Danish Yearbook of Musicology

43 · 2019

Danish Yearbook of Musicology · Volume 43 · 2019
Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning

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Each volume of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* is published continously in sections:
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This volume is published with support from CEMES (Center for Modern European Studies), University of Copenhagen.

ISBN 978-87-88328-34-9 (volume 43); ISSN 2245-4969 (online edition)

Danish Yearbook of Musicology is a peer-reviewed journal published by the Danish Musicological Society on http://www.dym.dk/

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Articles

Tracing Compositional and Writing Processes in Sources to the Choral Works of Niels W. Gade

Bjarke Moe

During his stay in Leipzig, Niels W. Gade composed the song cycle for male choir *Reiter-Leben*, Op. 16, based on six poems by the German writer Carl Schultes. Years later Schultes recalled how Gade had explained at their first encounter in the winter of 1847–48 that he had already composed five of the six movements.[1] Gade apparently knew the poems from the satirical magazine *Fliegende Blätter*.[2] During their conversation, Gade convinced Schultes to write a new poem to replace the last one in the cycle, and Schultes ended up writing two new texts. The day after their first encounter, the composer 'wanted to play the whole' for Schultes, probably on the piano.[3] As we shall see, Gade revised the music thoroughly several times before reaching a satisfying version suitable for printing. Therefore, Schultes' mentioning of 'the whole' did not refer to the final work, but rather to a preliminary version of the composition.[4]

In order to understand how a musical composition like *Reiter-Leben* was created, we need to go beyond anecdotes and autobiographical writings, and turn to materials resulting directly from the writing process. The earliest sketches to the work include heavy corrections, indicating that the manuscript clearly was Gade's first attempt to notate his musical ideas for the entire work. Surprisingly, this working document contains a setting of one of the poems that Schultes wrote during their first meeting, and therefore Gade must have prepared the sketches afterwards. Schultes' statement that Gade had 'already composed' the music prior to their first meeting did obviously not mean that Gade had written down the composition. The anecdote confirms this procedure, if we

1 William Behrend, *Minder om Niels W. Gade. Kendte Mænds og Kvinders Erindringer* (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz Forlag, 1930), 148: 'Fem af dem har jeg allerede komponeret'. All translations are by the present author unless stated otherwise.

2 The six poems were published under the heading *Sechs Reiterlieder* in *Fliegende Blätter*, 5/104–5 (1847), 61–62, 68–69.

3 Behrend, *Minder om Niels W. Gade*, 149: 'han vilde spille det Hele for mig'.

4 Gade himself used the term 'det Hele' ('the whole') when referring to early versions of his compositions. During the process of composing music to the anniversary of the University of Copenhagen in 1879, Gade wrote a letter to the text author, Christian Richardt, proclaiming that he had finished composing and that he promised to 'play for you the whole, in sketch of course. Only after New Year, I will have time to orchestrate'; Inger Sørensen (ed.), *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kreds. En brevveksling 1836–1891* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2008), no. 956, letter from N. W. Gade to Christian Richardt, Copenhagen 29 Nov. 1878 (Royal Danish Library, NKS 3688 4°). Original Danish text: 'forespille Dem det Hele, i Skitse naturligvis. Først efter Nytaar faaer jeg Stunder til at instrumentere'.

interpret Schultes' statement that Gade had already composed the music in his head or by jotting down notes other than musical notation. Still, the relationship between Gade's compositional process and his writing process remains unclear.

During the 1970s, a branch of textual studies emerged, *critique génétique* (genetic criticism), which emphasizes the genesis of works rather than the works themselves. Genetic criticism 'examines tangible documents such as writer's notes, drafts, and proof corrections, but its real object is something much more abstract – not the existing documents but the movement of writing that must be inferred from them'.[5] In music studies, the 'movement of writing' is often referred to as the 'creative process', during which a composition is being worked out. As a broad and often unclear term, it has been employed to encompass different stages such as mental processes and the state of mind of the composer, as well as practice-musical aspects influencing how concrete musical ideas are invented and combined into a composition.[6] A fundamental problem is that the writing process, during which the composer captures and seizes greater or lesser parts of a work, is only a small share of the entire creative endeavour. Sources deriving from the creative process reflect the entire process only to a limited extent, and therefore a critical attitude towards an interpretation of the sources is needed.[7]

The point of departure for the present article is investigating the sources of Gade's choral works in order to examine the relationship between compositional process and writing process, the latter being only a part of the former, in which he invented a composition. These two processes were related but did not overlap or evolve concurrently. The writing process was not necessarily a linear one, starting from a brief sketch resulting in an elaborate fair copy representing the final version of the work. In some cases, Gade started out confidently writing what seems to be a fair copy, ending up revising it using sketchy notation. In other cases, the goal was not a complete score: As long as the copyist could read the working documents, there was no need of fair copying all the parts into one manuscript. In a few cases, Gade himself was to perform one of the parts and therefore did not need to write it down at all.

5 Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden, 'Introduction', in Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden (eds.), *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 2.

6 William Kinderman, 'Introduction: Genetic Criticism and the Creative Process', in Joseph E. Jones and William Kinderman (eds.), *Genetic Criticism and the Creative Process: Essays from Music, Literature, and Theater* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer and University of Rochester Press, 2009), 1–16; William Kinderman, 'Introduction', in William Kinderman (ed.), *The Creative Process in Music from Mozart to Kurtag* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 1–15.

7 To mention a few of the many studies on how surviving sources reflect compositional methods: Ulrich Konrad, *Mozarts Schaffensweise: Studien zu den Werkautographen, Skizzen und Entwürfen* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, no. 201; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992); Bernhard Appel, *Vom Einfall zum Werk – Robert Schumanns Schaffensweise* (Schumann-Forschungen, vol. 13; Mainz: Verlag Schott, 2010); Friedemann Sallis, *Music Sketches* (Cambridge Introduction to Music; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

The main concern of the present article is to demonstrate how Gade used written media to develop his compositions during different stages of the creative process. By tracing how he started out sketching new works and how he increased notational complexity in his working documents, the article shows that during the writing process Gade actively developed his ideas. In addition, the article draws attention to manuscripts that Gade prepared for others to read. They testify that for Gade writing down a composition was not a goal in itself; rather, he aimed at supporting the performances of his works.

Classifying sources

To seize musical ideas in written media is an action performed in a socio-musical context, governed by norms dependent on the writer and on the receiver of the text. Therefore, it is necessary to interpret the circumstances under which a source is made. To consider the context of a surviving manuscript, a broad and open-minded approach is required. Classifying the surviving documents in terms of modern vocabulary is one of many dangers. Thus a manuscript defined by its visual appereance as a fair copy might imply that it was written from a pre-existing source, representing the final intentions of the work. It seems to be a widespread assumption that the genesis of musical works (especially in the nineteenth century) followed a teleological process from sketch over draft and fair copy towards the perfected work-of-art. We have to abandon such formulas, if we want fully to comprehend how the surviving sources came into existence. It is therefore relevant to reconsider the classification of the sources for the works of Gade: How do terms such as sketch, draft and fair copy reflect Gade's writing process? Or the other way around: What are the characteristic features of documents resulting from Gade's writing process?

We need to use categories for the manuscripts in order to compare them systematically and to interpret their contextual background and their societal embeddedness. Nevertheless, a re-evaluation of the possible meaning of the terms is needed. A sketch is not just a preliminary version of a work. Thus, Friedmann Sallis has defined it as a 'fragmentary record of a creative process' for the purpose of understanding how it echoes a compositional act.[8] The seemingly incomplete contents of a sketchy manuscript do not reflect the stage of the composition in the composer's mind. A number of terms have been used to describe sources that derive from the creative process between the first sketching of a work and the fair copying of it. A 'continuity draft' designates a 'preliminary version of a piece of music in which long/continuing sections are indicated (often melodically)', being a deliberately incomplete document close to that of a sketch.[9] On the other hand, the German term 'erste Niederschrift' is often used to denote the '[f]irst complete draft of a piece or section of music'.[10] Central to the term 'draft', despite its varied level of completion, seems

8 Sallis, *Music Sketches*, 165.
9 Ibid. 239.
10 Ibid. 240.

to be that it covers 'a preliminary version of a piece' or of a section containing a more or less continuous extent. The writing process between sketch and fair copy can be divided into several stages, or it might even merge into one single procedure. Based on a study of the working procedure of Mendelssohn, Armin Koch has recently employed the term 'Konzept' to cover manuscripts deriving from the phase between sketches ('Entwürfe') and first manuscripts containing the full extent of a composition ('Arbeitsmanuskript').[11]

If we search for an 'ideal' sequence of creative phases, we might find traces of it. Yet abandoning the idea, would allow us to interpret the sources anew, realizing how composers sometimes worked through the opposite direction of a teleological progress, that is, from fair copy to draft (of a new version) to sketch (of yet another version).

Gade only rarely classified his own manuscripts. When he used the term 'Skizze' (literally 'sketch'), it was mostly to designate manuscripts comparable to drafts. Concerning the work *Korsfarerne* (The Crusaders), Gade wrote a letter to his wife Mathilde, explaining that 'half of the first third [of the work] is finished in sketch, but that is truly the least part of the task'.[12] Probably Gade was referring to the time-consuming procedure of correcting the draft and orchestrating the short score into a full score. The 'Skizze', however, was complete to an extent that Gade considered such manuscripts as 'the whole' composition.[13] It contained the main substance of the work, and it needed only to be written out in separate parts or in a complete score.

Even though Gade prepared manuscripts for his own use, they were not necessarily private in the sense that no one else was allowed to see them. Unlike Brahms, who actively destroyed sketches and manuscripts containing discarded works, Gade seems to have had no problems showing his working documents to others.[14] In fact, Gade wanted his manuscript to be saved for posterity. *Gades Samling* (Gade's Collection) at the Royal Danish Library was established after Gade's death according to Gade's own wish.[15] In addition, during his lifetime Gade seemed to have had an open-minded attitude towards sharing his working documents with others. He gave away, for instance, the draft for *Børnenes Juul* (The Children's Christmas; Op. 36, published in 1859) to Edvard Erslev,

11 Armin Koch, 'Skizzen, Entwürfe, Konzepte, Arbeitsmanuskripte, Fassungen, Revisionen. Zu Mendelssohns Arbeitsweise', *Die Musikforschung*, 72/1 (2019), 53–68.

12 Sørensen (ed.), *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kreds*, no. 458, letter from N.W. Gade to Mathilde Gade, Skovshoved 29 July 1865 (Royal Danish Library, Acc. 2007/1): 'Halvdeelen af den første Trediedeel [af værket er] færdig i Skizze, men det er rigtignok den mindste Deel af Arbeidet'.

13 See n. 4.

14 On Brahms see: Michael Struck, 'Vom Einfall zum Werk – Produktionsprozesse, Notate, Werkgestalt(en)', in Wolfgang Sandberger (ed.), *Brahms-Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2009), 171–98, at 185–86.

15 This is clear from a letter by Gade's children, Dagmar, Axel and Felix, Copenhagen 23 May 1913 (Royal Danish Library, Håndskriftsamlingen, Det Kgl. Biblioteks Arkiv, A 9, æske 18/1, sag 2044). Prints and manuscripts to his works were delivered to the library on more than one occasion, first in 1902–3 and later in 1918 and 1929. Sketches were included in the collection right from the beginning; Anne Ørbæk Jensen, *Musiksamlingerne på Det Kgl. Bibliotek. En guide* (Guides to the Collections of The Royal Library, vol. 3), Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen 2018, 290–95.

the brother of Gade's father-in-law, Emil Erslev.[16] Even though it is impossible to know at what time and for what reason Gade presented the manuscript to Erslev, giving away a draft shows that Gade neither was hiding how he worked out a composition nor ashamed of revealing how he struggled with his works. The draft shows clearly that Gade needed several attempts to reach a satisfying result later known as his popular Christmas song *Barn Jesus i en Krybbe laa* (The Child Jesus Lay in a Manger).

Gade was conscious about the creative process even from a young age. The following statement indicates that he had – at the age of nineteen – considerations on how to capture and seize thoughts in written form. In a letter to his friend and fellow would-be composer, Edvard Helsted, Gade wrote a short text entitled 'Thoughts when my friends were away' (1836).[17] At the end of the text, Gade revealed his concerns about writing it:

> You [i. e. Edvard Helsted] should regard the whole as an unfinished sketch. As a result of an inexperienced pen, some of the expressions are not the best, but I believe, though, that I might gain something from it; at least, it is clear to me in my thoughts what I want to say, but perhaps I am not too successful expressing it.[18]

The account underlines that Gade had a clear imagination of what he was going to say, and that he was aware of the shortcomings of written media as well as his own abilities of using the media. Arguably, he might have had similar thoughts on music. A clear idea regarding structure, melody, harmony and sound was one thing; writing it down and organizing its visual appearance in terms of notational conventions, was another, separate from the abstract musical ideas in his head. Unfortunately, only few fragmentary reflections on his working process have survived in his letters and other writings.[19] Even if he had written extensively on his compositional process, such autobiographical accounts would not necessarily have been reliable witnesses of how he actually did. A thorough study of his surviving manuscripts is the key to understand the creative process, during

16 Royal Danish Library, Collins Samling 120, Fol., C II, 60 Tv.-Fol. The manuscript is a folio in oblong format (25.7 x 33.0 cm.), on which Anna Erslev, the daughter of Edvard, has written in pencil (fol. recto): 'Draft for Børnenes Jul by Gade. Given by the composer to my Father Ed. Erslev. Anna Erslev' ('Kladde til Børnenes Jul af Gade. Givet af Komponisten til min Fader Ed. Erslev. Anna Erslev'). According to Gade's letters, he and Edvard Erslev knew each other well, visited each other at dinner parties, and stayed together in Paris in 1862; cf. Sørensen (ed.), *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kreds*.

