilder. Med få undtagelser er kildematerialerne opbevaret på biblioteker og samlinger i Danmark og Tyskland.

Afslutningsvist forklares de mange forhold og forbehold samt detaljer vedrørende “[S]tructure and content of each record” (s. xvii f.). Til disse – de enkelte poster – følgende bemærkninger. Nodesatsen ved incipits er som nævnt af samme flotte kaliber som i HartW og CNW. Kildebeskrivelserne er pedantisk detaljerede, dvs. helt ned på blækfarve- og vandmærke-niveau, hvilket ud fra ovenstående betragtninger kan forsvares. Men det tilfører også kataloget et meget tungt element, især fordi rigide gentagelser i kildebeskrivelserne sine steder er ude af proportioner. Dette gør sig gældende allerede fra katalogets begyndelse – SchW A:001-002 – og ved mange andre værker. I fx *Kantate am 19. Sonntag post Trinitatis* (SchW B2:045) er kildebeskrivelsen for hvert af de 12 implicerede instrumenter så enslydende, at en smartere opstilling må have kunnet etableres, fx i stil med henvisningerne i SchW A4:002-003: “See introduction to ...”. Ved *Sørge-Cantate ved Christi Grav som i Fasten opføres af Det musicaliske Selskab* (SchW B2:311) optager kildeafsnittet ni tætskrevne sider.

Hauge anfører, at “the literature listed is from the eighteenth century”, hvormed så åbenbart menes kun fra 1700-tallet: “[O]nly in very rare cases are modern studies or secondary literature on the works or Scheibe included in the Bibliography” (s. xviii). Dette valg er i anmelderens optik uforståeligt. Bibliografierne indeholder sine steder adskillige interessante tekster fra Scheibes egen tid, men begrænsningen medfører, at der ved mange værker overhovedet ikke findes en – om end blot lille – bibliografi. Ved de ‘meget sjældne’ undtagelser – Hauge udpeger én (s. 109), men flere er at finde (fx s. 11, 196, 198, 461, 482) – får læseren information om relevant litteratur, som for en dels vedkommende tillige er umiddelbart tilgængelig.

Kataloget er overskueligt opbygget i tre dele, hhv. instrumentalmusik (ca. 100 sider) og vokalmusik (ca. 360) samt tekster (ca. 50). Men med tildelingen af de nu etablerede SchW-numre hører overskueligheden op. Ikke blot har Hauge valgt at tildele de tre hovedkategorier hver sit suffiks – hhv. A, B og C – samt hver underliggende genre sit eget tal – fx A1 for koncerter, A2 for sinfoniaer – men den egentlige nummerering af værker inden for hver genre begynder med ‘001’, og hvis den enkelte genre er underopdelt, påbegyndes hver underkategori fortløbende med ‘100’, ‘200’, osv. Genre-kategorien *Cantatas and oratorios* 117 enkelværker nummereres således SchW B2:001-B2:045, B2:100-B2:101, B2:200-B2:210, B2:300- B2:313 og B2:400-B2:444. Skal man overhovedet snakke om en fordel ved en sådan struktur, så er den velegnet til at kunne rumme et ubegrænset antal ny-fundne værker. Men ellers er den forvirrende, irriterende og bidrager ikke til det overblik – og dermed ‘fornemmelse’ af oeuvret – som findes i CNW og HartW og mange andre værkfortegnelser. Fx skal der investeres en del møje og besvær for at finde ud af, at der findes ca. 66 instrumentale værker med hver sit SchW-nummer, 163 vokale værker og 40 tekster. I lighed med de to andre kataloger afsluttes med nogle ‘Coll.’-numre, hvilket bringer de samlede antal individuelle SchW-numre op omkring 290 – på nuværende tidspunkt. Information af denne beskaffenhed kunne med fordel meddeles læseren, og da især når Kolding

Nielsen anfører, at “[S]o far around 390 works of which 340 are compositions have been recorded” (s. vii). Er dette tal verificeret af Hauge?

Et meget positivt element i kataloget er de tekster, som indleder mange af værk-posterne. Også her kan der konstateres mange – næsten ordrette – gentagne afsnit (se fx de 30-40 kantater som følger efter SchW B2:020), men såvel det overblik, der formidles, som detaljegraden er imponerende. Bedst udarbejdet er disse følgetekster i katalogets C-del, hvor Scheibes egne tekster er samlet. Flere af teksterne er i sig selv små afhandlinger, som på forbilledlig vis indsætter det pågældende værk i historiske, musikteoretiske og personrelaterede kontekster. Blandt de mange læseværdige tekster kan fx peges på Hauges introduktion til Scheibes måske bedst kendte teoretiske værk, *Der Critische Musicus* fra 1737-1740 (SchW C1:008), men også Scheibes oversættelser af fx Erik Pontoppidans *dänischer Atlas, oder Beschreibung des Königreichs Dännemark* [sic] og sammes *Versuch einer natürlichen Historie von Norwegen* (SchW C4:003-004), samt ikke mindst oversættelsen af *Peter Paars, ein comisches Heldengedicht* (SchW C4:011) får interessante ord med på vejen.

Fra overordnet struktur, nummerering og opbygning af værk-posterne – altså de mere tekniske sider af sagen – til nogle kommentarer til de mere tour de faible-agtige sider af værkfortegnelsen. De mange positive elementer til trods sidder anmelderen tilbage med en bekymrende uklarhed om væsentlige præmisser for indholdet af Scheibe-kataloget. Ud over de overordentlig vanskelige kilde-forhold, så medfører selve udformningen af kataloget desværre, at overblik over og indblik i andre relevante kilde-forhold ikke etableres, heller ikke selv om sådanne suppleringer kan synes som relativt overkommelige arbejdsopgaver.

I forlængelse af Kolding Niensens allerede anførte kommentarer til den vanskelige kildesituation, anfører Hauge, at “a catalogue presenting the works that have survived in today’s archives and libraries worldwide would only reveal a meagre result. ... focusing merely on the surviving musical material presents a somewhat distorted picture” (s. xi), og det står klart, at kataloget registrerer både Scheibe-værker, som er overleveret – helt eller delvist – og værker, som med en vis sikkerhed kan dokumenteres at have eksisteret. Altså: et katalog over Scheibes værker. Men helt konkret nævnes det faktisk ikke nogetsteds. Og selv om dette forhold er ret indlysende, så mangler der helt klare meldinger om, hvilke materialer, som inkluderes eller som ikke inkluderes, samt under alle omstændigheder hvor de(n) øvre tidsmæssige grænse(r) er sat og for hvilke materialer.

Indledningens eneste helt klare – og ovenfor citerede – demarkationslinje omfatter kun “the literature ... the Bibliography” og tilsyneladende altså ikke de musikalske og tekstlige kilder. Så en række spørgsmål melder sig hurtigt. Gælder samme kronologiske begrænsning, altså 1700-tallet, alle kilder? Og hvis den gør, hvorfor er grænsen så sat der? Hvis ikke, er grænsen så flydende, eller er den afgrænset af komponistens levetid som ved HartW og CNW? Hvor mange værker er kun overleveret i manuskript, og deraffølgende – men mindst lige så vigtigt – hvor mange blev trykt, enten i Scheibes

egen levetid eller senere? Findes der værker i tryk (evt. posthumt), hvortil der ikke findes manuskript-materiale? Det er sandsynligt, at der ikke kan gives entydige svar på disse spørgsmål, men meget kunne være skitseret i oversigts-/bilagsform, og som det mindste burde disse helt elementære – og for en videnskabelig udgave ufravigelige – forhold være blevet adresseret og klarlagt.

I den forbindelse kan peges på i hvert fald to problematiske forhold. For det første er det svært forståeligt, at kataloget ikke bringer oplysninger om ‘nutidige’ – i betydningen umiddelbart tilgængelige – trykte udgaver af Scheibes værker, og for det andet er det utilfredsstillende, at der ikke gives et overblik over, hvor mange af Scheibes værker, der – ifølge kataloget selv – er/ikke er overleveret.

Det sidste først. Det er i den grad imponerende, hvad Peter Hauge har fået indsamlet af information om stort set alle de registrerede værker, og netop i kraft heraf ville det have været en smal sag at lave en oversigt over fx de mange værker som betegnes ‘presumably lost’ og/eller de værker, som er overleveret (nogenlunde) i deres helhed. Selv om – eller måske netop fordi – Hauge anfører, at et katalog over de overleverede værker ville blive en tynd kop te, ville oversigter og dermed overblik over forskellige kategorier være værdifulde. Ifølge anmelderens optælling udgør fx Scheibes kirkekantater halvdelen af, hvad der er registreret som “Cantatas and oratorios” (lejlighedskantaterne udgør knap den anden halvdel), dvs. kategorien SchW B2. Her kan det vel umiddelbart være af interesse, at af de oplyste 57 kantater er kun en lille håndfuld (SchW B2:019, 045, 204 og 205) overleveret med mere eller mindre udførlig/komplet musik – resten er ‘presumably lost’.

Hvad angår trykte udgaver af Scheibes værker, kan det konstateres, at visse tryk daterer sig til (umiddelbart) efter Scheibes død (fx SchW B2:414-415 og SchW C4:013), men det er anmelderens indtryk, at hverken trykte noder fra 1800- eller fra 1900-tallet – herunder mere nutidige – indbefattes. I et sådant arbejde skal linjerne jo trækkes et sted, men hvis en sådan fortegnelse skal kunne andet end tilfredsstillende forventningerne hos ligesindende forskere og eksperter – men det skal den måske ikke? – så burde brugervenlig information være indbefattet, ikke nødvendigvis systematisk i højde, bredde og dybde, men hvor det trods alt ville være relativt nemt at indføje.

Som et eksempel kan tjene Scheibes ‘Adagio’ (SchW A4:001) samt ‘Sonate mit 2 Claviere und Pedal’, hhv. I og II (SchW A4:002-003), som er udgivet af Sven-Ingvart Mikkelsen i 2016 (“Johann Adolph Scheibe. Three trio sonatas for organ”. Med forord og revisionsberetning på dansk og engelsk. Med biografi (Esbjerg: Mixtur, 2016)).

Online-versionen af fortegnelsen dokumenterer sine særlige muligheder, når fx *Passions-Cantata som i Fasten opføres af det musikalske Selskab (Vor Harpe er bleven til Sorig)* (SchW B2:306) inddrages. Kantaten er et af eksemplerne på henvisning til mere nutidig litteratur i bibliografien, den er også et eksempel på, at online-versionen “provides links to the available digitised sources” (s. xviii), og den er endnu et eksempel på, at det kan være svært at få en trykt udgave og en online-udgave til at ‘spille sammen’ på en for

brugeren overskuelig måde. Node- såvel som tekstmæssigt er de to udgaver af SchW B2:306-posten identiske (og ud fra stikprøver at dømme gør dette forhold sig gældende ved langt de fleste værker). I bibliografien henvises til en norsk publikation fra 1949 samt til en umiddelbart ubestemmelig kilde: “Johann Adolph Scheibe: *Passions-Cantata ‘Vor Harpe er bleven til Sorrig’*. Copenhagen 2012”. Online-versionen indeholder her et link, som leder til en online-udgivelse af kantaten fra 2012, nemlig Peter Hauges egen kildekritiske udgave (Dansk Center for Musikudgivelse, 11), som – skal det understreges – er på samme meget høje editionstekniske niveau som bind fra CNU og Hartmann-udgaven. Intetsteds i den trykte udgave af kataloget er det muligt at finde information om, hvad der rent faktisk henvises til med “Johann ... 2012”, og det er selvfølgelig en svipser, at Hauge som udgiver er udeladt. Men det er trods alt et eksempel på, at en nutidig udgivelse faktisk er oplyst i bibliografien. Hvilket den selvfølgelig bør være. I online-udgaven er der desuden links til to flotte facsimile-udgaver, hhv. af det autografe partitur (Gieddes samling XI, 24) og af en transskription af samme (C II, 196), begge på Det Kgl. Bibliotek.