17 Sørensen (ed.), *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kreds*, no. 2, letter from Gade to Edvard Helsted, [July 1836] (Royal Danish Library, Acc. 2007/1): 'Tanker da mine Venner vare bortreiste'.

18 Ibid.: 'Det Hele maa Du ansee for en uudført Skizze. Flere Udtryk ere ogsaa som Følgen af en uøvet Pen ikke de bedste, men jeg troer dog at kunne faa noget ud deraf; idetmindste i min Tanke er det mig klart hvad jeg vil sige, men maaskee jeg ikke er saa heldig i at udtale det.'

19 Virtually nothing is written on how Gade learned to compose. According to Anna Harwell Celenza, A.P. Berggreen intensively trained counterpoint with Gade: *The Early Works of Niels W. Gade. In Search of the Poetic* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 7.

which he composed his music. An investigation of the ways in which Gade increased notational complexity in working documents should give us an indication of his view on the relationship of compositional and writing process. Furthermore, a re-evaluation of Gade's manuscripts would allow us to assess to what extent the surviving sources reflect writing stages such as 'sketching', 'drafting' and 'fair copying'.

Sketching new compositions

Gade started writing down his musical ideas at different stages when he composed. Some sources without musical notation reveal that he in some cases was in need of a written framework before elaborating on the details, such as in his brief notes in his so-called 'composer's diary' from 1839–41.[20] Gade also penned his first ideas in the text manuscripts that he received from the authors with whom he cooperated. In Julius Kengel's manuscript libretto for *Comala* (1846), Gade added indications of dynamics ('*pp* | *cresc.* | *ff*') in the margin in red crayon.[21] In a small pamphlet, containing vocal text for the work *Festmusik ved Universitetets Jubelfest* (Festive Music at the Anniversary of the University; 1879) written by Christian Richardt, Gade added his first rhythmical ideas for the fifth movement, 'Thi Hver fik eget Kald og Kaar'.[22] Notes in pencil above the exact syllable to which it should belong specifies the metrical pattern of the text. Vertical lines indicate bar-lines which group notes and rests placed above the words into bars of $\frac{4}{4}$.

In 1839–40, during the exact same time when he was writing his composer's diary, Gade was occupied with composing choral music to German hymns by Balthasar Münter. In a text sketch, Gade jotted brief comments on scoring, overall harmonic layout and dynamics together with text snippets of the hymn 'Seht welch ein Mensch'.[23] As it seems, he only later started drafting the composition in a score, which he dated 1 February 1840.[24] The text sketch is not dated but predated the score, since it contains information on an ideal scoring of the music which eventually was not carried out in

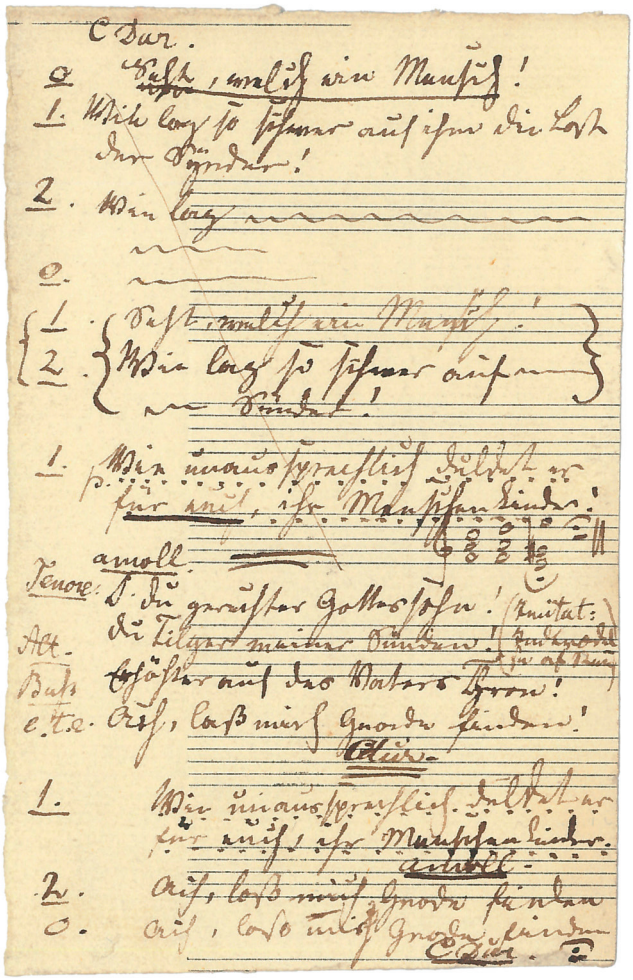
20 Celenza, *The Early Works of Niels W. Gade*, 37–46, in which Celenza is concerned with discussing Gade's 'process of subjective reaction to the world of art', among others contemporary literature, which in Celenza's opinion was 'at the center of his creative process'. In her study, the diary is seen in relation to Gade establishing himself as a composer. The actual contents of the diary in terms of how he took up the task of composing has not been investigated.

21 Facs. in Axel Teich Geertinger (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Comala Op. 12. Dramatic Poem after Ossian* (Niels W. Gade Works, IV:1; Copenhagen: Danish Centre for Music Editing, 2013), xxxi. The vocal text seems to be a discarded version of movement no. 9.

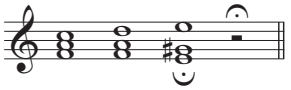
22 Privately owned.

23 Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 452.

24 Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 430. An edition of *Hymnus* based on this autograph score is published in Bjarke Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for mixed choir* (Niels W. Gade Works, IV:9; Copenhagen: Danish Centre for Music Editing, 2017).



C Dur.
O Seht, welch ein Mensch!
1. Wih lag so schwer auf ihm die Last der Sÿnder!
2. Wie lag ~~~~~~~~~~
O. ~~~~~~~~~~
1. Seht, welsch ein Mensch!
2. Wie lag so schwer auf ~~~~~~~~ ~~~~~~~~ Sünder!
1. Wie unaussprechlich duldet er
p für euch, ihr Menschen Kinder!



amoll.

Tenore: O du gerechter Gottessohn!
Alt. Du Tilger meiner Sünden!
Bass Erhöhte auf des Vaters Thron!
e.t.c. Ach, laß mich Gnade finden!
(Imitat[ion]: Indtræder hv af Stm)

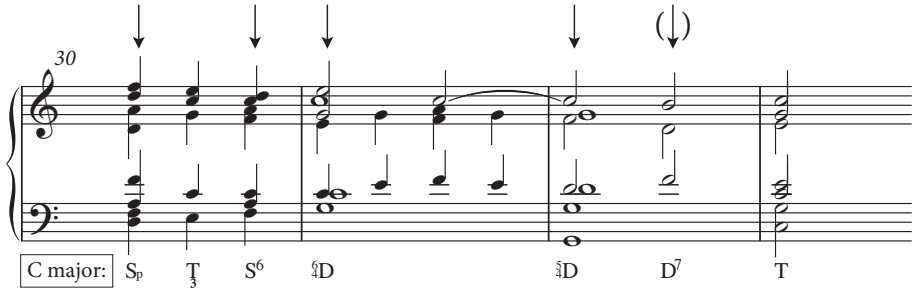
A[?]dur.

1. Wie unaussprechlich duldet er
für euch, ihr Menschen Kinder!
amoll
2. Ach, laß mich Gnade finden
O. Ach, laß mich Gnade finden
CDur

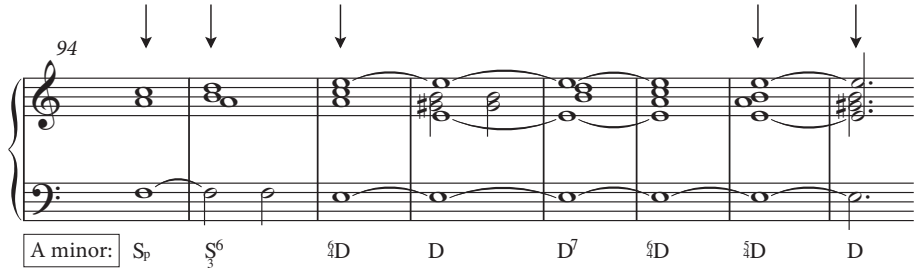
Ill. 1. Gade's text sketch to *Hymnus*, composed *c.* 1840. 'O.' means omnes (all); 1. and 2. refer to chorus no. 1 and no. 2, respectively. The comment in brackets is hard to discern; it probably refers to the compositional technique to be used in that particular section: 'Imitation: Each of the voices enter'. Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 452.

detail. In the text sketch, Gade used three abbreviations to notate his ideas on scoring: '1.' for *coro primo*, '2.' for *coro secundo* and 'O.' for *omnes* (all). The actual layout of the composition, which Gade carried out in the score, does not entirely correspond to the text sketch. Gade did not divide the eight vocal parts into two separate choirs, but clearly marked all the parts as one choir with a bracket to the left of the staves. He kept, however, the idea of splitting the parts into high or low voices, a common technique in vocal compositions with eight or more voices. In that way, the beginning of the second section ('Wie lag so schwer') opens with the four highest parts (corresponding to '1.' in the text sketch), followed by the four lowest parts ('2.').

Gade used the text sketch to get an overview of the formal structure of the composition. By organizing the text in clear sections, he was able to shape two cadences (bars 25–33 and 94–101) using identical compositional means. The first cadence concludes a section, in which the composition reaches its first culmination. In the text sketch, this section is prescribed as 'O. ~~~~~~~~~~', indicating a repetition of the vocal text from the previous passage in all voices. In the culmination, the eight parts form a C major cadence, consisting of two suspensions following each other in bars 31 and 32, resolving finally to a C major chord. Gade loosely outlined the second cadence in his text sketch, writing three three-part chords of a Phrygian closure. The tonality corresponds with the score, as does the voice-leading of the outer parts (bars 94–96). However, Gade prolonged the cadence with the means of a suspension (bar 96), resolving to an E major chord only temporarily in bar 97 before returning in bar 99, followed by yet another suspension, equivalent to the one in bar 32, before reaching the half closure on an E major chord.



Ex. 1. Gade, *Hymnus*, bb. 30–33, reduction.



Ex. 2. Gade, *Hymnus*, bb. 94–101, reduction. The arrows show the corresponding chord functions in the two cadences.

The text sketch was a prescription for a compositional layout, which Gade apparently consulted when composing the score. His ideas on formal structure were guiding the ways in which he ended up working out details in the score. Gade obviously never composed the second half of the work that he otherwise had planned in the text sketch. The score ends with the Phrygian cadence mentioned above, and the following passage

in the text sketch is based on new text parts from Münter's hymn. The corresponding passage in the score is missing. Gade stopped in the middle of a page, leaving the rest and the following page with blank staves. Towards the end of the composition, Gade refrained from finishing certain details. For instance, rests in empty bars are missing (bars 79–82), and he left the parts of tenor 2 and bass 1 in bars 65–70 undone. Corrections made in pencil instead of ink (bars 91–93) indicate that he considered this part of the score as an unfinished working document. It therefore seems likely that he never made a score for the last section of the work, despite having firm ideas of its contents.

Shorthand notation

Gade's manuscripts that resulted from an early composing stage are often minimalistic in terms of notational style. To an outsider, these documents might mean something else than what was intended by the composer. Therefore sketches could arguably be considered 'an *aide memoire*, not a full record', that is the composer's private notes allowing him to remember certain aspects of a musical idea.[25] The musical substance invented by the composer at the particular time when a manuscript was created is not necessarily incomplete. Only the information transferred by the written media is incomplete. Accordingly, the creative process in which Gade invented the music should be distinguished from the writing process in which he captured certain elements of the composition.

The surviving musical sketches that count as the earliest written sources for his works are often focused on two core elements of the composition: melody and harmony. In order to capture his ideas in written form as efficiently as possible, Gade often only wrote the outer parts of a composition and relied on figured bass notation to indicate basic harmonic ideas. When a harmony was obvious to Gade, he did not write a figure under the bass part, as in for instance cadential passages. The middle voices of a four-part setting were of lesser importance during this stage of writing. Of course, they were indispensable in order to establish a complete harmony at a later compositional stage, but their exact voice-leading features and rhythm resulted from mere conventions, which Gade knew in his mind and therefore refrained from writing down during this early phase.

Figured bass was more than a shorthand notation used for communicating information to a musician playing on a chordal instrument. The figures also had a role in music theory, where they were employed to explain harmony.[26] Having learned the theory of harmony on the basis of figured bass, nineteenth-century composers used this notational

25 John A. Sloboda, *The Musical Mind: The Cognitive Psychology of Music* (Oxford Psychology Series, 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 108–9.