Hvad angår kilderne til Scheibes *Über die musikalische Composition* fra 1773 (SchW C1:011), så oplystes Scheibes personlige eksemplar, som opbevares på Det Kgl. Bibliotek, samt et eksemplar i München (D-Mbs Mus. Th. 1384-1, 40). I online-udgaven er der et link til en flot facsimile-udgave af sidstnævnte. Hvad der dog falder i øjnene er, at i hverken den trykte udgave eller online-udgaven findes der henvisning til den trykte facsimile-udgave af første del af Scheibes teoretiske værk, udgivet af Karsten Mackensen (og Dieter Haberl) i 2006 (Documenta musicologica. Erste Reihe. Druckschriften-Faksimiles; 42; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006).

Kigges der tilbage til Kolding Niensens forord, hvor det understreges, at kataloget “[H]opefully ... will also lead to the publication of more scholarly editions of Scheibe’s music” (s. vii), så burde fortegnelsen vel i det mindste have medtaget, hvad der faktisk eksisterer af udgivelser af Scheibes musik, også selv om de ikke nødvendigvis er decideret “scholarly”.

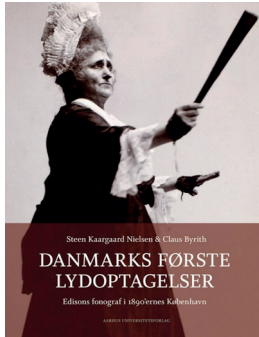
Yderligere elaborering på de tre kataloger skal her ikke foretages. Undervejs med udarbejdelsen af denne tekst har der dog indsneget sig en tanke, måske endog en mistanke angående det forhold, at katalogerne er udarbejdet på basis af inddatering af umådelige mængder information i et databasesystem, i disse tilfælde altså MerMEId. Sådanne systemer er uundværlige, ikke fordi det ikke kan lade sig gøre at udarbejde pålidelige tematisk-bibliografiske værkkataloger, endog i stor målestok, ‘i hånden’ – man kan blot rette blikket bagud til før computeren holdt sit databehandlingsmæssige indtog – men i hvert fald, hvis datamængden skal gøres tilgængelig på internettet. Enhver, som har arbejdet med inddatering i og udtræk fra databaser, ved, at en afgørende del af arbejdet med (efter-)behandling af data ligger i ‘oprensning’, standardisering, niveau-etablering, og – som noget af det vigtigste – sletning af ofte store mængder af identiske datablokke,

som næsten uvægerligt opstår i sådanne processer. Resultatet af en sådan edition af data bliver umiddelbart lettest synligt – mest ubarmhjertigt – når det udkrystalliserer sig i bogform. Og med de mange påpegede tilfælde af redundans og informations-repetition, så melder (mis-)tanken sig, om ikke en mere velovervejet og kontant anvendelse af et lugejern ville have tjent i hvert fald HartW og SchW?

Uagtet disse vel nok overvejende kritiske bemærkninger, så fremstår hvert af katalogerne over hhv. Carl Niensens, J.P.E. Hartmanns og Johann Adolph Scheibes værker som monumenter i dansk musikvidenskab. Og DCM, udgiverne – og bevillingsgiverne – fortjener stor ros, og stor tak. Måske er det sidste gang, at disse dinosaur-lignende trykte publikationer bliver trukket af stald. Anmelderen håber det ikke, men stort set alle solemærker peger i den retning. Og hvordan forholder det sig egentlig med det sidste medlem af dansk kompositionsmusiks evindelige, hæderkronede triumvirat, Niels W. Gade? En Gesamtausgabe på linje med Carl Niensens har i mange år været under udarbejdelse, og er nået langt. Hvordan med den tematisk-bibliografiske værkfortegnelse, som vil kunne fuldstændiggøre de her behandlede udgivelser. Kommer den?

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Steen Kaargaard Nielsen and Claus Byrith
Danmarks første lydoptagelser. Edisons fonograf i 1890'ernes København

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The research on the technological and the ‘cultural origins of sound reproduction’ (the subtitle of Jonathan Sterne’s crucial book on *The Audible Past* from 2003) and sound recording has gone quite a way since its beginning. In history, and especially in the history of technology, selected studies focused for quite some time on the industry and the inventions of the political dimensions of these machines. However, only since the beginning of this century may one observe a more complex research approach to these inventions, their advertisement, and their undoubtedly remarkable, global and lasting success. Often, this global perspective leads to a myopia that tends to focus on the developments, the struggles, and histories in the USA, in Germany or the UK, sometimes France. The manifold histories and examples on how sound reproduction technology was being appropriated and *domesticized* in the different national research cultures and their economies (and especially their historical and local listening and sound cultures) often are ignored.

The present book, *Danmarks første lydoptagelser* by Steen Kaargaard Nielsen and Claus Byrith, intends to change this and to broaden the perspective. Both authors document, discuss and analyse how Edison’s phonograph entered the cultural sphere of musical performers, singers, actors or just listeners in Denmark of the 1890s. They therefore make use of the Royal Library’s collection of phonograph cylinders bearing the name of consul general Gottfried Ruben. As early as 1889, he invited twenty Danish journalists to his home so as to experience and to learn about Thomas Alva Edison’s new invention and product, the famous *phonograph*. Thus as often in the history of new listening and recording machines, it was a unique marketing event and a kind of launch show that stood at the beginning of the phonograph’s introduction to Denmark. It was an exceptional event which was integral for realizing the business interests of many people involved and present – but of course massively framed by the excitement, the curiosity and also the severe doubts which they had concerning the new technology. The chance to lay one’s hands on such a new technology was as crucial to these historical events as they are today with thousands of developers or producers gathering in conference halls

to witness the presentation of a new generation of smartphones or operating systems. In terms of both the phonograph and the smartphone, the main goal was and is to create the need and interest in a population of buyers and to sell on the spot as many units as possible of this new commodity.

The present book therefore starts out with a description and analysis of this event; then it continues to the historical and technical matters before unfolding the details of the famous Ruben-collection of recordings on cylinders housed in the Royal Library. The book explains the precise functioning of Edison's phonograph as well as some earlier versions of it. It delves especially into the details of the research and development carried out in order to present all the elements that need to work together in order to provide a recording as well as a playback mechanism: the production of the cylinders, the specific motor and its supply with electricity, the speed regulator. Finally, the role of the historical cylinders is discussed in respect to Danish cultural and music history. In addition, the latest efforts of restoration, documentation and digitization of the historical cylinders are documented and discussed. In the truest sense of the word, the book provides its readers with the full cultural, musical and technological history of the early cylinder recordings in Denmark.

However, the largest part of the book, *c.* 150 pages, presents and documents, all in all, 67 audio files from the Ruben-collection which are included on two CDs: recordings from the Royal Theatre and private as well as vaudeville theatres, from concert performances, literature recitations and private recordings. It is the detailed accounts of the recording situations (incl. artists, performers, ensembles or speakers involved, date or year of the recording, photographs, posters or drawings of performers and sometimes venue, use of technology or obstacles and reactions of performers in this specific recording situation) that represent probably the most valid treasure of this publication. When listening to these early recordings of performances, one obviously gets a twofold insight into the historical listening and sound culture: 1) one may experience the distinct styles of performing in the theatre or at a vaudeville theatre at the time; and 2) one may experience the limits of noise reduction and signal transduction that was technologically possible at the time. On the two CDs, the state of entertainment styles and recording habits of the 1890s is not only stored but also made accessible and researchable.

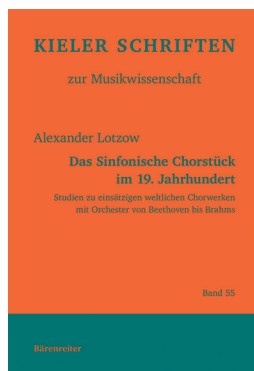
Some of the most intriguing recordings on the CDs are, however, two very special audio files. They were recorded at private gatherings including Czar Alexander III and his wife, Princess Dagmar of Denmark (either in Fredensborg or later in Petersburg), and the family of the then famous comedy actor of the Royal Theatre Olaf Poulsen who was visiting the Ruben family. Today such encounters qualify as common everyday recordings with a more fun if not annoying character; however, at this historical point such recordings were major representations of national achievements and reasons for pride of technological advances in the 20th century. The recordings are obviously a strange and alien encounter for the protagonists in both of these documents. In the early

1890s, when both recordings were made, they indeed represented an encounter with a ‘sufficiently advanced technology’ that factually was perceived as being ‘indistinguishable from magic’ as science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke noted seventy years later in his essay *Hazards of Prophecy*. This magic had, however, still an unfortunate noise to signal-ratio; but in the recordings one may sense the playful and joyful experience those singers and actors associated with this strange new apparatus. Through all the cyclical hiss and noise that materializes the largely continuous rotating of the cylinders sonically – through all this unintentional dirt and glitches of the machine and through all the tense vocal and instrumental performances right into the phonograph’s recording orifice – one can auscultate the culture of speaking and performing onstage for a recording machine 120 years ago. Yet, one recording still ends with an innocent pun from the side of comedian Olaf Poulsen directed towards his host, the consul general Ruben: ‘Endnu en gang hjertelig tak for i dag, hr. generalkonsul Ruben. Vi glemmer aldrig dette lille martinique eller, hvad jeg ville sige, “matinee”.’ (p. 257).

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Alexander Lotzow

Das Sinfonische Chorstück im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien zur einsätzigen weltlichen Chorwerken mit Orchester von Beethoven bis Brahms.

Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, 55

Bärenreiter: Kassel 2017

484 pp., illus., tables and music exx.

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The present book is a slightly revised version of Lotzow's dissertation which was accepted by the Philosophical Faculty of Christian-Albrechts-University, Kiel, in 2014. It investigates the important role of music for choir and orchestra in the 19th century with focus on the smaller dimensioned genre, the symphonic 'Chorstück'. The importance of music employing the combined resources of choir and orchestra in terms of text and music was immense in the 19th century. The 'Sinfonische Chorstück' is part of this pattern in musical life.

The book's central question is what happens aesthetically when symphonic composing with its distinct musical implications meets the poetry of Goethe, Hebbel, Geibel, or Hölderlin – however, in a smaller, more concentrated format as in selected symphonic pieces with choir by Beethoven, Hiller, Schumann, Gade, and Brahms. A broad spectrum of relations between musical composition and poetic text becomes visible: from the sonic clothing of a text over the partial transformation of poetic specifications to multi-layered installations in which music staged itself as a libellous instance.¹

The object of study is secular music ranging from symphonic pieces with choir by Beethoven to Brahms. Regarding historiography and methodology, the book takes as its point of departure the concept of *Strukturgeschichte* and genre-oriented reflection. It is well known that this musical genre was of immense importance in the 19th century. Therefore, an in-depth study of musical works that are both representative and individually characteristic as in the present volume is welcome. In a Danish musicological context, the study is of special interest as it includes a chapter on Niels W. Gade's

1 Cf. the original German formulation: 'Zentrale Frage ist, was ästhetisch entsteht, wenn das sinfonische, auf spezifisch musikalischen Sinn abzielende Komponieren von Beethoven, Hiller, Schumann, Gade und Brahms im konzentrierten Format auf die eigenwertige Dichtung Goethes, Hebbels, Geibels oder Hölderlins trifft. Sichtbar wird ein breites Spektrum: vom klanglichen Einkleiden eines Textes über die partielle Umformung dichterischer Vorgaben bis zu mehrschichtigen Anlagen, in denen Musik sich selbst als vortragende Instanz inszeniert.'