26 Johannes Menke, 'Generalbass', in Helga de la Motte-Haber (ed.), *Lexikon der Systematischen Musikwissenschaft* (Handbuch der Systematischen Musikwissenschaft, 6; Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2010), 146–48.

means for pragmatic reasons when composing.[27] Several methods existed and the use of them differed highly. The technique of using a *partimento* was developed in Naples in the late eighteenth century, being 'a sketch, written on a single staff, whose main purpose is to be a guide for improvisation of a composition at the keyboard'.[28] Based on several principles of how to harmonize the bass melody, the notational method was a technique for outlining passages of a composition without having to write the detailed contents of it. Even though *partimento* was a method associated with musical practice of the eighteenth century, it – and other similar methods – was still used in the nineteenth century.[29]

The method of interpreting a complete harmonic setting from the outer parts only must have been common among Danish organists in the nineteenth century. From his work as an organist, Gade was used to play from the chorale book of H.O.C. Zinck, which contained harmonizations of the melodies notated in two parts with figured bass (see Ill. 2).[30] The chorale book matched the hymnal *Evangelisk-kristelig Psalmebog* (1798), which was in use until at least 1855 when a new collection of hymns was introduced. In 1839, Gade's teacher C.E.F. Weyse published an edition of the melodies in four-part settings as the chorale book by Zinck was 'almost out of stock'.[31] That the old book by Zinck was still in use in the following decades, also by Gade, is evident from sources stemming from Garnisons Kirke, where Gade was organist 1851–58. In a manuscript book, Gade arranged four-part settings of chorales based on the two-part notation in Zinck's chorale book. Gade prepared the missing middle parts to be performed by an ensemble of trombones in the church.[32]

27 Felix Diergarten, 'Romantic Thoroughbass. Music Theory between Improvisation, Composition and Performance', *Theoria. Historical Aspects of Music Theory*, 18 (2011), 5–36.

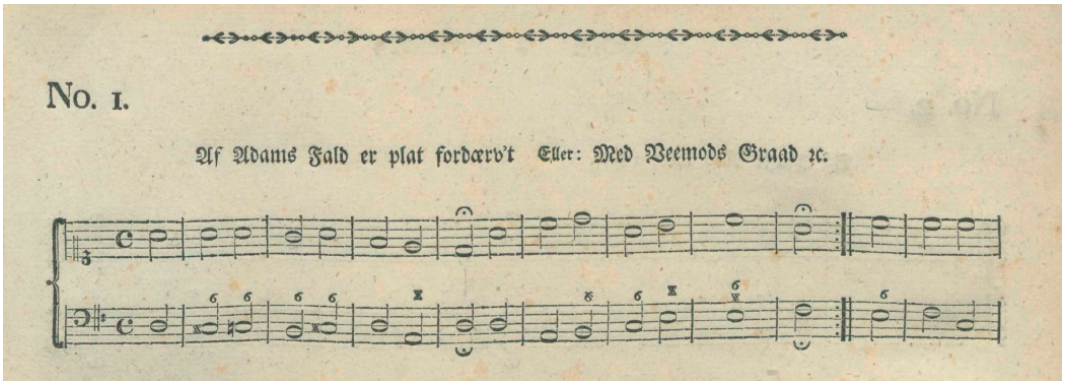
28 Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 14.

29 Ian Bent, 'The "Compositional Process" in Music Theory 1713–1850', *Music Analysis*, 3/1 (1984), 29–55.

30 H.O.C. Zinck, *Koral-Melodier til den Evanglisk-chrostelige Psalmebog* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Vaisenhuses Forlag, 1801). Gade took lessons with C.E.F. Weyse from at least 1838, when Weyse prepared a reference statement that Gade 'is considered perfectly competent to perform the duties expected of an organist'. From 1839, Gade was Weyse's substitute at the Church of Our Lady (Vor Frue Kirke, Copenhagen) until Weyse died in 1842; Sørensen (ed.), *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kreds*, no. 3, letter from C.E.F. Weyse to Gade 14 May 1838 (Royal Danish Library, NKS 1716 fol. A no. 524). Original Danish text: '[Gade] ansees for fuldkommen duelig til at forestaae en Organisttjeneste'. On Gade as organist see Henrik Glahn (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for Organ* (Niels W. Gade Works, III:3; Copenhagen, 2005), viii.

31 C.E.F. Weyse, *Choral-Melodier til den evangelisk christelige Psalmebog harmonisk bearbeidet* (Copenhagen: Kongelig Vaisenhuses Forlag, 1839), preface by Weyse: 'Da Oplaget af Zincks Choralbog næsten var udsolgt, besluttede Directionen for det Kongelige Vaisenhuus at foranstalte et nyt Oplag af Samme, og anmodede mig om at gjennemgaae Choralbogen'.

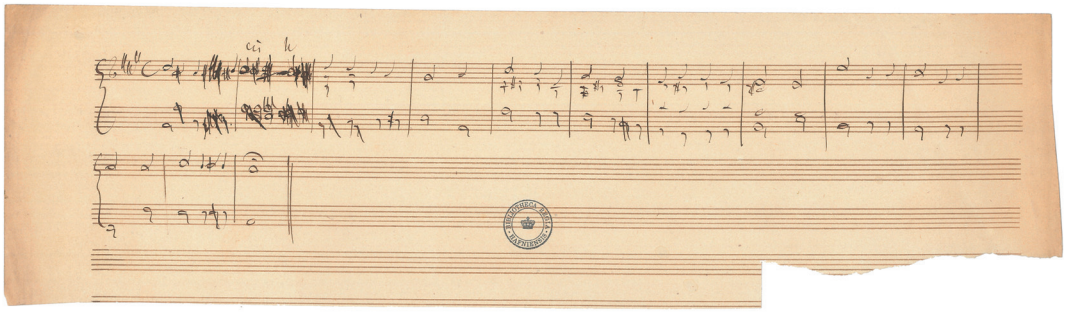
32 Royal Danish Library, C II, 210. Holmens Kirkes Musikarkiv nr. 9 (1932-33.46). On the front page Gade has written: 'Choraler for Orgel. / indrettede til at ledsages af Basuner / efter Zincks Choralbog. / Garnisons Kirken / i Kjøbenhavn / 1851.' ('Chorales for organ. Arranged to be accompanied by trombones after the chorale book of Zinck. Garnisons Kirken in Copenhagen 1851').



Ill. 2. Two-part notation in H.O.C. Zinck, *Koral-Melodier* (Copenhagen, 1801).

Gade was used to writing figured bass as a means of shorthand notation for himself. This is evident from the surviving copy of the chorale books by A.P. Berggreen, *Melodier til den af Roeskilde-Præsteconvent udgivne Psalmebog* (1853) and its supplement (1856), which Gade employed as organist in Holmens Kirke. Throughout the books, Gade added private comments in pencil, for instance figured bass notation to indicate alternative harmonizations of the chorales. The chorale book contained the hymns in four-part settings, but Gade adjusted close to a third of the 136 chorales by modifying the bass part in pencil and adding figured bass notation below. When playing from the chorale book, Gade would have to ignore the printed middle parts and play the new four-part harmonization at sight.[33]

In many of his sketches, Gade adapted the notational appearance of Zinck's chorales, uniting his knowledge on music theory and experience with performance during the process of writing down compositional ideas. Despite having a sketchy appearance, such sources reflect a complete four-part setting existing in the mind of the composer: It was impossible to write down a bass part without considering the entire four-part harmonization. This is clear from the sketch for *Paaske vi holde* (Easter We Celebrate), a four-part chorale composed around 1860.



Ill. 3. Gade's sketch for *Paaske vi holde*. Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 469.

33 Bjarke Moe, 'Et kig ind i kirkemusikerens værksted. Hvad fortæller noderne om organisten Niels W. Gade?', *Organistbladet*, 83/7 (July 2017), 264–73.

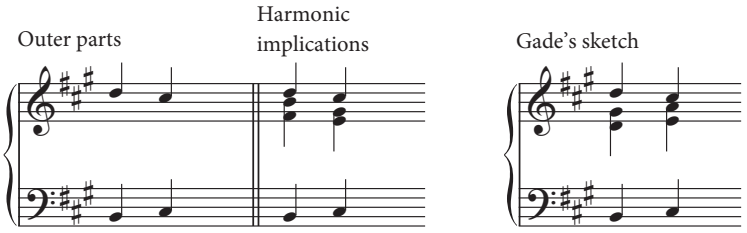
The sketch inherently contains the complete composition at that particular stage when Gade wrote it. Gade refrained from notating several details during this early notational phase. Even though clef, key signature and time signature in the lower staff are missing, the signs are easy to figure out from the context. Also the vocal text is lacking. According to the printed version of the work, the composition was based on N.F.S. Grundtvig's hymn *Paaske vi holde*. If we regard the surviving sketch only from its visual appearance, we might conclude that Gade composed the melody first, adding the text only later. However, the sketch seems rather to be a fragmentary record of what Gade was in need of writing down at that particular moment during the process of composing. An analysis of the text and the melody substantiates that they were closely related. The strophic text consists of six lines, mixing dactylic and trochaic patterns. Gade organized the melody in six phrases containing combinations of three basic rhythmical figures that closely reflect the metrical structure of the text (see Fig. 1). The first four melodic phrases are paired in two-by-two metrically and rhythmically identical lines. The two last musical phrases differ from the first four ones, reflecting the changing metrical structure of the text. The new metrical pattern allowed Gade to select a rhythmical three-note motif (minim, crotchet, crotchet) from the beginning of the melody, repeating it in order to fit the extra dactylic pattern in line five. Gade would not have structured his melody in this way without using this particular hymn as the foundation of his composition. When drawing up the sketch, Gade did not care to write the hymn text as part of the musical notation. We might argue that he thought of the text as an integrated part of the music already. Adding the text later would not pose a problem since the melody was syllabic throughout, leaving one note to each syllable. In the penultimate bar, Gade corrected the minim to two crotchets in order for the text to fit, a sufficient indication of how to place the vocal text at a later time.

Text	Metrical pattern	Rhythm in Gade's melody	Metrical and rhythmical correspondence	Rhyme scheme
Paaske vi holde	— ∪ ∪ — ∪	𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 |	a	A
Alle vide vegne;	— ∪ — ∪ — ∪	𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 |	b	B
Varme og kolde,	— ∪ ∪ — ∪	𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 |	a	A
Lune Himmel-Egne	— ∪ — ∪ — ∪	𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 |	b	B
Samtlig berømme som bedst	— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —	𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥	c	C
Opstandelses Fest!	∪ — ∪ ∪ —	𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅝	d	C

Trochaic (— ∪): 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 or 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥
Dactylic (— ∪ ∪): 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥

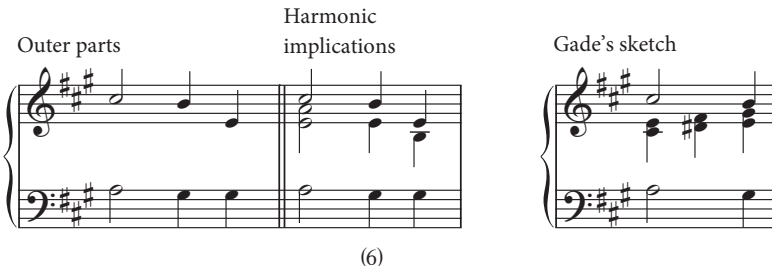
Fig. 1. Relationship between text and melodic structure in Gade's *Paaske vi holde*.

Despite containing inherently the complete harmony, the sketch has from time to time all four parts written out. Certain situations forced Gade to add the middle parts, for instance at places where a chord indicated by the outer parts was ambiguous. The first beat in bar 3 has *B* in the bass part and *d″* in the soprano part, pointing to a B minor chord in root position. To support the progression towards the tonic sixth chord on the next beat, Gade rather wanted a diminished triad with a leading-note (*g♯′*) in the alto part. This specific voice-leading of the alto part, however, needed to be notated in the sketch as it was not obvious from the outer parts. For some odd reason, Gade wrote the middle parts instead of adding the figure 6 under the bass:



Ex. 3. Gade, *Paaske vi holde*, bar 3.

In bar 5, Gade did not want the harmony to follow the rhythm of the outer parts. He therefore wrote a step-wise motion upwards from the first beat of the bar, resulting in a diminished seventh-chord on the second beat. Harmonically, the voice-leading of the middle parts supports the progression of the secondary dominant (V of V) towards the dominant sixth chord on the third beat:



Ex. 4. Gade, *Paaske vi holde*, b. 5.