Frühlings-Botschaft, op. 35 (1858), promoting fruitful musicological reflections on and insight into aspects of the national versus international character of Gade's music.²

The volume may generally be characterized as anchored broadly and profoundly in the German musicological tradition. It deals with historiographic discussions including exhaustive musical analyses and discusses aspects of the history of genres employing 'Fallstudien' of a selection of works. The analyses of the scores are neither autonomous nor what is referred to as 'case studies' in social science, psychology or anthropology for instance, but rather studies of musical works including their implications. In addition to music analyses, the methodological approach also seeks to reconstruct the circumstances of the genesis of the works as far as they are known. Sources illuminating the reception of the works are reproduced and evaluated, and interpretational aspects are dealt with, too. An important social place ('Soziale Ort') for musical formation in the 19th century was the emergence of numerous choral associations.

The structure of the book is as follows: chapter 1: Einleitende Aspekte (Introductory Aspects), 15–30 (15 pp.); chapter 2: Soziale Orte der Musik für Chor und Orchester im 19. Jahrhundert (Social Places of Music for Choir and Orchestra in the 19th Century), 31–64 (33 pp.); chapter 3: Gattungsgeschichtliche Einordnung (Classification according to History of Genre), 65–111 (46 pp.); chapter 4: Fallstudien (Case Studies), 112–439 (327 pp.), comprises Beethoven's *Meeres Stille und Glückliche Fahrt* (1815), Hiller's *Gesang der Geister über den Wassern* (1847), Schumann's *Nachtlied* (1849), Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft* (1858), Brahms' *Schicksalslied* (1871), Hiller's *Es fürchte die Götter das Menschengeschlecht* (1881), and Brahms' *Gesang des Parzen* (1882); chapter 5: Zusammenfassungen und Ausblick (Recapitulation and Outlook), 426–39 (13 pp.), consists of 'Ergebnisse der Fallstudien, Anschlussperspektiven – Ein Repertoirepanorama' (Results of the Case Studies, Connected Perspectives – a Panorama of the Repertoire). This final section includes a comprehensive and exhaustive registration of sources, literature, editions of the music, and CD recordings. An index of names of persons and compositions adds to the book's qualities.

The repertoire of music for choir and orchestra achieved an aesthetic status (*Stellenwert*) of the highest order, and for a composer to be recognized in the public sphere with a musical work of this type may potentially lead to the highest esteem. Niels W. Gade is, among others, a case in point: He established himself in front of the audience primarily with his shorter 'Konzertstücke' such as *Comala* and *Elverskud*, the fame of which crossed the waters between Denmark and Germany. In general, the potential of the genre for exciting the public was an international phenomenon. The combination of choir and orchestra was seen as an aesthetic paradigm unfolded in several formats of musical works.

One important point in the book – not entirely new, of course, but stated with emphasis, thoroughness and stringency – is that the audience of the 'Konzertstück'-genre

2 Cf. Alexander Lotzow, 'Niels Wilhelm Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft* op. 35 and the Art of Musical Idyll', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 42 (2018), 3–23. Gade's Op. 35 is forthcoming in *Niels W. Gade Works / Werke* vol. IV:3–4, ed. Finn Egeland Hansen, autumn 2019.

was not only forced to attend and witness the music. It was also encouraged to manifest itself as active members of bourgeois choir-associations: Singing made this music accessible and valuable in a way that hitherto was unprecedented. In terms of social history, the individual works of music for choir and orchestra therefore become an abundant source of information for understanding musical culture of the 19th century.

Another essential aspect is that the genre in the 19th century did not lead to an intensive historiographical study of it. This is contrary to what one might have expected considering the genre's high aesthetic rank and its huge social significance. Furthermore, in the second half of the 20th century the attention to and awareness of the genre was strikingly small, thus causing a musicological lacuna that only recently has been filled in as musicology began to show a greater interest in the social history of music.

According to the author, the reason was historical: It was the above-mentioned bourgeois choir-associations that came under pressure and retreated. The older repertoire was not present anymore and the need for renewal of it faded. It disappeared into the archives without a practical presence in musical life and hence no possibility of a revival. The sacred repertoire did significantly better as far as presence was concerned.

Lotzow states that there are many works of varying levels of quality. He also argues that, as far as this music is concerned, a situation of music-historiographical 'no man's land' prevailed. Thus, it is fair to say that this particular field is underexposed, and that more recent research has been reluctant in thematizing the question of genre: Studies of music for choir and orchestra avoid the question of differentiation of genre rather than making use of it in a productive way. Either, they deal entirely with individual works (such as with the field of choir/orchestra music of an individual composer), or with different formats of music for choir and orchestra viewing it in a broader discourse framework derived from the history of ideas.

Investigations that thematize diachronic and non-individual similarities in specified subareas of music for choir/orchestra may hardly be found. The field is heterogeneous. On the one hand, the author finds it dissatisfying to write catalogue-like surveys and, on the other, to write mere presentations of works directed towards the performance of the music. His basic concern as author is to develop 'Trennschärfe der Darstellung' as it is formulated (p. 23). The neologism in the title of the book, 'Symfonisches Korstück', represents the effort to examine this music in a more differentiated way than what previously has been achieved. Thus, the common aspects of the repertoire may be developed, and different pieces may be analysed in detail solving both collective and individual compositional and aesthetic problems so as to make them accessible for further discussion. The book achieves this successfully.

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Jens Westergaard Madsen
Klaverworkshop & Modelkomposition
 Copenhagen: Books on Demand, 2018
 184 pp., music exx.
 ISBN 978-87-430-0007-5
 DKK 199.95

Jens Westergaard Madsens *Klaverworkshop & Modelkomposition* er en art fortsættelse af hans *Kreativt Klaverstudium*, der udkom på Museum Tusulanum i 2006, men den kan – ifølge forfatteren (s. 7) – læses helt uafhængig heraf, hvilket er præmissen for nærværende anmeldelse.

Bogens essens, som, man forstår, har været et pædagogisk projekt for Westergaard Madsen igennem en længere årrække, er en integrering af fem velkendte discipliner fra brugsklaver-, teori- og kompositionsundervisning: Reduktion (som dog er omdøbt til 'analyse/satsbearbejdelse'), transponering, sekvensering, materialeafledning og modelkomposition. Sidstnævnte har en eksponeret særstatus, der allerede fremgår af bogens titel, og som eksempelvis tydeliggøres derved, at de afsnit, der vedrører modelkomposition, er sat med fed i indholdsfortegnelsen. Desuden hedder det f.eks. på s. 9, at titlens to elementer er "tænkt og gennemarbejdet som en helhed med modelkomposition som den naturlige kulmination".

Bogen udgøres efter et forord og en kortfattet (og noget nødtørftig) introduktion til metoden af fire lange kapitler, hvor kortere passager fra fire én-satsede Johannes Brahms-klaverstykker (op. 76/4 i B \flat -dur, op. 117/2 i B \flat -mol, op. 118/1 i a-mol og op. 119/2 i e-mol) bearbejdes ud fra de fem ovennævnte metoder. Derefter diskuteres og perspektiveres den samlede metode på forskellig vis over de resterende ca. 20 sider.

En væsentlig præmis for udgivelsen er, at det ekspliciteres, at der ikke er tale om en tekst med tilhørende nodeeksempler, men derimod en nodeeksempelsamling med tilhørende tekst. Noderne er primære, teksten sekundær. Helt konkret anbefales det, at "man spiller eksemplerne, før man læser de tilknyttede kommentarer." (s. 9). Nok så interessant begrundes det således: "I mange tilfælde kan man nemlig selv regne pointerne ud, og i det mindste vil det gøre kommentarerne lettere at forstå". At det vil gøre teksten lettere at forstå, er en nøgtern konstatering, men forestillingen om, at 'pointerne' på den måde skulle give sig selv, er langt fra nogen selvfølge.

Et af de første spørgsmål, der melder sig, er, om der grundlæggende set er noget vundet ved at kombinere de fem pågældende discipliner? Det er der! I hvert fald et stykke hen ad vejen.

I hvert af de fire hovedafsnit reduceres til en begyndelse de korte, udvalgte passager af fire-syv omgange ind til deres harmoniske og til dels melodiske kerne, og et af de pædagogiske tricks er naturligvis, at man spiller de kraftigst reducerede først for derefter at bevæge sig tilbage mod den 'rigtige' musik. Derefter benyttes disse reduktioner til transponering (dvs. at de spilles nodetro i forskellige tonearter) for i næste afsnit at danne udgangspunkt for sekvenseringerne (dvs. de spilles let bearbejdet på forskellige trin inden for den samme toneart). Det har sine indlysende fordele, at det er de samme satsuddrag, der bruges i de tre discipliner, og man bliver selvsagt fortrolig med de korte passager, der er tale om, i processen. Også for metodens to næste led – materialeafledning, hvis primære berettigelse synes at være forarbejde til sidste led, modelkompositionerne – er det en åbenlys fordel, at man er blevet fortrolig med materialet gennem de foregående øvelser.

Bogen bærer i udtalt grad præg af en praktisk tilgang til musikken, hvilket allerede fremgår af prioriteringen af noder fremfor tekst, samt eksempelvis af ovennævnte citat; ("man kan ... selv regne pointerne ud ...") – 'når man spiller', forstås. Det illustreres yderligere, når det f.eks. hedder, at "klaveret sikrer det kropslige og auditive engagement i processen, idet vores hænder kan mærke og vores ører kan høre konsekvenserne af hver eneste analytisk tanke og hver eneste variation af disse tanker" (s. 170), og det komprimeres i det videre ned til, at "forståelse er ikke kun tanke og tale men også krop og sans". På samme side skriver Westergaard Madsen, at det han "har imod analyse som isoleret uddannelsesdisciplin" er, at den "savner den kropslighed og musikalske ageren, som forvandler analysearbejdet til indsigt". Vi må forstå, at musikanalytisk indsigt er forbeholdt dem, der spiller musikken.

Det er således ikke overraskende, at det netop er på det praktiske niveau, at bogen har sine mest indlysende styrker. For den kompetente pianist med spilleteknisk overskud, god nodelæsningsrutine og teoretisk overblik er der masser at hente, og en systematisk gennemspilning (ikke 'gennemlæsning') af bogen vil uden tvivl give stort udbytte.

Når dét alligevel ikke rigtig er nok, er det ikke mindst fordi, Westergaard Madsen mange steder selv sætter ord på en ambition, der rækker videre end det. Kapitel VI med titlen 'En væsensbestemmelse og vurdering af arbejdsmetoden og dens redskaber' indledes med – med henvisning til forordet – at eksplicite, at "metodens hensigt er at stimulere og udvikle den musikalske tænkning og satsforståelse" (s. 157). Bogens mest indlysende kvalitet synes at være som avanceret øvebog i brugsklaver, men ligeså indlysende er det, at øvelserne giver harmonisk overblik, og at man bliver fortrolig med de udvalgte passager. Om dét så er helt det samme som 'udvikling af musikalsk tænkning og satsforståelse', kan diskuteres. Så meget desto mere, når det allerede på s. 8 præciseres, at "den tænkning og forståelse, der tales om, retter sig mod den allerede komponerede

musik ...”. Det store spørgsmål er, i hvor høj grad metoden/bogen giver os en dybere forståelse af den komponerede musik?