After having sketched the first ideas, Gade revised directly in the manuscript. When changing a note, he most often crossed it out and wrote the new note next to it. If he changed his mind once again at the same place, or if the corrections took up too much space, he simply wrote the name of the note above. This is visible in bar 2, above which it says 'cis' (i. e. *c♯″*) and 'h' (i. e. *b′*). As a consequence of his many corrections, the sketch contains several layers of writing and a great amount of private information, making only sense to Gade himself. In his mind, he must have had a clear idea of the most elaborate version of the composition based on the scattered writings in the manuscript. The outer character of the sketch seems to indicate that Gade considered the manuscript as a private working

document, containing neither title, name of the composer nor vocal text. Furthermore, it is written on a paper fragment, torn apart in the lower right corner. It therefore seems likely that it was a private piece of paper for his own use. Surely, Gade made a copy for the printer to use; however, due to the dense notation in the sketch, we might argue that he could have prepared the printer's copy based directly on the sketch and the ideas in his mind. The hymn *Paaske vi holde* was after all not published as a choral work: It was issued in a volume of songs arranged for piano.[34] The two-part framework contained in the sketch was a fundamental method for any kind of composition, regardless of how it was to be orchestrated at a later point. If Gade wished to do so, he could easily have made a choral-idiomatic arrangement of the composition based on the first sketches.[35]

Increasing notational complexity

During the process of adding more and more details to a composition, Gade forced himself to revise parts that he had already finished. In that way, the relationship between the compositional and the writing processes resulted in a circular working-procedure: two steps forward, and one step back. This is clear from the sketches for *Reiter-Leben*. The manuscript shows that sketching was 'an *action* incorporated into the creative process rather than a passive tool necessary to realising fixed ideas'.[36]

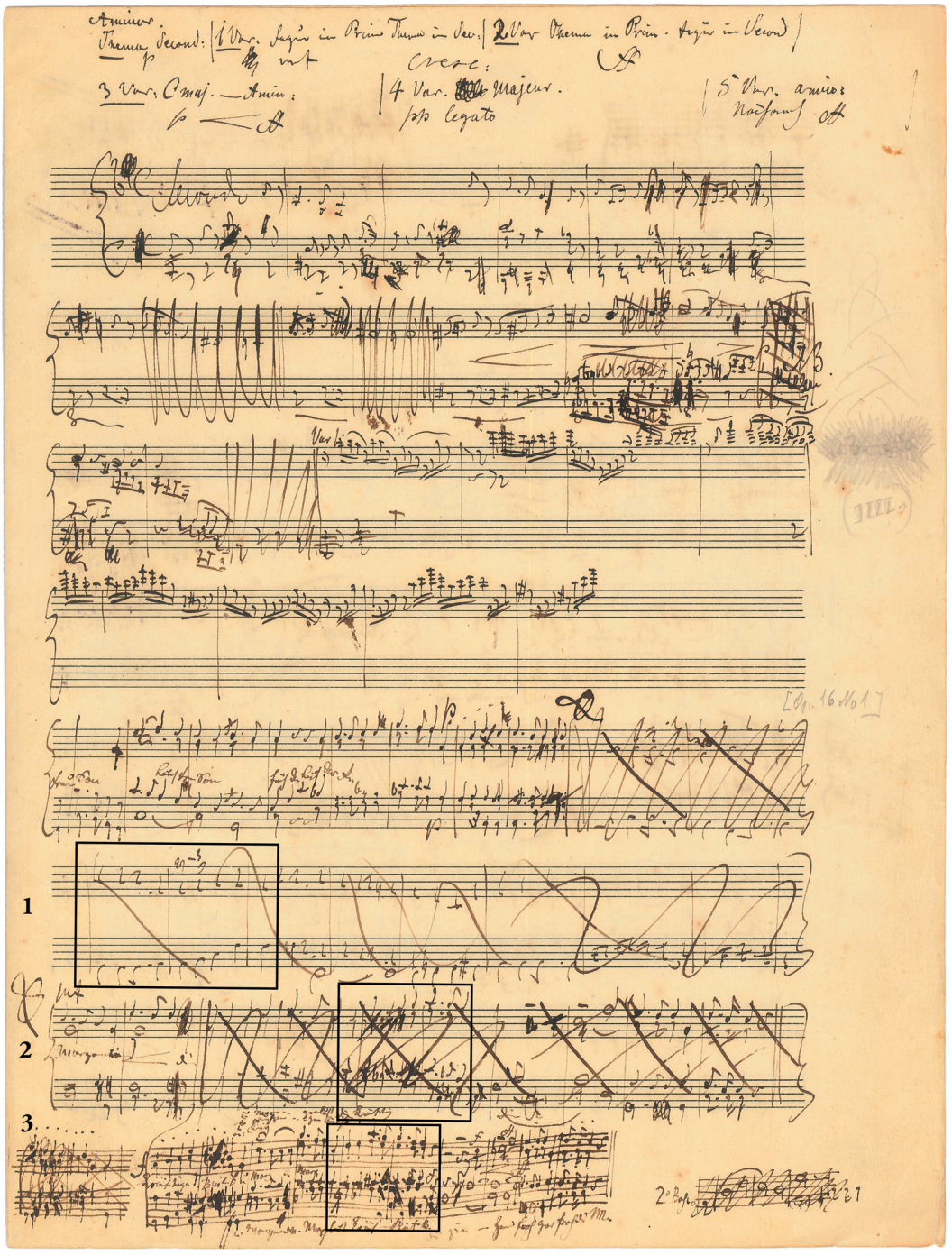
Gade often made several attempts to reach a satisfying version of a composition, and often he started repeatedly on the same page. Manuscripts containing two or more versions of the same passage reveal how Gade gradually increased the details in the notation as he was working through more and more elements of a composition. The sketch for *Reiter-Leben* contains an early, discarded version of the first movement, 'Reiters Morgenlied', in which Gade notated the upper voice and parts of the bass and a middle part.[37] The sketch includes only few snippets of vocal text, but as in the case

34 Peter Andreas Fenger (ed.), *Sende-Brev til christne Venner* (Copenhagen: C.G. Iversens Boghandel (Th. Michaelsen & Tillge), 1861), 11. A discussion on the chorale as a hybrid vocal-instrumental genre is present in Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for mixed choir*, xii.

35 Gade's procedure from a two-part framework is evident from several sources, for instance the manuscript for the male choir composition 'Abendständchen' from the collection *6 Gesänge*, Op. 11 (published 1846): Autograph score, Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 396, fol. 4^{v}. 'Abendständchen' was composed in Leipzig in December 1843 according to Gade's dating after the final bar in the score.

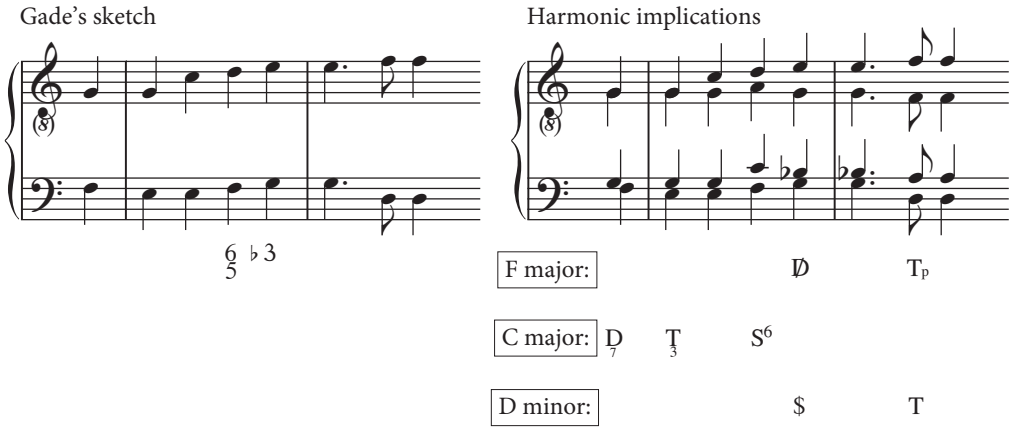
36 Bjørn Morten Christophersen, *Panoramic Constraints. A Study of Johan Svendsen's Musical Sketches and Exercises* (Ph.D. diss., University of Oslo, 2015), 87–88. Christophersen's italics.

37 The concerned manuscript, which is kept at the Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 337, is a bifolio in folio format (30.2 x 22.7 cm) with 14 staves to the page. Four pages are written in ink, containing sketches for the movements 1, 3, 4 and 5 of Gade's Op. 16 as well as sketches for an instrumental, unidentified work. The sketches for 'Reiters Morgenlied' are present at fol. 2^{r}, staves 9–14. A critical edition of *Reiter-Leben*, including source descriptions and genesis of the work, is published in Bjarke Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for male choir. Works for equal voices, vol. 1* (Niels W. Gade Works, IV:10; Copenhagen: Danish Centre for Music Editing, 2017).



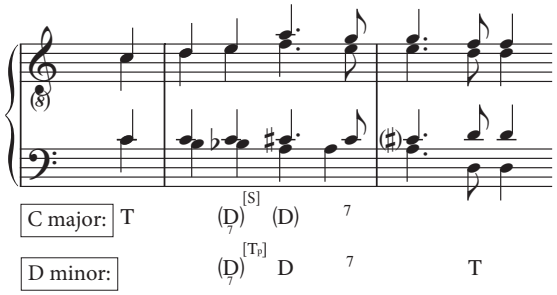
Ill. 4. Gade's sketch for 'Reiters Morgenlied', fol. 2v. The boxes show Gade's first, second and third attempt at composing bb. 14–16. Notice how Gade turned the paper upside-down after having sketched the first ideas (box 1). Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 337.

of *Paaske vi holde*, the composition is structured on the basis of the poem by Schultes, although it is not present in its entirety. A passage, which in the final version of the work became bars 14–16 ('die kräftigen des Reiters Brust'), can be found in four versions. To clarify a rather unconventional modulation from C major towards D minor, Gade added figures below the two chords that caused the transition towards the new key. Without a dominant function, however, the modulation was weak, pointing both towards F major and D minor. Gade could not add a dominant chord on the stressed beat (dotted crotchet), because the bass part having the dissonant seventh would have to resolve stepwise downwards instead of skipping down a fourth:



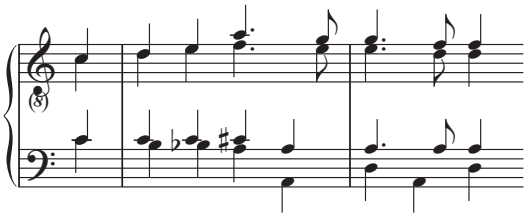
Ex. 5. Gade, 'Reiters Morgenlied', bb. 14–16, first attempt. Ø: a dominant-seventh chord (second inversion) without its root, in major keys equivalent to $\frac{VII}{3}$; $: a subdominant function with a sixth replacing the fifth, in major keys equivalent to $\frac{II}{3}$. The deceptive cadence (from F major perspective) ends on Tp as a substitute for the tonic (often named Ts). Seen in relation to D minor, the chords constitute a plagal cadence.

Gade's next step during the process of composing was to revise the passage, considering the effect of the cadence and the interplay of the four parts. Therefore he needed to write out a new passage in all four parts below on the paper. The new cadence more effectively emphasized the transition to D minor, provided by a dominant seventh chord in root position. The modulation from C major towards D minor, on the contrary, was now brought about more dramatically, employing two chromatic motions in opposite direction (*c′-c♯′-d′* and *c′-b-b♭-a*) in the bass parts. The progression from the C major seventh chord, which harmonically pointed towards F major, to the A major seventh chord was characterized by chromatic motion rather than the functional relationship between the chords. Tenor 2 (as well as bass 2) caused the C major chord to resolve into an F chord. The tense of the *c♯′* in bass 1, however, immediately forced the *f′* of tenor 2 to stabilize at *e′*, changing the F chord to an A chord:



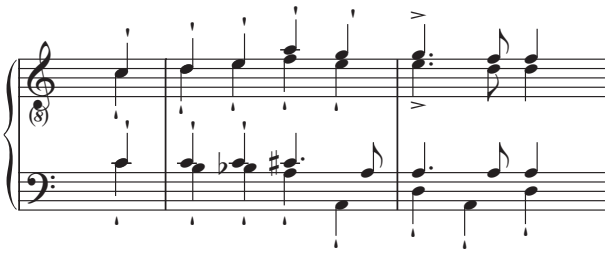
Ex. 6. Gade, 'Reiters Morgenlied', bb. 14–16, second attempt.

The sketches reveal that Gade focused on the two chromatic lines. In his first attempt to write out a four-part setting, the motion of bass 1 was followed through towards *d'*. By reaching its highest point here, it would collide with tenor 2, causing a chord without its fifth. At a relatively high tessitura for a bass part, this might have resulted in an unfortunate tone-colour at the end of a cadence. In his third attempt, Gade therefore let bass 1 leave the leading-note by a skip downwards to *a*:



Ex. 7. Gade, 'Reiters Morgenlied', bb. 14–16, third attempt.

Even these changes did not satisfy Gade, and the fair copy and the printed edition of the work show that the dotted rhythm of the tenor parts and the bass 1 part were switched. By prolonging the leading-note in bass 1 and omitting the *staccato* articulation, this part was given a prominent role before ending the phrase by skipping downwards. In addition, the resolution of the dissonant augmented triad (*a-c♯'-f'-a'*) to an A major seventh chord happened before bass 1 left the leading-note. As a consequence of the new voice-leading of bass 1, a fully saturated tonic chord was reached in the following bar:



Ex. 8. Gade, 'Reiters Morgenlied', bb. 14–16, final attempt, printed edition (without vocal text).

Employing an unconventional modulation like this one, Gade was forced to write down the entire four-part composition in his sketch. During the process of writing, Gade re-worked the composition, changing details on harmonic progression, voice-leading, tone-colour and articulation. Sketching up a work was thus more than simply writing fixed ideas down. Notating musical ideas was an impetus for developing the composition further.

Mixing sketch, draft and fair copy

During the process of writing, Gade did not necessarily follow a linear progress towards the final work.[38] His writing process tended in some cases to go the other way around: from fair copy to draft to sketch. This seems to be a contradiction, since the term fair copy denotes copying something from an existing source, which is why such a source cannot derive from the beginning of a genetic process. By extending the meaning of 'fair copy' to denote rather an attitude of writing – that of a clean notation aiming at a final shaping of a section – the manuscript seems to reflect the composer's efforts during the process of composing.

As mentioned above, the draft for *Hymnus* was obviously never finished. The surviving score shows that Gade composed the music from the beginning and onwards. At the middle point, he stopped and finished a section, before taking up the next one. As it seems, he never continued after bar 101. In the first ten bars, all parts are neatly written as if Gade thought of it as a fair copy. The following section has, on the contrary, several corrections in ink, and the individual parts were added at different times. The ink colour of the soprano and bass parts is brown, whereas the colour of the alto and tenor parts are almost black. The differences in colour nuances are difficult to determine and may result from things such as bleaching from light, thickness of ink or paper quality. It seems likely, however, that Gade did not simply copy the composition from another manuscript, but that he composed it while writing, using the two-part method described above to sketch a melodic and harmonic framework.