Hvad angår reduktion, bliver vi naturligvis klogere på de givne passager, såvel som på dur/mol-tonale akkordprogressioner i almindelighed. “Satsbearbejdelse [dvs. reduktion] former sig for det meste som forenklinger af satsen med henblik på at tydeliggøre noget bestemt i satsen. Noget smides væk, for at andet kan stå tydeligere, klarere, lettere forståeligt”, som det så rigtigt formuleres (s. 10). Hvad transponering og sekvensering angår, er det en velkendt erfaring, at det er effektive redskaber til at oparbejde harmonisk overblik, og, så at sige, lære tonearterne at kende. Om det for alvor udvikler vores ‘satsforståelse’, er mere tvivlsomt. Med materialeafledning og især modelkomposition bevæger vi os en hel del længere væk fra den af Brahms komponerede musik, og spørgsmålet om hvorvidt vi bliver klogere på netop den musik, bliver desto mere presserende; svaret så meget desto mere tvivlende.

Modelkomposition er en disciplin, der er udviklet med henblik på at opøve færdigheder i satsarbejde og videre med egentlig komposition for øje. Får man til opgave at udforme en sats med udgangspunkt i melodisk materiale fra f.eks. en Brahms-sats tilpasset et harmonisk forløb fra, lad os sige, en Schumann-sats, vil man naturligvis i denne proces gøre sig givtige erfaringer med de to typer materiale, og dermed selv sagt også blive lidt klogere på hhv. Brahms’ og Schumanns musik. Spørgsmålet er, om ‘resultatet’ af denne proces – opgavebesvarelsen, om man vil – er et særligt hensigtsmæssigt og konstruktivt udgangspunkt for en anden persons (i nærværende tilfælde: læserens/spillerens’) fordybelse i eller udforskning af den givne musik?

I *Klaverworkshop & Modelkomposition* kan vi som læsere observere processen, men det er stadig noget grundlæggende andet end selv at arbejde med modelkompositionerne. Når Westergaard Madsen blander satsmateriale fra Brahms, Mendelssohn og Beethoven, som han gør i kapitlet om op. 117/2, eller Brahms og Chopin i kapitlet om op. 119/2, er der ingen tvivl om, at han har fået et indgående kendskab til materialet, men som læser er det ikke nødvendigvis tilfældet. Og hvis man tænker sig en læser, der ikke i forvejen er fortrolig med – i dette tilfælde – tonesproget i Brahms’ en-satsede klaverstykker, er problemet ikke alene sammenblandingen af materiale fra to-tre forskellige værker såvel som sammenblanding af to-tre forskellige (i øvrigt ikke-samtidige) komponisters stiltræk; problemet er lige så meget, at vedkommende risikerer at blive klogere på Westergaard Madsens satstekniske kendetegn snarere end på Brahms’ ditto; og i værste fald risikerer man at forveksle førstnævnte med sidstnævnte.

I den forstand bliver den særlige vægt, der er lagt på netop modelkomposition (og som ifølge forfatteren har fået en bevidst opprioritering i forhold til hans forrige bog) en af udgivelsens svagheder. En grundigere, mere præcis og gennearbejdet tekst kunne i nogen grad have opvejet problemet, men den tekstlige formidling er tydeligt (og tilsyneladende bevidst) nedprioriteret til fordel for nodeformidlingen (jf. ovenfor). Desuden synes bogen at have det grundlæggende problem, at Westergaard Madsen har

tre forskellige ærinder og vil forsøge at skrive tre bøger i én: Dels en avanceret brugsklaverøvebog, dels en indføring i Brahms' musik og dels en lærebog i modelkomposition.

En anden konkret svaghed i forhold til ambitionen om at udvikle en dybere forståelse af den komponerede musik er, at de udvalgte passager kun i ret beskeden grad sættes ind i satsernes overordnede struktur. Desuden er det svært ikke at spekulere over, hvilke kriterier de er valgt ud fra? Westergaard Madsen pointerer bl.a. på s. 9, at der er tale om centralt materiale. Hvad der forstås som 'centralt' i en sats, kan naturligvis i nogen grad diskuteres, men i udvalget fra f.eks. op. 117/2 kan det undre, at t. 3-4 vurderes som mere centrale end t. 1-2, og satsens måske mest bemærkelsesværdige takter, t. 8-9 (og parallelt hertil t. 21-22 og 59-60), er heller ikke valgt til. Tilsvarende kan man i udvalget fra op. 119/2 undre sig over, at t. 60-64 vurderes som centrale, når samtidig slet ingen passager fra satsens A-del er medtaget. Derfor er det svært at slippe den tanke, at de primært er udvalgt med henblik på deres anvendelighed i forhold til modelkompositionerne; og det er vel også usandsynligt, at de passager, der står centralt i Brahms' satser, samtidig skulle være dem, der egner sig bedst hertil?

Bogens disposition kalder tillige på et par kritiske bemærkninger. Indledningsvist har forfatteren (under overskriften 'Hensigten med bogen') nogle temmeligt uklare og ikke særligt overbevisende begrundelser for *ikke* at præsentere sin hensigt med bogen. Selvom han så forbeholdent gør det alligevel, er man som læser dårligt klædt på efter både forordet og første kapitels introduktion (der, som det hedder, "næsten udelukkende [drejer sig om] *hvordan*, mens spørgsmålet *hvorfor* først besvares i kapitel VI og VII" (s. 8)). Læser man bogen kontinuerligt forfra, melder der sig flere steder grundlæggende spørgsmål, fordi man elementært set ikke er informeret om formålet. Det er Westergaard Madsen opmærksom på, og han oplyser om, at "bogen kan og bør læses partielt. Mindste sammenhængende og meningsgivende uddrag udgøres af Forord + Kapitel I + Kapitel VI – studeret sammenhængende og i nævnte rækkefølge. *Disse 24 sider ... bør studeres først.*" (s. 9). At en forfatter indledningsvist anbefaler eventuelle alternative læsninger, er kendt praksis; alligevel er det nu engang at foretrække, at en bog er disponeret, så den meningsfuldt kan læses fortløbende. Desuden: Hvis den partieltlæsende læser for alvor læser partielt, er der risiko for, at vedkommende ikke læser denne ret afgørende anbefaling, og derfor ikke bliver opmærksom på vigtigheden af at læse kap. VI før kap. II-V. Dog skal det siges, at Westergaard Madsen flere steder henviser til kap. VI, men bogen havde stået skarpere, hvis de informationer, der er nødvendige for at forstå kap. II-V, blev præsenteret først, og hvis kap. VI og VII var forbeholdt de reelt set perspektiverende betragtninger.

Desværre er dette kun et af flere eksempler på, at teksten på forskellig vis – i stort og småt – ikke virker ordentligt gennemarbejdet. På s. 159 formuleres – som et lidt tilfældigt valgt eksempel – den indlysende relevante pointe, at det, vi kalder transponering, "ikke så meget [er] *transponering* af musikken *til* en anden toneart, som det er *rekonstruktion* af musikken *i* denne anden toneart." (Det er den slags formuleringer, man som

læser glæder sig over.) Allerede på næste side hedder det imidlertid, at “[s]ekvensering drejer sig – ligesom transponering – om at flytte musikalsk materiale et andet sted hen”. Og så ærgrer man sig over, at forfatteren ikke for alvor tager konsekvenserne af sine egne pointer. I forlængelse heraf: Når Westergaard Madsen opererer med to forskellige discipliner, der benævnes hhv. ‘transponering’ og ‘sekvensering’, virker det ikke gennemtænkt, at nogle af sidstnævnte – mod sædvane – betegnes ‘transponerende sekvenser’. (Og man kan vel bare skelne mellem de tonalt og de realt sekvenserende – ‘tonal’ = inden for tonearten og ‘real’ = uden tilpasning til tonearten – på samme måde som f.eks. fugaterminologien vedr. comes-besvarelser?)

Et tredje eksempel: På s. 10 omtales et-slaget i t. 7 af op. 118/2, hvor tonerne gis-h-fis-dis klinger sammen i en utvetydig E-durkontekst. Det præsenteres som en g#m⁷-akkord (hvilket er korrekt ud fra en becifringsbetragtning), og det karakteriseres som et ”usædvanlig akkordvalg”. Funktionelt set er det imidlertid tydeligt en tonika med – indrømmet: bemærkelsesværdige – forudholdsdissonanser (fis opløses ned til e på næste slag, og tilsvarende dis op til e). Det, Westergaard Madsen skriver, er for så vidt ikke forkert, men ved at omtale det som et ‘akkordvalg’, og ikke et forudholds-fænomen, får han ikke formidlet essensen af den pågældende klang. Eksemplet er rimeligvis i småtingsafdelingen, men den væsentlige analytiske opmærksomhed på distinktionen mellem musikkens horisontale og vertikale aspekter, som så oplagt kunne have været diskuteret her, savnes. Disse eksempler har naturligvis karakter af detaljer. Der er imidlertid mange af slagsen.

Terminologisk kan man savne stringens. Eksempelvis bruges tone- og tonesarts-benævnelserne *b*, *b^b* og *h* i flæng, således at ‘*b*’ nogle steder er identisk med *h* og andre identisk med *b^b*. Til illustration: I overskriften på s. 38 skrives “Intermezzo i *B-dur*” om en sats i tonearten med to *b*’er. På samme side sættes becifringen *B^b* under en tonika og på s. 40 noteres tertsen i *G* som *b*. På s. 161 bruges både *b*, *b^b* og *h* i én og samme opstilling. Det er gennemført inkonsekvent, og hvis der findes guder for terminologisk stringens, må man forvente, at de har nedkastet en god lille håndfuld velvalgte forbandelser.

Generelt er teksten holdt i en enkel og letforståelig sprogtone, som løbende garneres med dagligdags vendinger, der sine steder er lidt upræcise. Når der eksempelvis på s. 10 står om en tenorstemme, at den giver “et meget knoldet lydbillede”, er man ikke nødvendigvis sikker på, at forfatter og læser tænker det samme, og når vi på s. 58 får at vide, at en frase “går grassat tonalt set”, savner man præcisering. (Og kan man i øvrigt ikke forvente af en bog på op imod 200 sider, der prætenderer at gå i dybden med kun fire Brahms-satser, at der sættes (i det mindste nogle få) ord på, hvad det indebærer, når harmonikken “går grassat”?)

Endnu et eksempel er formuleringen “duragtig” hhv. “molagtig”, der bruges løbende gennem bogen (mange steder f.eks. s. 68, 74 og 76). Om man bryder sig om sprogbrugen med tilføjelsen ‘-agtigt’, er mindre relevant, men hvorfor ikke – præcist og nøgternt – skrive ‘dur’, når det er dur og ‘mol’, når det er mol? Er der tale om en konkret dur/mol-svæven, er det en stilistisk observation, som det er relevant at sætte ord på.

Bogens praksisdel har mange åbenlyse kvaliteter; den teoretisk-analytiske tilsvarende svagheder. Et af flere bagvedliggende problemer er sandsynligvis det analysebegreb, der er i spil, og som er problematisk allerede af den grund, at det fremstår påfaldende uafklaret. Faktisk er det svært at læse sig frem til, hvad Westergaard Madsen forstår ved analyse. Fra starten er det bemærkelsesværdigt, at det, der almindeligvis kaldes 'reduktion', er omdøbt til 'analyse/satsbearbejdelse'. (Begrundelsen er, at der mentalt set ikke er tale om reduktion, men konstruktion, og at man kun kan "lave en meningsfuld satsbearbejdelse ud fra en meningsfuld analytisk læsning af satsen" (s. 157)). På s. 12 erfarer vi i et afsnit om transponering, at Westergaard Madsen betragter "hver eneste satsbearbejdelse, der bliver bragt igennem hele bogen" som "en selvstændig analytisk handling". Det er således en meget bred analyseforståelse, der benyttes, hvilket også fremgår af s. 160, hvor det i forbindelse med transponering hedder, at "hver ny toneart fordrer en fornyet analytisk gennemtænkning af satsen." (Man kunne vel nemt argumentere for, at analysen må være præcis den samme uanset toneart?) Samtidig forholder han sig flere steder kritisk til det at analysere. I kapitel VI er der nogle interessante og relevante tanker om blandt andet analysens almengørende aspekter på s. 158, men på den foregående side også en kliche om, at man altid har "skyklapper på", når man analyserer, og den formulering, at vigtige ting "forsvinder ud af synsfeltet", når vi analyserer, blandt andet fordi "vi ikke [vil] forstyrres af dem". Dertil det besynderlige billede, at "analyse [er] som at kigge på en myretue gennem en lup. Der er nogle myrer, der bliver meget tydelige, men myreturen som helhed kan vi ikke se." (s. 157-58.) Til det må man indvende, at musikanalyse jo netop går ud på at undersøge, hvordan enkeltdele udgør helheder. Westergaard Madsen skriver helt korrekt, at "[a]nalyse' betyder at 'skille ad' og 'synthese' er den modsatrettede samlende bestræbelse" (s. 158), men hvad musikalsk analyse angår, er der en lang tradition for, at de to ting reelt er to sider af samme sag. I praksis kan de vel næppe – og bør i hvert fald ikke – adskilles. Det pågældende afsnit vedrørende analyse rummer også deciderede selvmodsigelser: "Jeg vil tage munden fuld og sætte lighedstegn mellem satsbearbejdelse og analyse" (s. 157), men på næste side hedder det, at "satsbearbejdelse ikke er et alternativ til den traditionelle analyse, men en supplerende indfaldsvinkel." Hvis der kan sættes lighedstegn imellem de to fænomener, hvordan kan det ene så samtidig være en supplerende indfaldsvinkel til det andet?

Man kan videre få den tanke, at bogens analytiske svagheder ikke kun er betinget af forfatterens interesser og (ned)prioriteringer, men at de også bunder i forståelsen af, hvad analysen kan og skal. Analyse betragtes tilsyneladende som et redskab i praktikens tjeneste, hvis primære formål er at optimere musikudøvelsen.

I den forbindelse præsenteres på s. 167 ff. nogle tankevækkende kategoriseringer for, hvad der forstås ved 'musikforståelse'. Der er ifølge Westergaard Madsen fire elementer: 1) den ikke-fagligt funderede lytten, der er spontan og ureflekteret, 2) indsigten i og erfaringen med hvordan musikken spilles, 3) det musikalske produktionshåndværk (improvisation, arrangement og komposition) og 4) forståelsen af musikkens relation til

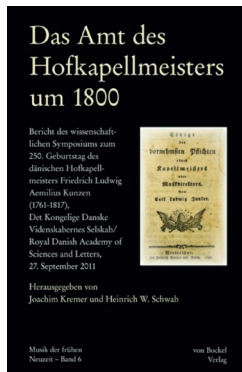
samfundet. Westergaard Madsens metode har som ambition at forene de to midterste og til dels den sidste, og man bemærker, at de to midterste relaterer sig til musikudøvelse, mens den sidste er sociologisk. Det interessante er ikke mindst noget, der er udeladt; nemlig den fagligt funderede, reflekterede og musikhistorisk perspektiverede forståelse af selve musikken. Det er påfaldende, at netop dét, analysen kan allerbedst – at give os denne type indsigt i musikken – ikke er indbefattet i Westergaard Madsens definition af musikforståelse. Musikanalysens essentielle formål er i al sin enkelthed at gøre os klogere på musikken. Dét er naturligvis absolut relevant i forbindelse med udøverens fortolkning af musikken, men da målet har en tendens til at influere på midlet, er denne formålsforskydning for analysen temmelig afgørende.

Afsluttende skal det endnu en gang understreges, at bogen har mange kvaliteter, hvad dens praktiske aspekter angår. Var projektet begrænset hertil ville den til fulde have indfriet sin mission. At Westergaard Madsen så alligevel har mere perspektivrige ambitioner er på alle måder prisværdigt. Der er i vore dages Danmark langt mellem musikfaglige udgivelser, der grundigt formidler dybtgående indsigt i den dur/mol-tonale musiks tidløst forunderlige verden. Med *Klaverworkshop & Modelkomposition* har vi faktisk en omfattende udgivelse, der byder ind i dette store felt. Tilmed en bog, der har som erklæret præmis at ville kombinere en række discipliner fra den praktiske musikudøvelse med teoretisk-analytiske tilgange til den musikalske forståelse. Havde bogen forløst dette potentiale, kunne den have forenet det fineste, konservatorierne og universitets musikstudier hver for sig historisk set har repræsenteret i udforskning af og fordybelse i den dur/mol-tonale musiks store kanon. I stedet står vi med en bog, der har prisværdige og velkomne overordnede ambitioner, såvel som fine kvaliteter, hvor den er mest vellykket (først og fremmest i den nodeformidlede praksisdel), men samtidig har væsentlige mangler, hvor den er mindst vellykket (først og fremmest i den tekstlige formidling af teoretisk og analytisk refleksion). Derfor er det desværre svært at anbefale den som andet end avanceret øvebog for teoriinteresserede pianister. De kan så til gengæld glæde sig over materiale til mange, mange timers lærerig fordybelse. Det skal man naturligvis ikke undervurdere.

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Joachim Kremer & Heinrich W. Schwab (eds.)
Das Amt des Hofkapellmeisters um 1800. Bericht des wissenschaftlichen Symposiums zum 250. Geburtstag des dänischen Hofkapellmeisters Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1761–1817), Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab/Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 27. September 2011
 Musik der frühen Neuzeit. Studien und Quellen zur Musikgeschichte des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts, 6
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The book is concerned with *The office of the master of the court chapel around 1800*. This important musical position, which has taken a prominent place in music historiography, is analysed broadly in a historical context. Seven articles contribute with individual views on the overall topic, which is described in the book's introduction: 'anhand ausgewählter Musikerkarrieren strukturbedingte Gemeinsamkeiten bzw. Unterschiede herauszuarbeiten und in ihrer vielseitigkeiten Verflechtungen kritisch zu diskutieren' (p. 8). The seven authors take on the task differently, partly in their emphasis on the subject's many facets, and partly because of for instance the geographical location of their individual cases. As a result, the topic is discussed from different perspectives, such as history of the institution of a court, local history and biography of individual figures.

The articles originate from a symposium held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen 2011 on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of F. L. Ae. Kunzen, a musician and composer born in Lübeck, who was master of the chapel at the royal court in Copenhagen from 1795 until his death in 1817. The anthology takes its point of departure from Kunzen's role as a 'Grenzgänger' ('border crosser') in order to view the position of the *Hofkapellmeister* in an international perspective. Despite the starting point from an individual figure as Kunzen, the editors of the book emphasize that 'so weisen die hier vorgelegten Studien doch auf ein über die Person hinausgehendes internationales Phänomen der Ausgestaltung und Transformation eines zentralen Musikeramtes hin' (p. 9). Based on Kunzen's biography, a main concern of the book is to describe on the one hand the conflict between leading the musical activities within an institutional framework of the elite and, on the other, being performing artist and composer.

As head of a private chapel belonging to the political and economic apex of society, the master of a court chapel was expected to possess musical talent as well as organizational and social skills. The position was sought after and only few musicians succeeded in achieving it. Among court musicians, the *Hofkapellmeister* was situated at the highest rank. In a regulation from Schwerin in 1704, however, the office-holder was assigned only the sixteenth rank together with the prince's valet (p. 169). The position therefore did not necessarily belong to the personal circles of the ruler. The institutional framework, for example at the Imperial Court in Vienna, allowed only limited personal contact between the *Hofkapellmeister* and the emperor (pp. 106–7).

The *Hofkapellmeister* was the artistic director of the music accompanying the court's ecclesiastical celebrations and its representative activities in public. In addition, private chamber music was used as entertainment in connection with the court's inner representation. The musical venues were indoors, outdoors, in the church, in the theatre, at dinner and dance. On an everyday basis, the master of the chapel was expected to organize the music, select (or compose) suitable compositions, rehearse and perform the works. The skills as a composer, however, were not necessarily decisive for whether or not one could fulfil the functions as a *Hofkapellmeister*. Administrative tasks, for instance recruiting and dismissing musicians, acquiring appropriate works, copying music and repairing instruments, belonged to everyday routines as well. These diverse obligations were not always easy to fulfil on equal terms, which is evident from several of the book's articles, for instance the one by Frank Ziegler (pp. 119–58), who compares the conditions of court music in Eutin and Dresden, where Franz Anton von Weber respectively his son Carl Maria von Weber were *Hofkapellmeister*. Several of the book's contributions are concerned with characterizing the social-economic conditions that affected the ability of the *Hofkapellmeister* to fulfil their obligations. Other contributions look at how and to what extent the *Hofkapellmeister* was able to comply with his own personal artistic ambitions.

The conditions of a position as *Hofkapellmeister* varied from court to court depending on societal circumstances, the ruler's tastes and priorities. This is clearly illustrated in Christoph Henzel's article on Johann Friedrich Reichardt as *Hofkapellmeister* in Berlin (pp. 91–104). Here, the profiling of the office changed significantly in the period 1776–1807 as a result of the change of rulers. During the rule of Friedrich II, opera performances were limited to the carnival period, and Reichardt could devote himself to his own plans most of the year. With the successor Friedrich Wilhelm II a cultural-political shift took place in 1786. A rebuilding of the opera *Unter den Linden* was initiated, an Italian second master of the chapel was hired, and Reichardt's role as *Hofkapellmeister* was now primarily as a composer. Friedrich Wilhelm III, on the other hand, reduced the court music significantly in 1797. His highest priority was to cut the court's expenses.