Gade prepared the autograph for his own use. This is clear from the history of the manuscript, which belonged to the heirs of Gade until it was handed over to the Royal

38 According to Finn Egeland Hansen, a myth claims that Gade 'rather uncritically follows a regular compositional procedure almost without looking back: Some sketches, a draft and a fair copy which is used as source for the printed score'. The origin of this myth is not stated, but it agrees with the teleological process mention above: 'Niels W. Gades kasserede satser. Hvorfor kasserede han dem?', in Anne Ørbæk Jensen, John T. Lauridsen, Erland Kolding Nielsen and Claus Røllum-Larsen (eds.), *Musikvidenskabelige kompositioner. Festskrift til Niels Krabbe 1941 – 3. oktober – 2006* (Danish Humanist Texts and Studies, 34; Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek and Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 185–95, at 186. Original Danish text: 'temmelig kritikløst følger en fast kompositorisk procedure uden i væsentligt omfang at se sig tilbage: Nogle skitser, en kladde og en renskrift, der fungerer som forlæg for det trykte partitur'.

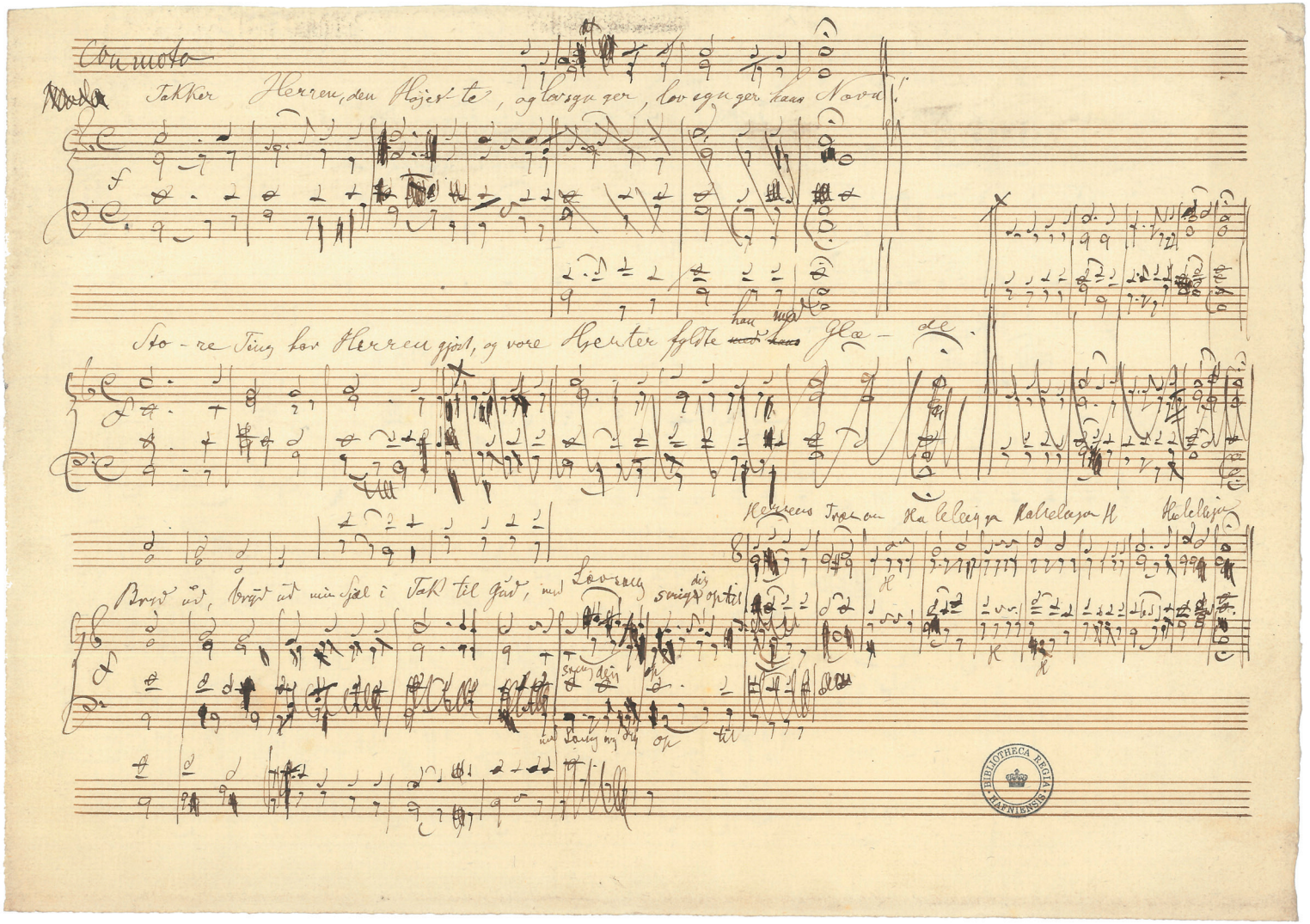
Danish Library in 1929.[39] Furthermore, the writing style used in the manuscript suggests that Gade kept it to himself as it is missing a great amount of details in terms of musical notation, for instance rests in empty bars. Vocal text is often only present in one voice, and usually just the first word of a sentence is added. The presence of dynamics varies, written most frequently in one voice only. Ink corrections are mostly clear, but awkwardly made, probably in a hurry. A clear exception to this is the first passage, bars 1–10, in which the text and dynamics are neatly written in all parts. It seems as though Gade changed his mind during the writing of the manuscript: In the first bars, he was aiming towards an idea of a final work, whereas he took a position of drafting the composition in the following bars. The manuscript therefore comprises several stages in a genetic process, in a sense going the opposite direction of 'a teleological progress' towards perfection. Here, on the contrary, Gade's writing process goes from fair copy to draft and sketch.[40]

This was not a writing procedure resulting from his inexperience at a young age. In 1883, more than forty years later, having composed hundreds of works, he could have a similar work-flow. In 1883 Gade composed a liturgical work, *Ved Lutherfesten*, for the celebration at Holmens Kirke of the 400 years' anniversary of Martin Luther. Only two autograph sources survive: a fair copy and a source predating it.[41] The status of the oldest source is not clear. Its first bar is identical with the corresponding one in the fair copy, indicating that Gade had a clear idea of the composition before starting writing it down. Soon, he changed his mind and started correcting single notes (bars 2–4). In bars 5–7, the entire passage is crossed out, and new parts are suggested above and below the staves. This procedure is repeated in the following passages: Bar 8 has no corrections, bars 9–10 have few, whereas bars 11–15 are crossed out and re-written. In the last section, Gade changed his work procedure, correcting while he was writing. Thus he avoided crossing out entire bars and succeeded in writing the rest of the composition only once. To some extend Gade's procedure in the manuscript is equivalent to the one regarding *Hymnus*, comprising a backwards direction from 'fair copy', through draft to sketch. However, only three bars (of a total of thirty-one) appear as a fair copy, which is why the status of the manuscript is a draft (or 'erste Niederschrift') in philological terms. The complete extent of the final composition is present in the manuscript, emphasizing that Gade considered it as a preliminary version of a complete piece, that is, a draft. Corrections are numerous, though, and at certain points the manuscript has the typical appearance of a sketch with corrections in multiple layers.

39 Royal Danish Library, Accessionskatalog, 1929-30.30.

40 This is comparable to the case of Mozart's sketch 1785λ containing 'Canzonetta sull'aria "Che soave zeffiretto"' from *Le nozze di Figaro*; cf. Sallis, *Music Sketches*, 47.

41 The autograph fair copy is shelved at Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 407, whereas the working document is kept in C II, 6 Gades Samling 469.



Ill. 5. Gade, *Ved Lutherfesten*, earliest working manuscript. Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 469.

Preparing manuscripts to others

Recently, Nicolas Cook challenged the view that composing is a one-man project.[42] With the term 'creative practice', Cook describes the contextual background of the acts of composing not only through the procedure from idea to final work, but by taking into considerations the interactions of the surrounding society. By doing so, Cook intends to 'bring together performance and composition, collaborative and solo creativity, so giving rise to an integrated conception of music as creative practice'.[43] Using Beethoven as an example, Cook reminds us that Beethoven was not working alone, but was dependent on an entire team of people, 'from stockists of paper and ink, manufacturers of the rastrums used to rule staves, and piano manufacturers, to copyists, publishers, performers and a succession of amanuenses'.[44] As the surrounding environment had an impact on how musical sources came into existence, we need to interpret the context of the documents in order to understand what they mirror.

Early in his career, Gade had professional copyists to prepare parts for musicians to use, for instance string parts for the choral work *Sang til Weyse*, composed at the fiftieth anniversary of C.E.F. Weyse as organist in 1842.[45] Weyse died later that year, and again Gade composed a choral work and had the string parts copied by the same professional copyist, probably one associated with *Den Musikalske Forening* where both works had their first performances.[46] As a composer, Gade had to consider aspects of legibility on the one hand and semiotics on the other when preparing manuscript for others to read. In other words, writing neatly and clearly was one thing, using conventional symbols in conventional ways was another. Working together on more occasions was a way of establishing a relationship of mutual understanding between composer and copyist. Thus, they could agree on standards for the visual appearance of a sign and the meaning of it. Later in his life when Gade was conductor at *Musikforeningen*, he succeeded in achieving a high level of familiarity with the favourite copyist of the society, H.E. Hansen.[47] As a result, Gade's fair copies often contained a large amount of unconventional notation

42 Nicolas Cook, *Music as Creative Practice* (Studies in Musical Performance as Creative Practice, 5; New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 73–74.

43 Ibid. 75.

44 Ibid. 70.

45 Manuscript copies of the instrumental parts are kept at Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 356.

46 Instrumental parts for Gade's memorial composition *Nu staaer Claveret lukt* (Now the piano stands closed) have survived in Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 435.

47 Only recently was the identity of H.E. Hansen proven by the discovery of his invoices kept in the archive of *Musikforeningen* (Royal Danish Library, Musiksamlingen, Musikforeningens Arkiv). The invoices clearly describe the works and the parts he copied for the society. The corresponding performance parts survive in the music archive of the society (Royal Danish Library, Musiksamlingen, MF). An overview of Hansen's activity has not yet been made; he copied music by Gade at least during the years 1864–85, cf. Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for mixed choir*, 201; Bjarke Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for male choir. Works for equal voices, vol. 2* (Niels W. Gade Works, IV:11; Copenhagen: Danish Centre for Music Editing, 2019).

(to an outsider) upon which the two must have agreed. Having a relationship that close seems to have been an advantage to Gade during his process of composing. He took the chance of continuing composing while writing the fair copy for the copyist to use.

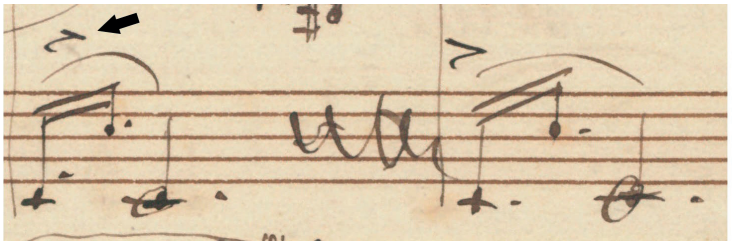
The following analysis of sources from the choral work *Aarstidsbilleder* (Seasonal Pictures; composed 1870–71) illustrates Gade's dependency on his copyist during phases of composing and writing.[48] During winter 1871–72, Gade worked on movements nos. 2 and 3 for vocal soloists and piano four hands, having a performance of the entire four-movement composition in April in mind. The copyist H.E. Hansen prepared performance material for the three vocal soloists based on Gade's fair copy of the parts. Gade himself made these from his score, which contained the vocal parts only. This score, however, appears as a torso, having the looks of an unfinished fair copy; to begin with, Gade prepared the score to include all the parts (vocal parts and piano part), but he ended up fair copying only the vocal parts into the score. The piano staves were mostly left empty, only indicating certain melodic figures here and there. A sketch predating the score reveals that Gade had finished composing the vocal parts before having composed the accompaniment. As a consequence, the final extent of the movements as well as the contents of the vocal parts was settled. Loose jottings in the piano part represent his ideas of the accompaniment, which he developed further in the score containing the vocal parts. Despite the fragmentary notation in these early sources, Gade must have had a precise idea of the piano accompaniment so clear that he decided to draw up a final manuscript of the piano part to hand over to the copyist. At this time, he had no complete source simply to copy from; he actually had to write down the piano part for the first (and last) time.

Gade was faced with a dilemma: As an experienced composer, he must have known that writing down parts of a composition from the mind takes a number of attempts before reaching a satisfying version. Furthermore, the procedure was in this case even more complex, since he had to write down the piano part separate from the other parts, being unable to establish an overview of the entire composition. As it seems, he was in a hurry and had to have the performance parts ready as soon as possible. Deciding to jump over a process of drafting the composition in a score before fair copying the piano part was only possible because he had a firm idea of the musical contents and because he could rely on his copyist.

The manuscript that he handed over to the copyist looks far from that of a traditional fair copy. Instead of being clean and easily legible, the manuscript had a large amount of corrections. We might argue that Gade forced the copyist to read, comprehend and copy

48 *Aarstidsbilleder*, Op. 51 (later published as *Bilder des Jahres*) was composed and performed during two concert seasons in *Musikforeningen* 1871 and 1872. When conducting performances of the work himself, Gade had a string quartet to accompany the movements nos. 1 and 4. These parts were omitted in the printed edition of 1876. A large number of sources survive (including the original string parts). The complex genesis of the work is described in detail in the critical edition of the work, Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for male choir. Works for equal voices, vol. 2*.

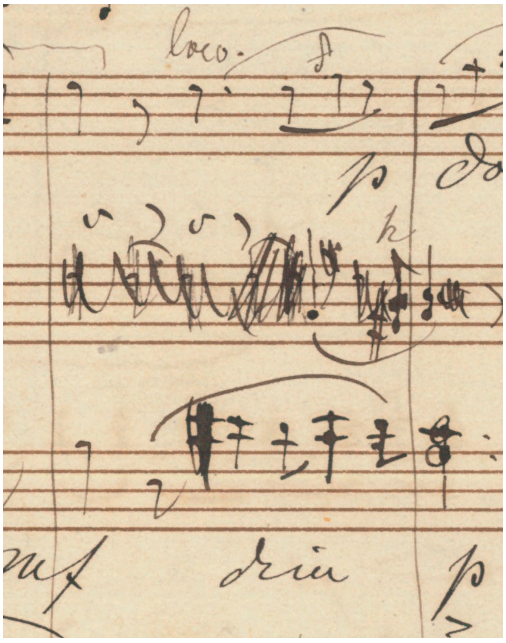
the musical meaning of the manuscript, rather than just the visual appearance of it. In other words, the copyist needed to relate the individual signs to their notational context in order to understand the exact connotation of them. The meaning of the sign  is impossible to figure out from its immediate look. Seen in relation to its context (Ill. 6), it is clear that it is a misshapen accent resulting from Gade's speedy writing: He started in the upper-left corner and continued down to the right, before shifting direction further down to the left. The accent was supposed to end after these two strokes, but Gade – being in a hurry – quickly moved his hand rightwards too soon before having lifted the pen from the paper. As a result, the accent was equipped with a small hook in the lower left corner.



Ill. 6. Detail from Gade's fair copy of the piano part for *Aarstidsbilleder*, no. 2, bb. 6–7. The similar rhythmical figures in the two bars must have prompted the copyist instinctively to recognize the first misshaped accent. Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 225.

Cancellations are numerous in the fair copy, forcing the copyist to interpret the notation before copying. In most cases, the shapes of Gade's corrections are easily recognizable, being either short wavy lines or solid ink spots. Ill. 6 shows a cancellation in the second half of the first bar: Two rests are crossed out, and as a consequence the preceding note is changed from a dotted crotchet to a dotted minim to fill out the bar. An extreme case of heavy correction is seen in Ill. 7. Above the cancellation in the beginning of the bar, Gade wrote four rests (crotchet rest, minim rest, crotchet rest, minim rest) to replace the deleted contents. The notation in the second half of the bar is ambiguous, making only sense if one recognizes a crotchet note on *a′* and the chord *g♯′*-*b′* on the metrical position of the ultimate quaver. In order for the copyist to spot the *a′* between the two heavy cancellations, Gade prolonged the stem of the note, giving it an unusual length that caught the attention of the copyist. To clarify the clumsy correction of the following chord, he added 'h' (b♮) above the staff to specify the pitch of the upper-voice. The sharp sign of the lower voice might be difficult to distinguish from the cancellation; Gade probably thought that the copyist might figure it out from the harmonic context of the chord, being a dominant-seventh chord resolving to the tonic, A minor, in the following bar (see Ill. 7).

Gade was aware that he was pushing the boundaries for what was acceptable for a copyist to read, and so he added the following comment after the last bar of the first movement:



Ill. 7. Detail from Gade's fair copy of the piano part for *Aarstidsbilleder*, no. 2, bb. 12–13. Despite heavy corrections, the passage was copied accurately by the copyist. Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 225.

> These two pieces should be written in an upright format [having the two piano parts] right next to each other just like the similar pieces you copied last winter. (Each part separately.) If you come across notes that are unclear, leave an empty space. I would like to have the copy tomorrow Sunday at 2 o'clock. [Gade's musical signature] ([Written] Saturday morning). ... [49]

Gade gave clear instructions on how he wanted the copy to be. By referring to how they proceeded the last time, he indirectly also reminded the copyist of the relation of mutual understanding that they had already agreed upon. By doing so, Gade could also be honest about the state of his fair copy, which was far from perfect. To prevent mistakes in the performance parts, Gade recommended the copyist to be honest if some details were too difficult to interpret. Such a procedure was probably the most efficient, because Gade himself could fill out the missing spots afterwards more easily than having to correct copying-errors first. Time was running, and Gade was in need of receiving the copy quickly, within the next day. At that time, Gade proof-read it, adding – as it seems – surprisingly few

49 Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 225, p. 5: 'disse 2 Stykker skrives / paa høit Format ligeoverfor / hinanden ligesom de lignende Stykker / De afskrev sidste Vinter. (Hvert for sig.) / Træffe De paa Noder som er utydelige / lad Plads staae aaben. / Jeg ønskede Afskriften imorgen / Søndag Kl: 2 / [Gade's musical signature] / (Lørdag Morgen) ...'.

details in pencil, some of which were a result of Gade changing his mind about the composition. The copyist placed a crescendo wedge in the piano primo, bar 4, instead of piano secondo. From its position between the staves of primo and secondo in Gade's manuscript, it was impossible to know to which one it belonged. Gade added the missing wedge in pencil in the copy, and in the same bar he inserted two accents, which were not present in the fair copy. Later, they were transferred to the printer's copy and to the printed edition of the work which was issued in 1876. Even after the copyist had prepared the final performance parts, Gade was still revising the composition during the process of proof-reading.

From its visual appearance, Gade's autograph manuscript could be described as a draft, an 'erste Niederschrift', being a preliminary version of parts of the work. Gade considered it a working document, which he used through several processes, adding and correcting the contents. At many places, dynamics are written in darker ink than the notes, emphasizing that they were added at the end of the writing process. The manuscript cannot, accordingly, be regarded as a fair copy in the sense that it was produced as a clean copy of a pre-existing source. In philological terms, though, it is the last autograph source of the work, giving it the status of the composer's final authority. It was not a fair copy in the sense of how it was manufactured, but it was the cleanest copy needed at that particular time of composing.

Traditionally, a fair copy denotes a clean copy of a work, which 'exposes authorial intention'.[50] Consequently, the term has been used to encompass a source containing a complete version of the entire work (or a part of it). Typically, a fair copy is the youngest autograph source for a work, prepared by the composer for the purpose of being read by others. Therefore, we might suggest that it denotes the last manuscript from the composer's hand independent of its appearance, the composer's writing style or writing utensil (pencil or ink). Regarding the mentioned manuscript for the piano part of *Aarstidsbilleder*, Gade copied the work at its current state, which was not complete at that particular point. Naming the manuscript a fair copy, therefore, denotes Gade's method of writing: copying as neatly as possible for the purpose of others being able to read and understand the contents of the musical notation. Thus, the style of writing was dependent on the social interrelations that the manuscript should have. Gade used different styles: The fair copies made for H.E. Hansen look rather sketchy, whereas fair copies for the publishers in Leipzig appear beautifully written without corrections, for instance the one for *Reiter-Leben* dated April 1848.[51] Unlike Mendelssohn, Gade did

50 Peter Hauge, 'The Critical Editing of a Musical Work on the Basis of Incomplete Performance Material. Scheibe's Second Passion Cantata, 'Sørge-Cantate ved Christi Grav' (1769)', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 40 (2016), 10.

51 The autograph fair copy of *Reiter-Leben*, which was used as the printer's copy, is neatly written (Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 337). Still, the varying sizes and shapes of staccato dots, dynamics and articulation marks reveal that Gade relied on the engraver and the publisher Fr. Kistner to finish off the visual appearance of the score. Earlier, Gade had cooperated with this company for the publication of Symphony No. 1 (Op. 5, 1843) and *Fünf Gesänge* for mixed choir (Op. 13, 1846).

not only use his normal handwriting ('Normalschrift') in manuscripts for others but also his less distinct handwriting, equivalent to the 'Privatschrift' of Mendelssohn. The characteristics of Gade's normal and his private writing style, however, are to some extent overlapping.[52]

Preparing multifunctional fair copies

In the 1870s and 1880s, Gade composed choral works for performances at three grand choral festivals in Aarhus and Copenhagen. The works were *Viborg Domkirke* (Viborg Cathedral; 1874), *Sangertog gjennem Sundet* (Choral Procession through the Sound; 1883) and *Nordens Folkeaand* (The Spirit of the Scandinavian People; 1890). The participating choirs, which came from all over the country, assembled for a couple of days to sing for each other and to give public concerts. The festivals attracted much attention from the press and local music lovers. To some extent, the whole country was turned upside down; even the railway company had to put in extra wagons for the several hundred singers to reach their destination. Most of the singers were amateurs organized in local choral societies such as *Aalborg Haandværker-Sangforening* (Aalborg Artisans' Choral Society, founded in 1854). This particular choir gave at least three concerts each season together with their conductor Adolph Nathan. Nathan was also chief conductor of the united choral societies in Jutland, an association founded in 1870 as a counterpart to the Copenhagen society of 1859. The united societies arranged the national rallies and supported the local choirs financially.[53] In addition, they were in charge of commissioning new compositions to be performed at the festivals.

As part of the planning, the committees took care of distributing printed choral parts in advance so that the amateur singers could rehearse prior to the concerts. As a result, Gade was forced to finish the parts as quickly as possible. During his preparations for the festival in 1890, Gade wrote a letter to the chief conductor of the united choral societies, Axel Guldbrandsen. Gade explains that the chairman of the society, Severin Jensen, had requested Gade to compose a song for the choral festival in Jutland: 'It is written, and a score is available, from which the choral parts can be copied'.[54] The choral score has survived, revealing that Gade left empty staves for the instrumental accompaniment below the choral parts. In other words, he composed the choral parts first and took care

52 On Mendelssohn see Koch, 'Skizzen, Entwürfe, Konzepte, Arbeitsmanuskripte, Fassungen, Revisionen. Zu Mendelssohns Arbeitsweise', 56–59.

53 Johan Hye-Knudsen and Kai Flor (eds.), *Danske Sangkor* (Sønderborg: DYPO, 1948–51), 18–21, 62, 100; Albert Auener and Christian Weile, *De samlede kjøbenhavnske Sangforeninger af 1859 gennem 75 Aar 1859–1934* (Aarhus: Th. Thrues Bogtrykkeri, 1934).

54 Sørensen (ed.), *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kreds*, no. 1427, letter from Gade to Axel Guldbrandsen, Monday 19 May [1890] (Copenhagen, Musikmuseet): 'Hr. Severin Jensen har anmodet mig om at skrive en Sang for den jydske Sangfest. Den er skreven, og et Partitur til at afskrive Korstemmerne foreligger'. Gade's underlining.

of the accompaniment only later. During the next month and a half, the 700–900 singers could rehearse their parts before meeting up in Aarhus.[55]

From his work as a conductor in *Musikforeningen*, Gade was used to participate in the organization of concerts. He insisted on being in charge of rehearsing the choir himself, and therefore he most definitely knew that rehearsals had to begin several weeks (sometimes even months) in advance in order for the choir to learn the music.[56] When performing large choral works, such as *Matthäuspassionen* by J.S. Bach, the choral parts were copied several months in advance so that Gade could start rehearsing with the choir. The instrumental parts, on the other hand, were copied only some weeks before a concert.[57]

The concert planning affected how Gade handled the compositional process of his own works. This is clear from for instance *Viborg Domkirke*, a choral cantata in five movements, composed for the national male choir festival that took place in Aarhus in 1874. Gade prepared a partial fair copy containing the complete choral parts, but the instrumental accompaniment in a short score only. No complete score has survived, and the question is if it ever existed. As it seems, Gade needed to have a clean copy serving several different purposes. His goal was not to present a work-of-art embodied in one written entity; rather, his objective was to facilitate the first performances of the works for which he had been commissioned: 1) Choral parts had to be duplicated and distributed to the singers throughout the country; 2) the instrumental accompaniment had to be arranged for a suitable ensemble of brass instruments, and the parts had to be copied and shared among the musicians; 3) and a piano reduction had to be made as well as a fair copy for the publisher to use for the printed piano-vocal score (see Fig. 2). For these multiple purposes, Gade prepared only one fair copy, which could meet the different demands of the organizers of the festival and the publishing company.

Instead of showing the relationship between the sources in a traditional stemma, Fig. 2 illustrates how the surviving sources resulted from different stages of the final

55 A detailed account of the festival, the arrival of the choirs and their reception in Aarhus by local officials, is given in *Aarhuus Stifts-Tidende*, 14 July 1890.

56 Statements on Gade's efforts as conductor of the choir are found in Behrend, *Minder om Niels W. Gade*, 69, 120–21. See also Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for mixed choir*, x.

57 Regarding the performance of *Matthäuspassionen* in *Musikforeningen* in 1875, it is possible to establish a rough chronology in the genesis of the performance parts based on the invoices presented by the copyist H.E. Hansen: choral score (26 Nov. 1874), choral parts (15 Jan. 1875), choral score (30 Jan. 1875), and instrumental parts (20 Mar. 1875). The datings represent the time, when the invoices were written by the copyist, not the time when the parts were copied. Nevertheless, as the invoices were presented to the administration of *Musikforeningen* continuously, it is reasonable to conclude that the choral parts were copied around two months before the instrumental parts. The first concert took place on 25 Mar. 1875. The invoices are kept at the Royal Danish Library, Musikforeningens arkiv, 21, Bilag til regnskab 1873–1876. The actual performance parts survive in Royal Danish Library, Musiksamlingen, MF 888.