The office of the *Hofkapellmeister* was in use in European context over several centuries. The book demonstrates that many of the tasks which the position covered around

1800 were not specific to that particular time. On the other hand, the years around 1800 are described as a time of crisis ('Umbruchzeit'): From being the highest artistic-social rank a musician could achieve, the office as *Hofkapellmeister* became a field of conflict. Particularly the conflict of how to fulfil personal artistic ambitions within the institutional structures of a court is discussed. Heinrich W. Schwab concludes that 'der zweifelsohne hochtalentierte Kunzen letztlich nicht für das sich selbst bestimmende, moderne Künstlertum entschieden, sondern ... für das pflichtgetreue Erfüllen von musikalischen Alltagsaufgaben' (p. 39). A contribution such as Frank Ziegler's article elaborates further on this topic from the musician's point of view and shows how meeting with the requirement for performing music as part of a court's ceremonies could conflict with the individual's artistic ambitions. The young violinist Louis Spohr uttered disparagingly about how his performances at the banquets were received, having experienced that his music 'von dem Geklapper der Teller akkompaniert sein würde' (p. 134). Other virtuosos had no concerns about the audience's use and abuse of the music, and Ziegler shows how the music at banquets was adapted to the menu under the direction of Carl Maria von Weber: An overture during soup and fish, a large aria for the appetizer, a short piano or violin piece of lighter character to accompany the vegetables, a quartet or quintet during the meat, a sentimental, small song during champagne and ice and a peaceful song for coffee. Ziegler points out that 'die Tafelmusik keineswegs ausschließlich zeremoniellen Charakter hatte, sondern ebenso der persönlichen Unterhaltung des Souveräns diente' (p. 135).

The anthology covers the period from approximately 1750 to 1820 with perspectives to the times before and after. In the introduction, the Baltic Sea Region ('Osteseeraum') and its residence cities serve as examples of locations that were the destinations of transnational mobility of musicians. As a result, the office of the *Hofkapellmeister* is considered an international phenomenon. The individual articles are not, however, limited to this area. They are concerned with courts in the cities of Copenhagen, Schwerin, Stockholm, Berlin, Vienna, Dresden and Eutin. The article on Stockholm (written by Ove Ander, pp. 59–90) is comparative in its approach, as it unrolls the activities of six chapel masters in the period 1792–1818. Ziegler's article on Eutin and Dresden also compares circumstances and opportunities across two generations. An overall assessment of the many individual examples, however, is mainly left to the reader to do, which would otherwise have been very fruitful to include in the volume. The conditions of the Imperial court in Vienna, described by the Volkmar Braunbehrens as one of the best-equipped and long-standing chapels (pp. 105–18), must be regarded as an exceptional example that can hardly be used as a measure of northern European princely courts. Therefore, the reader misses an overview of what other courts might have been taken into consideration. What were the musical conditions at smaller princely courts or at courts outside the German speaking area, for instance in London or St Petersburg? Such locations are mentioned from time to time throughout the book, and an index of place

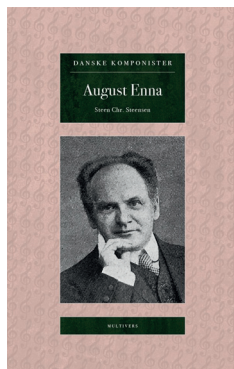
names helps finding the references. There is unfortunately no explanation as to why the seven courts in the book have been selected and analysed thoroughly, and therefore it remains unclear to what extent the office of the *Hofkapellmeister* can be understood as a European phenomenon.

The book appears as an anthology with individual contributions. Reading the book from the beginning, one lacks a basic presentation of how the office of the *Hofkapellmeister* was defined in a historical context. Not until the fifth article, 'Das Amt des Hofkapellmeisters in Wien um 1800', does Volkmar Braunbehrens provide 'ein[e] strukturell[e] Funktionsbeschreibung der Hofkapelle innerhalb der Organisation des Hofes' (p. 105). Also the book's final article by Joachim Kremer must be mentioned in this regard for the interesting perspective analysing the professionalism of the office, which he traces in contemporary sources, both literary and musical ones (pp. 159–213). Although the reader might study each article individually and on its own terms, one must expect that the order of the articles and their interaction are taken into account by the editors. One cannot avoid being highly influenced by the emphasis on the *Kapellmeister/composer* conflict, which is presented in the first article. Throughout the book, it becomes clear that the task as composer was only one of many within the office of a *Hofkapellmeister*.

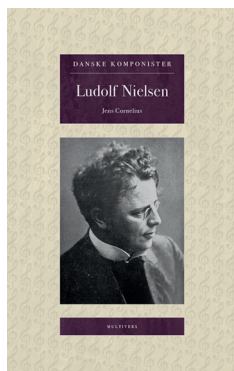
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August Enna
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Ludolf Nielsen
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Velskrevne bøger om mindre kendte danske komponister er en sjældenhed, og ikke mindst derfor må vi hilse de to foreliggende bøger velkomne. For velskrevne er de; og ydermere udgør de de første to bind i en bogserie, Danske Komponister, som er annonceret til at skulle ende med i alt 25 bind. Bag dette yderst tiltrængte initiativ står Jens Cornelius som serieredaktør med Magister Jürgen Baltzers Fond i ryggen, som på denne måde har besluttet at fondens tilbageværende midler skal bruges til aktivt at iværksætte denne udgivelsesserie. Fonden har i mange år støttet musikformål til fremme af dansk musikliv med mindre beløb men har ikke gjort meget væsen af sig udadtil; nu bliver dens sidste opgave at formidle viden om en lang række danske komponister, som har levet en mindre synlig tilværelse i deres samtid og i eftertiden. Der er allerede annonceret to yderligere bind til udgivelse i 2019, et om Hilda Sehested og Nancy Dalberg af Lisbeth Ahlgren Jensen, og et om Else Marie Pade skrevet af Henrik Marstal. (Hvorfor de to, lidt ældre kvindelige komponister ikke kan fortjene et bind hver, står hen i det uvisse.)

Allerede ved en første gennemlæsning står det klart, at formidlingen fungerer. Bogserien har et stramt format, begge bind lander præcist på 143 sider, og de tager på sig at

være 'små biografier': et koncept, som også findes i udenlandske bogserier, med Rowohlt Verlags klassiske serie *ro ro monographien* som det mest oplagte forbillede. Denne serie, hvis historie går tilbage til efterkrigstiden, og som ikke kun omfatter komponister, eksisterer i bedste velgående og udbyder et stort udvalg af biografier til 8,99 Euro for trykte taschenbücher og 3,99 Euro for e-bogsudgaver. Begge seriers bøger er bygget kronologisk op og indeholder bibliografi, værkfortegnelse og navneregister; den største forskel er nok, at de tyske udgaver på sine ca. 180 sider arbejder med en meget mindre skrifttype, så der efter et hurtigt skøn er plads til dobbelt så meget tekst. Men det er ikke udpræget nogen fordel for læseren. I den danske serie er der desuden en diskografi og et værkregister, en fordel, når man har at gøre med komponister, hvis musik ikke er vidt udbredt.

Hvis man skal rette en anke mod dette koncept, og ikke kun for at være en pernitten-gryn, så er det, at der burde være flere noter. Som slutnoter generer de ikke de læsere, der ikke har brug for dem; men den sparsomme brug, der næsten kun henviser til direkte citater og langt fra til alle – i Ludolf Nielsen-bogen er der 97 noter – efterlader tit læseren med den fornemmelse, at her ville man godt vide, hvor forfatteren ved det fra. Og oven i købet er der referencer i teksten, der hverken optræder i noter eller bibliografi (fx Anne Marie Løns nøgleroman *Dværgenes Dans* (Cornelius, s. 124)), mens fx undertegnedes bog *Kulturradikalismens musik* er medtaget i bibliografien på trods af den intetsteds nævner Ludolf Nielsen. I bogen om August Enna er det endnu mere grelt; her er kun 27 noter, og oven i købet er det lykkedes at lave nogen af dem forkerte (Steensens, note 10 og 24). Ud over at kunne identificere de citerede kilder, hvilket langt fra altid er entydigt, ville man fx gerne vide, hvordan forfatteren ved, at Ludolf Nielsen, Carl Nielsen og Hakon Børresen alle hørte prøverne på Richard Strauss gæstespil i 1911 eller hvor kilden er til oplysningerne om størrelsen på en række komponisters understøttelse på finansloven (Cornelius, s. 45, 86).

Grunden til at fremhæve behovet for en øget grad af dokumentation er, at det jo i mange tilfælde vil være den eneste bog om den pågældende komponist, formentligt også i lang tid fremover, og dermed den eneste indgang til et nærmere studie af komponisten og musikken. Hvis andre forskere, studerende eller musikere skulle få den idé, at det var værd at gå dybere ned i en sag end en bog som denne har mulighed for, bør de også have mulighed for det. Det er vel det, der er meningen med hele projektet. Det er et ansvar, man som forfatter og bogserie må tage på sig.

Bogen om Ludolf Nielsen (1876-1939) giver et fint og velformidlet overblik og indblik i komponistens liv og produktion. Det er slående, at hans arbejdsliv falder i ret klare afsnit. Efter en opvækst på en gård i nærheden af Næstved, hvor der tidligt er adgang til musik og musikundervisning, kommer han som 16-årig til København og bliver i 1896, 19 år gammel, optaget på Konservatoriet med violin som hovedfag. Året efter bliver han ansat i Tivolis Koncertsals Orkester, hvor han uden for sæsonen er aktiv som strygekvartetmusiker, og han får med legater lejlighed til to udlandsrejser, i 1903 og i

1907. I 1907 kommer han desuden på finansloven med en fast årlig understøttelse, der gør det muligt at opsigte orkesterjobbet og arbejde fuldtids som komponist. Flere steder sammenlignes hans karriere naturligt nok med Carl Niensens (han er pudsigt nok også selv døbt Karl (senere skrevet Carl) Henrik Ludolf Nielsen), og indtil dette tidspunkt forløber deres liv efter nogenlunde samme model. Men det er også slående, at der synes at være en ret tydelig adskillelse af de musikermiljøer, de færdes i: Hvor Carl Nielsen er tilknyttet Det kongelige Kapel og får sine værker opført i Musikforeningen og ved kapelkoncerter, opererer Ludolf Nielsen i Tivoli-orkestret og har Dansk Koncert-Forening som sin primære platform for opførelser.

At Ludolf Nielsen i 1907 bliver i stand til at gøre komposition til sin hovedbeskæftigelse gør de følgende år meget produktive med den anden og store tredje symfoni, operaen *Isbella* og et stort værk for solister, kor og orkester, *Babelstaarnet*. I denne periode holder billedet af Ludolf Nielsen som en marginaliseret komponist ikke for en nærmere betragtning. Krigsudbruddet i 1914 bliver indledningen til en krisetid, hvor han næsten ikke komponerer. Omkring 1920 bliver han aktiv igen og balletten *Lackschmi* (1922) bliver en succes. I 1926 indledes et nyt livsafsnit, hvor han bliver fastansat som vellønnet musikkonsulent på den nyetablerede Statsradiofoni. Her skriver og arrangerer han musik til radioorkestret, som fra en meget beskedne start var vokset til 16 medlemmer, og som først omkring 1932 blev et fuldt besat symfoniorkester. En interessant begrundelse for at ansætte ham i stillingen var hans baggrund i Tivoli-orkestret, hvor han havde været vant til at spille op til tre koncerter om dagen med vekslende repertoire og meget lidt prøvetid – en hverdag, som lignede radioens forhold i de tidlige år. Efter et færdselsuheld i 1932 levede han tilbagetrukket i sine sidste år.

August Enna (1859-1939) lever i endnu mindre grad op til billedet af at være en ukendt og marginaliseret komponist. Især hans tidlige operaer fra gennembrudsværket *Heksen* (premiere 1892), der efterfølgende kom op på 40 europæiske operateatre, *Kleopatra* (1894) og *Aucassin og Nicolette* (1896) blev spillet over hele Europa. Derefter følger et årti med en række værker med H.C. Andersen som inspirationskilde. Af disse holdt *Den lille Pige med Svovlstikkerne* (1897) sig længst på repertoiret. Selv om han også komponerede i andre genrer, var han først og fremmest operakomponist. Han stilles i række med Meyerbeer, Verdi og Wagner og er en af de få danske komponister, der har et ubetinget europæisk ry – bortset fra Gade vel den eneste i disse årtier. Han nyder også udbredt officiel anerkendelse, han bliver tildelt professortitlen i 1908 og ridderkorset i 1917. Hans sene operaer *Gloria Arsena* (1917), *Komedianter* (1920) og *Don Juan Marana* (1925) beskrives som påvirkede af Richard Strauss og i stigende grad præget af det "morbide, dekadente og ikke mindst transcendent" (Steensen, s. 100) og dermed i tråd med en trend i europæiske opera på denne tid. Steensen nævner bl.a. Strauss, Zemlinsky og Bartók, men man kunne også oplagt nævne Franz Schreker.

Hvor Enna adskiller sig tydeligst fra Ludolf Nielsen (og Carl Nielsen) er i hans baggrund. Han kommer fra byen og har måttet kæmpe sig opad i samfundet og musiklivet,

i begyndelsen med sparsom undervisning og øvning på klaveret i et værtshus. Han starter som værtshusmusiker, arrangerer private underholdninger, tager nogle måneder til Finland og rejser derefter rundt i Danmark med en teatertrup på fallittens rand. Når dette lægges til hans familiebaggrund, hvor hans farfar var en italiensk musiker, der var deserteret fra Napoleons tropper og endt på Lolland, så tegner det et billede af en opvækst uden stor kulturel ballast. Det er karakteristisk, at da han får det Anckerske Legat, når han ikke længere end til Flensborg, og han bruger tiden på at komponere samt at opnå en større grad af almen kulturel dannelse (Steensen, s. 24). Men ikke mindst derfor er det imponerende, hvordan han ved hjælp af et ubestrideligt talent og intense partiturstudier er i stand til at springe ud som fuldbefaren operakomponist, der i en ung alder får europæisk ry.

I begge bøger er slutningen bundet op på oplevelsen af, at den senromantiske og symbolistisk-moderne strømning, der har sit udspring omkring århundredeskiftet, mister fodfæste efter første verdenskrig. I begge fortællinger forbindes det til et oplevet modsætningsforhold til Carl Nielsen. Men det er en europæisk trend, at denne strømning mistede terræn fra midten af 1920'erne. Komponister som Strauss, Bartók og Stravinsky ændrer tilgang og overlever, mens dem, der holder fast i det senromantiske eller århundredeskiftemoderne, bliver uaktuelle.

Men er der basis for en genopdagelse og renaissance for disse komponister? Her er jeg helt på linje med Steensen, når han formulerer: "Det kunne være interessant ... [i]kke blot at trække det [her om August Ennas *oeuvre*] ud af glemslen, men at give det en kritisk nyfortolkning" (s. 135). Det er det, der er på spil. Dertil er disse to bind og forhåbentlig hele bogserien en stor hjælp og inspirator; ikke blot er de velskrevne og giver fine karakteristikker af de vigtigste værker, de giver også lyst til at høre musikken. Med den væsentlige anke, at bøgerne er underdokumenterede og dermed gør det svært at fortsætte den fornyede udforskning og fortolkning, der her er sat i gang, kan bøgerne varmt anbefales. Det er heldigvis noget, der kan rettes op på i de følgende bind.

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Peter Heise. String Quartets Nos. 1–6

ed. Michael Fjeldsøe

Nordic Musical Heritage Network. Nordic String Quartets, 1
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The first volume in the series Nordic String Quartets, started at the instigation of the Nordic Musical Heritage Network, contains the six string quartets composed by Peter Heise (1830–1879) as a critical edition by Michael Fjeldsøe. Best known from his late opera *Drot og marsk* and songs, Heise's input as a composer of string quartets or other chamber music has not been widely acknowledged. Because none of the string quartets has been printed earlier, the new edition can be regarded as a significant step in completing the picture of Heise's oeuvre.

In addition to the fact that we now have Heise's string quartets in a handsome volume, a particularly valuable characteristic of the publication is the educational aspect connected to the edition project: the publication was prepared as a collaboration between The Danish Centre of Music Editing, The Royal Danish Library, and the Section of Musicology in the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies of the University of Copenhagen. More than ten students attending a music-philology course have contributed to the edition. The educational side of the editorial work on Heise's quartets must be highly applauded. Hopefully, a report on the progress of the work will be published so that we may learn about the experiences of this kind of enterprise.

The edition as a whole does not leave much to be desired. The text parts are compact and contain sufficiently information about the quartets and their sources. The layout of the score is clear and graphics uncluttered; only the placement and alignment of hairpins (crescendo and diminuendo wedges) looks sometimes a little questionable, particularly in the first quartet. The Introduction (in Danish and English) offers a short biography of Heise, in addition to information on the provenance of the sources, reception of the works and some glimpses of the notational practice in the quartets as well as an explanation of the edition's 'revision strategy'. In the discussion about the 'repeated crescendo wedges' (pp. xiv–xv) the reader would have profited from references to movement(s) and bar(s) in the quartets so as to facilitate finding the examples of the notational practice in

question. Furthermore, the somewhat oversimplified formulation of a highly significant editorial principle, '[m]odernizations of a secondary kind, of slurs, of beams, and of orthography that does not involve meaning-related differences have all been made tacitly' (p. xv), leaves the reader slightly concerned: what exactly has been done, where, and why?

Clearly, the dynamics have been one of the central editorial problems in Heise's sources. There are some striking differences or contrasts in dynamics and articulation in the first quartet. Together with questions of placement and alignment of hairpins mentioned above, the numerous hairpins in the first and the second movements placed in a single part only make one's eyebrows raise (mov. 1: e.g., *vc.* in bb. 6, 18, 22, 72; *va.* in b. 95; *vl.2* in b. 98; mov. 2: e.g., *va.* in b. 16; *vl.2* in bb. 41, 43, 77). Likewise, some single dynamics and articulations appear very odd such as in the second movement, *fz* in *va.* in b. 14; *mf/p* and *marcato sign >/sf* in bb. 75 and 78, respectively.

These features presumably result from the source situation: of the six quartets, No. 1 is the only one, where the (autograph) parts have been chosen as the main source for the edition – the edition of the other quartets is based on the autograph score. The fact that the works were not published during Heise's lifetime (although the two last quartets probably were intended to be) is likely another reason for these kinds of problematic details. Hence, the editorial policy has been very diplomatic, perhaps for a good reason.

The source situation of the quartets does not as such leave much choice: only the autograph score of each of the works (plus a sketch for No. 3) and parts – for No. 1 autograph, for Nos. 2–6 'transcripts' (by a scribe) – survive. As already mentioned, for No. 1 the autograph parts have served as the main source; the edition of the rest of the quartets is based on the autograph score. Although the sources appear straightforward, the section on the source evaluation could have been more rigorous and informative, the most striking example being No. 6, where only one of the metronome markings added in the main source (in red pencil) has been included in the edited score. The reason for this solution can be read between the lines; however, the reader would have profited from a more thorough explanation in the commentary – and from the metronome markings included as footnotes in the score.

The score and the parts of the Heise quartets can be downloaded freely (pdf) on DCM's website. The next volume in the series of Nordic String Quartets will contain the Norwegian Iver Holter's string quartets Nos. 1 and 2.

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Bibliography of Danish musicology 2017

Anne Ørbæk Jensen

The bibliography has a dual purpose: to register on the one hand the scholarly work of Danish musicologists and on the other the publications of music researchers from abroad dealing with Danish music. It includes only titles published in the year with which the bibliography is concerned, as well as addenda to the bibliography for the preceding year. As a rule the following types of work are not included: unprinted university theses, newspaper articles, reviews, CD booklets and encyclopedia entries.

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4

Reports

Editorial

Research project

French Performing Arts in Denmark during the Eighteenth-Century: The French Myth in Migration

This project is a study of the cultural relationships between France and Denmark during the Enlightenment, focusing on the use of performing arts as representations of the French myth abroad. The diaspora of French actors, musicians, and dancers in a context of migration represented a cosmopolitan image of power and culture associated with the French court and Versailles. In Copenhagen, this myth was received with mixed feelings of both admiration and a form of national resistance. French performers needed to tailor their productions to meet the expectations of their foreign audience. The politics of spectacle, theatre and the controversies surrounding it played a central role in debates on universalist values and cultural differences between Frenchness and Danishness.

Studies of cultural transfer and migration have become quite popular and cover almost all Europe or even distant continents. Yet Scandinavia has still not appeared on the map. For the first time, I include the North in these studies, by focusing on a transnational mapping of French performing arts and artists on their road to Denmark. Moreover, this study is relevant not only for French and Danish history but, more broadly, for bringing new insights to the European politics of spectacle, cosmopolitanism and cultural differences, translation as a decontextualization and recontextualization process. The project is associated with the Château de Versailles and is a step towards building bridges and networks between Frederiksborg and Versailles, court culture, arts and transnational history.

I intend to map the routes and the careers of French musicians, actors, and dancers working in Copenhagen. A variety of sources document the performance of French culture in Copenhagen. I will study the sources preserved at the Royal Danish Library that are linked to performances in Copenhagen (theatre plays, scores, librettos, dance manuals), along with archival documents preserved both at the National Archives in Copenhagen and in Paris. Pamphlets, periodicals, and letters by both Danish and French agents in Denmark will also be investigated to document the critical reception of French performances in Denmark. Finally I will focus on the translations of French plays and *opéras comiques* to enlighten how the original was adapted to its new audience.

This research should result in defining the image of the French court in Denmark along the lines of adhesion and rejection. It should allow understanding the careers of French performers as ambassadors embodying and transmitting French culture, sometimes clashing with the local imagination and perception of the French myth. Moreover,

issues relating to migration and (in)tolerance are crucial today and raise huge societal, cultural, and political questions. Reflecting on fundamental Enlightenment values of tolerance and equality and their more or less successful adaptations and negotiations of identities in the past are of great relevance to our society, today more than ever.

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Forskningsprojekt

Musik og sprog i reformationstidens danske salmesang

Projektet har til formål at digitalisere, udgive, udforske og formidle reformationstidens vigtigste kirkelige sangstof, både melodier og tekster. Det sker på den ene side med en omfattende internetportal indeholdende de ni ældste danske salme- og messebøger, hvoraf hovedparten har både noder og tekst, med direkte adgang til de eksisterende 12 ordbøger over ældre nydansk (1515-1700), der ydermere knyttes sammen i en ny stor ordbogsressource, en 'superordbog'. På den anden side gennemføres tre tværvidenskabelige forskningsprojekter med det nye digitale materiale som empirisk basis.