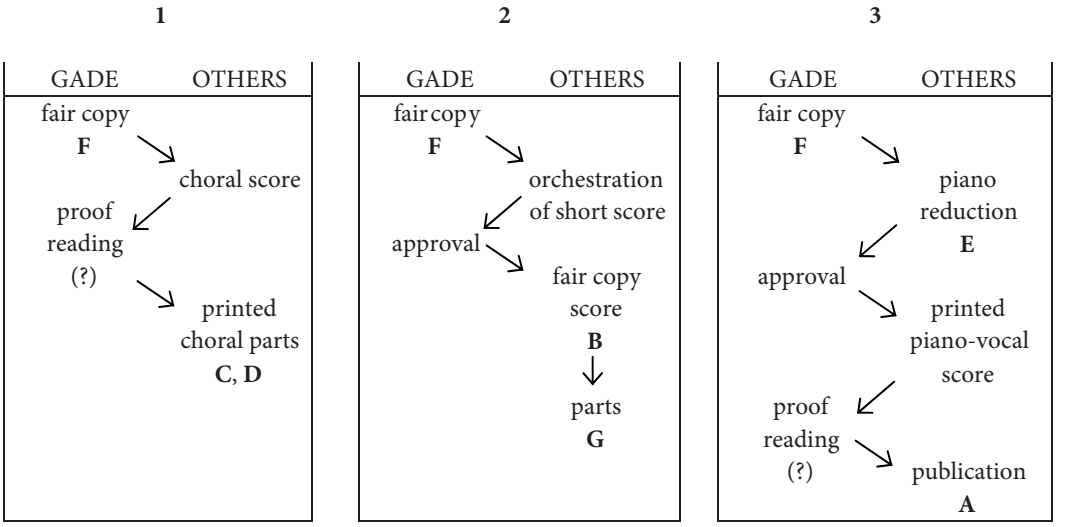


Fig. 2. Gade's fair copy, containing the entire choral parts and the instrumental accompaniment in short score only, served as the source for three further processes.

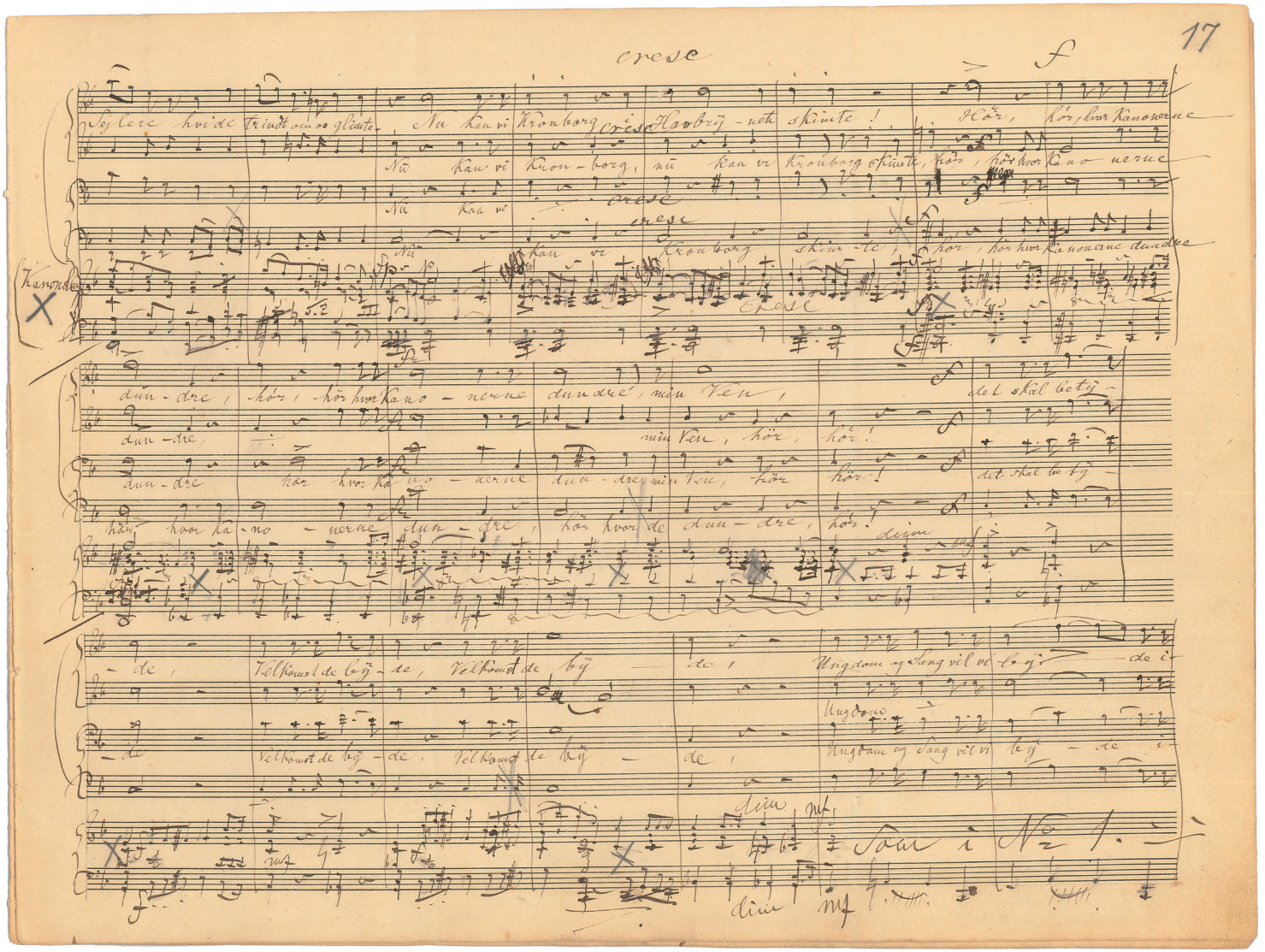
process during which the performance parts and a printed edition were prepared.[58] The relationship between the sources are based on collation of their contents, substantiating that Gade's fair copy made up the starting point of all the other sources mentioned here. Slight differences between the printed vocal parts (**C** and **D**) and the printer's copy for the piano-vocal score (**E**) reveal that the parts were produced at an early stage, probably shortly after Gade finished his fair copy in January 1874.[59] The printed piano-vocal score was not published until October, several months after the first performance of the work in June in Aarhus.

The process of arranging the performance influenced how Gade approached the creative process of composing. This was also the case in 1883 when Gade composed *Sangertog gjennem Sundet*, a choral cantata in five movements to be performed at the upcoming national festival in Copenhagen. The surviving autograph score may be compared to the fair copy of *Viborg Domkirke* mentioned above.[60] It contains the complete choral parts and a short score for the instrumental accompaniment, and it seems therefore that the two fair copies were made at the same point during the process of composing. However,

58 The sources are named using capital letters according to the critical edition, see Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for male choir. Works for equal voices, vol. 2*. **A** is the printed piano-vocal score (Horneman & Erslev, 1874); **B** is a manuscript copy, containing an instrumental score; **C** and **D** are two different editions of printed vocal parts (Wilhelm Hansens Forlag); **E** is the printer's copy of the piano-vocal score with corrections by Gade; **F** is Gade's fair copy; **G** are manuscript copies of the instrumental parts.

59 There are no metronome markings in the printed vocal parts (**C** and **D**). In Gade's fair copy (**F**), these and other details were added in pencil by Gade at a later time and from there transferred to the printed edition (**A**).

60 Royal Danish Library, C II, 175 Tvær-4°. 1923-24.187.



Ill. 8. Gade's fair copy for *Sangertog gjennem Sundet*, no. 5, bb. 49–70. Royal Danish Library, C II, 175 Tvær-4°. 1923-24.187.

the fair copy for *Sangertog gjennem Sundet* indicates that Gade started preparing the score at a slightly earlier point. Firstly, the instrumental parts have numerous corrections in ink, showing that Gade considered these parts of the manuscript to be a draft rather than a fair copy. Several layers of ink and pencil are visible (see Ill. 8). Large parts of the final movement are in fact sketched in pencil first and later emphasized in ink, testifying that Gade fair-copied the choral parts first and only later composed the accompaniment, writing his first ideas directly into the score. A passage of the accompaniment (bars 69–86) was never filled out in ink so that the pencil sketches are the only contents of the instrumental parts. Gade added a comment ('Som i No. 1'), explaining that the following passage should be identical with one in movement no. 1 (bars 99–116^{II}). Interestingly, only excerpts of the bass part is written (in pencil), being a shorthand notation of the elaborate accompaniment from movement no. 1. The manuscript, accordingly, worked at one and the same time as a sketch, draft and fair copy in terms of the accompaniment.

In April 1883, several Danish newspapers reported that Gade now had finished composing the new cantata for the approaching festival in Copenhagen in August later that year.[61] The surviving sources show, however, that he was still working on the music. The newspapers had probably received the news that the choral parts were about to be printed and distributed to the choirs all over the country. Gade's fair copy substantiates that the choral parts were complete long before he prepared the instrumental accompaniment in a short score. From the compositional process of *Viborg Domkirke* nine years earlier, Gade probably remembered that he would have had time to work on the accompaniment, the orchestration and the piano-reduction later in the process and that he could prepare one multifunctional fair copy as a basis for all further procedures. Using this method when composing, Gade proves to have been an experienced composer, conductor and concert planner, who knew exactly how to schedule the chain of events towards the performance of a work.

Incomplete fair copies, incomplete works?

The autograph fair copy for *Viborg Domkirke* did not contain the final work. Thus defining it as a fragmentary or partial fair copy is misleading, since it contains a sufficient amount of musical information, enough for others to edit the work and prepare performance parts. A complete score representing the entire work has not survived, and it is an open question if it ever existed. The same goes for choral works such as *Aarstidsbilleder*, *Sangertog gjennem Sundet*, *Bundeslied* and *Nordens Folkeaand*.

We might argue that the autograph manuscript for *Viborg Domkirke* was not at all a fair copy in the sense that the term is mostly used in text criticism – that is, denoting a manuscript copied from draft texts, representing a final stage of a work. Indeed, Gade's

61 *Holstebro Folkeblad*, 21 Apr. 1883; *Lemvig Folkeblad*, 22 Apr. 1883; *Svendborg Avis*, 23 Apr. 1883; *Thisted Amts Tidende*, 23 Apr. 1883.

manuscript represented the final stage at that particular point, when Gade had more or less finished composing. Only the scoring of the instrumental parts was left, a task that could be executed by someone else. Rather than representing the final version of the work, Gade apparently regarded the manuscript as the end-stage of his own writing process. In written form, the manuscript transferred a sufficient level of information about the musical structure of the composition for it to leave his desk. Thus, Gade's writing process ended at an early point during the entire creative process that eventually resulted in the performance of the work.

If a complete fair copy never existed, is the work then incomplete? The obvious answer is of course no. Since all of those above-mentioned works were performed publicly, complete parts must have existed. This gives rise to the notion that modern scholars have been too focused on the score as a representation of the work and thereby neglecting the significant role of parts.[62] Even as late as 1890, when Gade composed one of his last works, *Nordens Folkeaand*, he was not aiming at a complete score when composing.[63] Arguably, Gade's creative process was influenced by how he wanted to communicate his musical works to the involved performers. In some cases this even had the consequence that parts were composed and/or written separately. A couple of occasional works serve as examples. Gade composed the wedding cantata *Brat svinder Livet fra vort Blik* (Suddenly Life Disappears from Our View) around 1838 for male choir and organ for a wedding ceremony in Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen. Gade probably played the organ part himself, and therefore he refrained from copying the part into the neatly written score used for copying the choral parts into single parts.[64] Also in 1851, when Gade composed music for the funeral service of Hans Christian Ørsted, there was no need for copying the accompanying organ part into the score. Gade's future father-in-law J.P.E. Hartmann was playing, and it is not known if Gade at all participated in the performance.[65] Such fragmentary fair copies that exclude certain parts from the score seem to have been common. They explain why the copy of the liturgical work *Litanie* survive in a fair copy containing the choral parts and fragments of an organ part showing only the initial note and the ultimate note or the passages for the organist to play (see Ill. 9).[66] The organ part has not survived in its entirety; only Gade's scattered sketches indicate the overall harmonic layout of the part.[67] This does not mean that the work was incomplete; on the contrary, Gade and the choirs performed it regularly in Garnisons Kirke and Holmens Kirke.[68] The organ part,

62 Hauge, 'The Critical Editing of a Musical Work on the Basis of Incomplete Performance Material'.

63 Gade's working document (dated 1 May 1890) has survived from where a choral score was copied by an unknown hand (both manuscripts at Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 338).