De værker, der digitaliseres og udgives online, er centrale i Danmark-Norges musikalske og litterære kulturarv, og de har været med til at forme tankemønstre, adfærd og institutioner i dagens danske samfund. Lutherdommens høje vurdering af modersmålet som det eneste duelige middel til at udtrykke Guds ord for befolkningen og reformatorernes bevidsthed om musikkens betydning som medium for den religiøse følelse skabte bl.a. en dansksproget gudstjeneste med menighedssalmer, bevidnet siden 1527. Fra de følgende år er der bevaret fem forskellige salmebøger, hvis kerne udgøres af menighedssalmer, og fire messebøger, der indeholder de centrale liturgiske melodier og tekster. I kampårene blev kravet om modersmålet som gudstjenestens sprog fremført med stor kraft, men ikke desto mindre overlevede de gamle latinske hymner og kom med i flere af bøgerne. Salmebøgerne indeholder ikke kun nydigtede danske tekster, men også flere oprindeligt katolske digte på dansk, der blev 'kristeligen forvendt' og genbrugt i acceptabel luthersk form, fx 'Den signede dag'. Søndag efter søndag har hele befolkningen været tvunget til at deltage i gudstjenesten og selv synge salmerne. Ikke mange har haft råd til at anskaffe bøgerne – og flertallet har ikke kunnet læse – men degnen har indterpet melodier og tekster i sin menighed. Set fra den brede befolknings synsvinkel var salmesangen immateriel kulturarv, hvorfor de bevarede kilder i dag må betragtes som en abstrakt fæstnelse af den levende sangpraksis.

Med portalen skaber projektet nybrydende videnskabelig infrastruktur, idet den stiller pålideligt udgivne og systematisk opmærkede digitale melodier og tekster til rådighed for det internationale forskersamfund, forsynet med indbyrdes koblinger og søgemuligheder, som præsenteres på dansk og engelsk. Den nye superordbog vil blive et basalt værktøj for alle, der beskæftiger sig med ældre danske tekster. Teknisk set er superordbogen en database med opslagsord, 'lemmaer', der sammenkæder artiklerne i de enkelte ordbøger og giver brugeren direkte adgang til de relevante ordbogsartikler.

Melodierne og deres forskellige varianter opmærkes i MEI-format (Music Encoding Initiative), som understøtter søgninger på musikalske parametre og muliggør brugerdefi-

nerede visninger. Til alle varianter inkorporeres referencer til internationale standardværker, såsom den musikvidenskabelige editionsudgave *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*. Indtastning og opmærkning foretages som en videreudvikling af værktøjer til opmærkning og håndtering af metadata. Opmærkningen af melodivarianterne har dermed potentiale til at vise 450 års vekslende melodiversioner side om side, at illustrere forskelle og ligheder grafisk og at lytte til melodierne. Melodierne integreres i de opmærkede tekstfiler, som er baseret på TEI (Text Encoding Initiative). Denne integrerede udgivelse af tekst og noder, som kræver udvikling af et nyt hjemmesideformat med specifikke søgemuligheder for noder og tekster, er banebrydende, ikke bare i dansk sammenhæng, men internationalt.

Med de nye digitale udgaver som empirisk materiale gennemføres tre tværvideenskabelige forskningsprojekter:

1. kontinuitet og nybrud i reformationstidens salmesang, specifikt forholdet mellem middelalderligt og nyt melodistof, mellem latinske og danske tekster, mellem det gammeldanske ordforråd og nyskabelserne i de lutherske salmer
2. varians i melodierne og teksterne, specifikt en eventuel korrelation mellem musikalske og litterære variationer, tolket som udtryk for forskellige opførelsespraksisser
3. spredning af kirkens melodier og tekster til den verdslige sang, specifikt visernes genbrug af salmemelodier og salmernes indflydelse på visernes ordforråd og fraseologi

For den videnskabelige verden præsenteres resultaterne af forskningsprojekterne i en trykt antologi, og for et større publikum fremlægges materialet og de nye indsigter ved en række koncertforedrag.

Det tværvideenskabelige projekt er forankret på Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab og gennemføres i tværinstitutionelt samarbejde med Københavns Universitet, der inddrages som udvikler af et vigtigt datalingvistisk værktøj. Projektet involverer forskere med filologiske, teologiske, litteraturhistoriske, musikvidenskabelige og leksikografiske kompetencer, foruden datalingvister, dataloger, it-medarbejdere og studerende i sidste del af uddannelsen. De deltagende forskere er Simon Skovgaard Boeck, Axel Teich Geertinger, Bjarke Moe og Marita Akhøj Nielsen (ledende redaktør). Projektet løber fra 2017 til 2021 med økonomisk støtte fra Carlsbergfondet og Velux Fonden.

Projektets hjemmeside: www.dsl.dk/projekter/musik-og-sprog-i-reformationstidens-danske-salmesang

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Research Project

Carl Nielsen and the Turn-of-the-Century Culture

During the years around 1900, Carl Nielsen was – after his music studies and grand tours of Europe – highly occupied with his compositional work in Copenhagen, but had still not composed the songs and orchestral works, which would really make him famous as a Danish national composer. In a European context, this period represents a musical change from late romanticism to modernism and is often connected with style concepts such as impressionism, symbolism, naturalism, and *Jugendstil*.¹

This Ph.D. project (2018–2021, Section of Musicology, Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen) aims, through source studies, to gain new insights into turn-of-the-century culture and Nielsen's work in this period – with an equal focus on both. The main research question is: *How does Carl Nielsen's music and thoughts on music relate to the turn-of-the-century culture in Copenhagen?*

The analyses will focus on three areas which together will contribute to shed light on this relationship: 1) Turn-of-the-century culture in Copenhagen, 2) Nielsen's music and statements on music and aesthetics in the period, and 3) the reception of Nielsen's music around 1900. As source material for the analyses I will examine among other things music and cultural journals, publishers' catalogues, Nielsen's music, letters, diaries and articles, and reviews of Nielsen's music in Denmark and abroad from 1892–1908. The results of the analyses will be discussed in relation to existing Nielsen research and literature on turn-of-the-century culture in Europe. The empirical and historical studies in the analysis will moreover be included in a more general consideration in the project on the links between Copenhagen and European turn-of-the-century culture.

The project is expected to contribute to a new understanding of Nielsen's position in Danish music and cultural history. The methodological approach – to use contemporary sources as the basis of an analyses of Nielsen's music and thoughts on music around the turn of the century – will in several ways provide an opportunity to illuminate this subject from a new angle: Firstly, it means that I will be able to avoid making a representation of the period which is pointing ahead towards Nielsen's later position as a national composer and the major musical figure of his generation. And secondly, it allows me to spot aspects of Nielsen's music and thoughts on music, which have been overlooked in representations which either focus on one cultural movement of the period (e.g. symbolism or vitalism), or which seek to illuminate Nielsen's entire oeuvre.

1 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 332.

Moreover, the project will provide a greater knowledge of Danish music life at the turn of the century than so far described within the literature. And finally, the empirical study of the period will contribute to a deeper historical and theoretical understanding of the relationship between Copenhagen and European turn-of-the-century culture.

Selected parts of the Ph.D. dissertation will be included in the book which will be published in Danish and English in connection with the research project *Carl Nielsen – a European composer*. Thus the results of the Ph.D. project will become available to a larger audience in Denmark and abroad.

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Research Project

Flow Or Stop? How Culture Matters in P3's Music Radio Programming

The role of popular music in public service radio has been given a great deal of attention throughout the last twenty years. In national newspaper debates and on social media, the attention has often been drawn towards the representation of popular music on Danmarks Radio's (The Danish Broadcast Corporation, DBC) radio channel P3 as an important actor in Danish popular music life and in connection with DR's obligations as a public service media provider. Specifically a great deal of attention has been given towards Lars Trillingsgaard, the Head of Music (2003–2016) on P3. His role as a powerful figure in Danish musical life has been the subject for many speculations, although very little anthropological research has been made in this particular field of practice.

My Ph.D. dissertation investigates the everyday practices of selecting, encoding and presenting music on P3. In 1996, Danish Broadcast Corporation introduced music controlling software in order to index, plan and programme music for their public service popular music radio channel P3. The dissertation is an anthropological investigation of the work practices around the software asking questions about agency and networks, technologies, music and gender in the daily practices making up the music for P3.

I have worked empirically with interview and participant observations, following the Head of Music in his daily practice of selecting and encoding music for the channel. I have interviewed trained radio hosts, and I have followed two newly recruited host-talents and radio presenters in their positions as radio hosts (and newcomers) on P3.

The dissertation provides detailed descriptions of some of the actual hourly, daily and weekly procedures, processes and reasoning surrounding the daily practices of music programming and presenting. By describing different actors and technologies in the daily practice of handling and maintaining P3's music profile in corporate networks around DR, the work seeks to complexify the discussions and questions concerning agency in daily work practices in complex organization: 'An actor acts ... but nobody acts alone' writes anthropologist, Annemarie Mol.¹

Hence mirroring an ANT(Actor Network Theory) heterogeneous world view, one part of the dissertation suggests that the practice of programming music for contemporary public service youth radio is to be seen as complex processes involving networks of humans, things, politics, corporations and technologies of all kinds. Inspired by David

1 Annemarie Mol, 'Actor-Network Theory: sensitive terms and enduring tensions', *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 50/1 (2010), 253–69, 256.

Beer's (2013) theories of algorithms and politics of circulation of culture, the dissertation discusses questions about the use of digital technology in work practices of contemporary public service music radio production.

Another part of the dissertation investigates questions of agency around music in the everyday work practices of making up P₃. Hence, this part investigates the relation between music and the role of the individual actor, of the subject, of acting and of agency in the everyday work practices on P₃ in times of glocal connections, of new digital technologies and of heterogeneity in cultural circulation.

The Ph.d. project is part of the research project RAMUND (A Century of Radio and Music in Denmark. Music Genres, Radio Genres, and Mediatisation), 2013–2018, at the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen.

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Editorial

Danish Yearbook of Musicology is published by the Danish Musicological Society. This might seem a mundane statement but in times when international publishing houses control a still larger part of journals and book series available for scholarly publications and, on the other hand, unscrupulous entrepreneurs are publishing anything without a proper peer-review process and editorial responsibility, it is more important than ever to maintain publishing channels in the hands of the community of musicologists.

The Danish state does right in demanding open access to research which is co-funded by the government, and it is a criteria that *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* has embraced and hence turned it into an online journal. With online publishing and English as main editorial language, it provides the basis for high quality editing of peer-reviewed articles, making them accessible to a much larger audience than printed journals and contributions in Danish would be able to. However, the Independent Research Fund Denmark has resolved that the funding for *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* should not be continued, and the present issue is, accordingly, funded entirely by the Danish Musicological Society. This requires Danish musicologists to sign up for membership. Furthermore, there will be a need for a committed discussion among colleagues on long-term strategies to secure independent channels for publication in Denmark.

The 200th anniversary of Niels W. Gade in 2017 is marked by a contribution by Alexander Lotzow which opens *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, vol. 42 (2018). Lotzow discusses Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft*, op. 42, and situates this piece in context with a differentiated and detailed reading of the concept of musical idyll. Vanja Lubibratić gives an account of the common roots in Wagnerian aesthetics of Alban Berg and the intellectuals of the Russian Silver Age. Peter Woetmann Christoffersen examines the anonymous *Sine nomine* mass in MS Capella Sistina 14 and shows how an attempt to obtain unity led to a result which was highly recognized at its time while it represents a challenge to modern listeners. Furthermore, this issue presents reviews of the first two volumes on a new book series on Danish composers, three comprehensive catalogues of works by Carl Nielsen, Johann Adolph Scheibe and J.P.E. Hartmann, and a contribution on the position of the *Hofkapellmeister*. Furthermore, a monograph on the genre of symphonic choir pieces, the edition of Heise's String Quartets, and a practical-analytical approach to music analysis are also reviewed. Finally, the volume includes a bibliography covering musicological publications in 2017 and a number of reports on research projects.

The editors would like to thank all contributors and, especially, Anne Ørbæk Jensen for providing the bibliography.

Michael Fjeldsøe & Peter Hauge

Publications received

Books

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