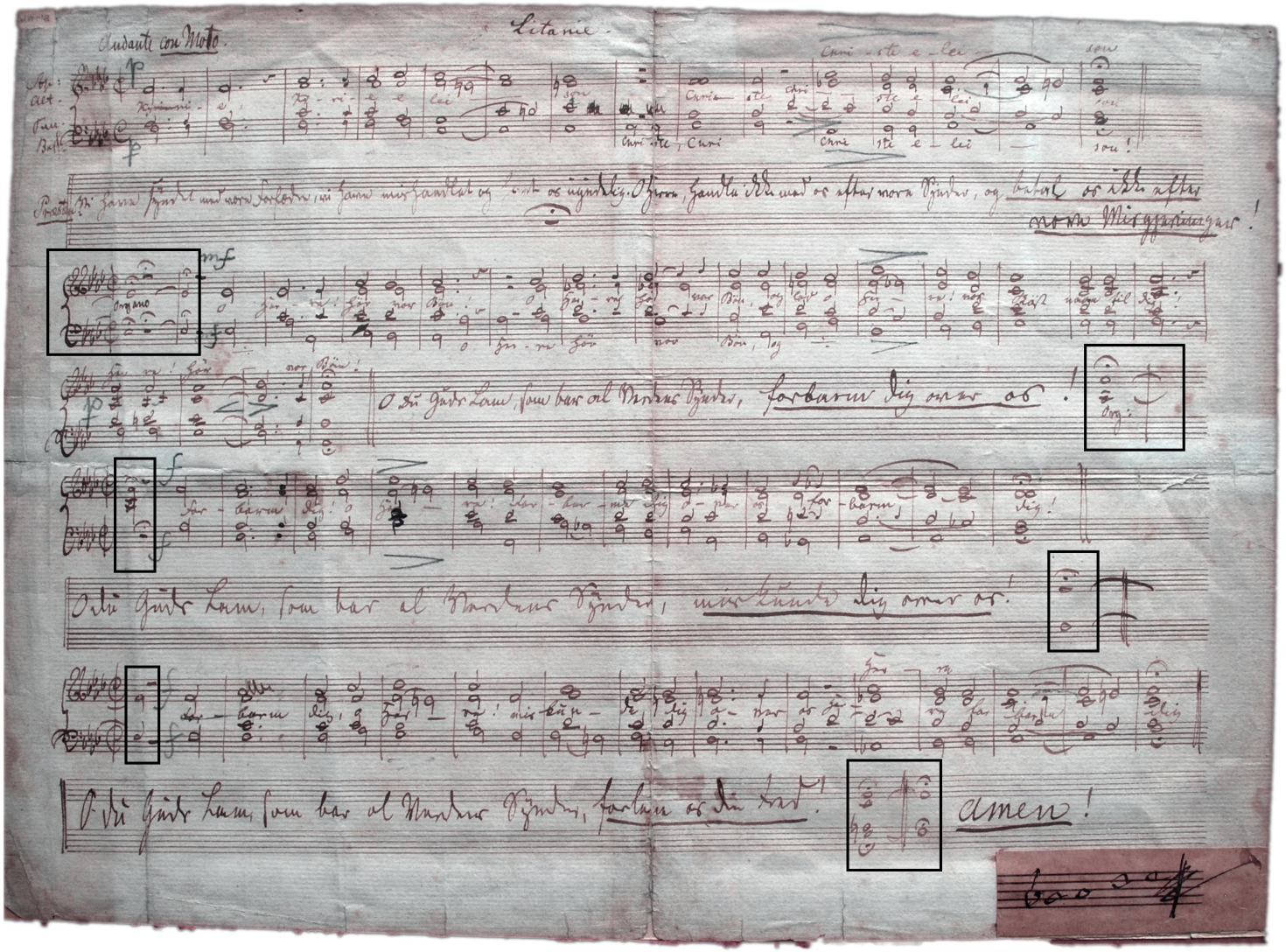
64 Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 405.

65 Royal Danish Library, C II, 7 Hartmanns Samling 269.

66 Autograph choral score kept at Garnisons Kirke, Copenhagen.

67 Royal Danish Library, C II, 6 Gades Samling 316.

68 Jens Peter Larsen, 'Litaniet i den danske kirke', *Dansk Kirkesangs Aarsskrift* (1948–49), 18–46, at 43; Klaus Lyngbye, *Niels W. Gades kirkemusik* (thesis; University of Copenhagen, 1971), 31.



Ill. 9. Gade's fair copy of *Litanie*. The boxes show chords to be played by the organist before the choir enters. Garnisons Kirke, Copenhagen.

which Gade himself played to accompany the prayer of the pastor, was needless to notate. As a performer of his own composition, Gade needed to keep three issues in mind: 1) the choir finished at a certain chord from where Gade should begin his accompaniment; 2) Gade's accompaniment should last at least as long as the pastor was reciting; 3) Gade should end up on a chord that he and the choir had agreed on so that the choir could continue singing the following section. In principle, he could play whatever he wanted, as long as he complied with these certain rules.[69] Most probably, the composition was complete in his mind, or he improvised the accompaniment on the fly. As an organist working on a daily basis, Gade was used to playing from the memory. Thus, a work like *Litanie* emerged within a musical environment governed by practices of improvisation.[70]

To Gade, the written medium was not necessarily the complete composition, but only a visual representation of it necessary for supporting a performance of the work. Many of his works, even large ones such as *Viborg Domkirke* which were highly popular during his lifetime, were not written or published in a complete score. To Gade, 'the work' was not the score. Even *Aarstidsbilleder*, which was given an opus number – the clearest indication that Gade himself considered the composition among his most important works – apparently never existed in a complete score during his lifetime.[71] *Aarstidsbilleder* was counted 'among the best works of the composer', but was still unavailable to the public (except for the piano-vocal version without string quartet).[72] No wonder that the composer himself was in charge of the concerts in *Musikforeningen*, where the work was presented to the public. To Gade, the performance was the ultimate goal of composing.

69 Moe, 'Et kig ind i kirkemusikerens værksted'. A full score of the work has been reconstructed on the basis of the autograph fair copy belonging to Garnisons Kirke together with a draft and a sketch surviving in the Royal Danish Library (C II, 6 Gades Samling 316): Moe (ed.), *Niels W. Gade. Works for mixed choir*.

70 The organist Christian Geisler substituted for Gade during Gade's last years at Holmens Kirke. Later, when Geisler himself became organist of Garnisons Kirke, where Gade composed the *Litanie*, Geisler re-introduced the work, rearranging it for a tenor soloist. The arrangement included a completely written organ part 'for the sake of use at concerts'; see letter from Geisler to Samfundet for Udgivelse af dansk Musik, [undated]. Royal Danish Library, C II, 6b, 2° 1957-58.108. Original Danish text: 'a. H. t. [af Hensyn til] muligt Koncertbrug'.

71 Gade certainly regarded compositions such as *Aarstidsbilleder*, *Viborg Domkirke* and *Sangertog gjennem Sundet* as definitive works. They were included in the list of works by Gade, assembled by his pupil J.D. Bondesen on the occasion of Gade's seventieth birthday (published in *Musikbladet*, 4/3–4 (Feb. 1887), 17–20). According to Bondesen's surviving manuscript list, Gade apparently oversaw its contents, meticulously crossing out smaller works, such as some of those mentioned during this article: *Brat svinder Livet for vort Blik* (*c.* 1838), *Hymnus* (1840), *Sang til Weyse* (1842), *Litanie* (*c.* 1852–58), *Ved Lutherfesten* (1883) among many others. As a consequence of Gade's corrections, these compositions were not included in the printed list. Bondesen's handwritten list is kept in Aarhus, Royal Danish Library (formerly Statsbiblioteket), Håndskriftssamlingen, no. 341, Bondesen, J.D., 'Fortegnelse over Niels W. Gades Compositioner tillige med en kortfattet Biografi'.

72 *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Musik*, 1/3–4 (28 February 1871), 21: 'Uagtet mindre voluminøse, ere de [i.e. movements nos. 1 and 4] dog af saa betydeligt musikalsk Værd, at de nok skulle vide at hævde sig en Plads blandt Komponistens bedste Arbeider'.

Abstract

The article investigates how Niels W. Gade composed his choral works and how he used written media during the process of composing. A point of departure for the interpretation of the surviving sources is that the preparation of musical manuscripts happened within a socio-musical context, governed by norms dependent on the writer and on the receiver of the text.

The article demonstrates that Gade did not follow a single writing procedure when composing his choral works. Gade started out sketching new works at various stages during the creative process of composing. His methods of writing down the musical contents varied too, from scattered notation making only sense to himself to elaborate scores with a high level of details. Even if he might have had a fixed structure of a work in his mind, he often reworked a composition several times before reaching a satisfying version. During the process of writing down his ideas, he made changes to the structure of the music and, while adding details related to the performance of a work, he would revise the composition further.

Gade used the written media as a tool during composing, and thus the article argues that writing down a composition was not the goal in itself. The process of notating musical ideas served the purpose of seizing certain element of a work in order to develop the composition further or to distribute information to others. The contents relied on the purpose of the written medium, and so Gade seems to have been conscious of what to write and how to write it. The multifunctional fair copies that he prepared for others to use show that Gade adapted to the situation and changed his ways of working out a composition in order to comply with the demands of others.

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Niels W. Gade: 'Gegenwartsmusiker'. On Progressive Epigonality in Nineteenth-Century Music History[1]

Siegfried Oechsle

Gade now

Even if Niels Wilhelm Gade's fame already began to fade in his lifetime, his oeuvre is part not only of Scandinavian but of European musical and cultural history. A Danish composer and conductor, shaped in his early years in his native country, later most notably in Germany, his works were performed, leaving the continent behind, also in the USA and in Australia. In this sense, Gade now may seem more contemporary than ever – as an inhabitant of a space between national territories, but also due to his pursuing of a music-cultural identity that was at the most collaterally affected by national boundaries. In Gade's lifetime, his bi- or transnational musical authorship had positive consequences. Subsequently, however, in times of aggressive nationalism that also affected the musical discourse, it created negative ones. Since the late twentieth century it has actually led to a growing interest in Gade once again. This is not least evident from numerous recordings, a modern critical edition of his music,[2] a new biography,[3] his correspondence being scholarly edited,[4] and a catalogue of his works soon to be published.

These efforts not only help preserve European music-cultural heritage. They also provide a basis for a new critical examination of Gade's music and of the history of its reception. This, in turn, may affect criticism of categories like national canon, epigonality

1 The paper is a result of the author's visiting professorship at the Royal Library Copenhagen in 2017–2018. A shorter version was 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.

2 A catalogue of the volumes is found at http://www.gade-edition.org/, accessed 17 May 2019. Participating in the edition is also the Royal Library Copenhagen with the *Danish Centre for Music Publication*: http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/dcm/projekter/gade.html, accessed 17 May 2019. Outside Denmark the Niels W. Gade-edition is published by Bärenreiter-Verlag Kassel: https://www.baerenreiter.com/en/catalogue/complete-editions/gade-niels-wilhelm/, accessed 17 May 2019. See also Finn Egeland Hansen, 'Niels W. Gades samlede værker. Det hidtil største danske nodeudgivelsesprojekt', *Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, 5 (1990), 5–18; Siegfried Oechsle, 'Gefeiert, geachtet, vergessen. Zum 100. Todestag Niels W. Gades', *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning*, 19 (1988–91), 171–84; Danish version: 'Fejret, agtet, glemt. Til Niels W. Gade i 100-året for hans død', *Niels W. Gade Newsletter*, 3 (1991), 3–23.

3 Inger Sørensen, *Niels W. Gade – et dansk verdensnavn* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2002).

4 Inger Sørensen, *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kreds. En brevveksling 1836–1891*, 3 vols. (Danish Humanist Texts and Studies, 36; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2008).

and the question of a measurement of progress in the temporal designations of future and past – designations from which, as is well known, conceptual weapons were forged in the musical-aesthetic discourse of the era past 1850.

The established canon of Romantic music still forms a very stable bastion for such endeavours. In permanent selections by market, media and scholarship, it is, strictly speaking, still and constantly worked on.[5] A line of progress of decidedly German imprint, running from Beethoven via Schubert, Schumann, Brahms and Wagner to early Schönberg, functions as a kind of backbone of this ado. It could soon be notionally ennobled by the term 'discourse'. Mendelssohn and Mahler have long participated in it as what might paradoxically be called 'master-epigones'. Figures like 'Gade, Raff and Rubinstein', though, to quote a stereotyped enumeration by Carl Dahlhaus, belong to the wide domain of 'real' epigones.[6]

For some time now, the composer Gade has partially escaped a music-historical shadowy existence of enumerations and marginalia. However, the widened perspective since the later twentieth century primarily supported studies of institutional and cultural history. But it hardly led to a new consideration of Gade's music as an aesthetic object.[7] At least in concerts and on the radio the music of Gade, the 'classicist Romantic', could more frequently be heard since his anniversary in 2017. It remains to be seen if and how this attention will continue. In musicology, though, 2017 almost entirely lacked any preoccupation with Gade including a focus on his music.[8]

To deal with Gade's music more thoroughly again would neither have to ignore such historical contexts nor the history of its reception in particular. It might, however, lead to

5 Representative for the category of 'canon' are: *MusikTheorie*, 21/1 (2006); Klaus Pietschmann and Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann (eds.), *Der Kanon der Musik. Theorie und Geschichte. Ein Handbuch* (Munich: edition text und kritik, 2013), here esp. Stefan Keym, 'Germanozentrik versus Internationalisierung? Zum Werk- und Deutungskanon des "zweiten Zeitalters der Symphonie"', 482–516.

6 The series of names 'Gade, Raff und Rubinstein' occurs a number of times in Dahlhaus as a fortification of Wagner's assumption concerning the symphony's end after Beethoven. Whoever tried to fill the historical gap of the decades 1850–70 with 'a few symphonies by Gade, Raff and Rubinstein' ('einige Symphonien von Gade, Raff und Rubinstein') would, according to Dahlhaus, replace 'music-historical facts' ('musikgeschichtliche Tatsachen') by 'mere statistics' ('bloße Statistik'): Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, 6; Laaber: Laaber, 1980), 197; see also 65.

7 Yvonne Wasserloos, *Kulturgezeiten. Niels W. Gade und C. F. E. Horneman in Leipzig und Kopenhagen* (Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft, 36; Hildesheim: Olms, 2004). The study offers an exhaustive examination of the Leipzig and Copenhagen conservatories' institutional history.

8 The symposium in Aarhus (Denmark) was held in cooperation with *Fonden til udgivelse af Niels W. Gades Værker* and Aarhus Universitet at Institut for Kommunikation og Kultur: http://arts.au.dk/aktuelt/arrangementer/vis/artikel/niels-w-gade-seminar/, accessed 17 May 2019. In Leipzig, a Gade-symposium was organized by students of the Hochschule für Musik and the Institute of Musicology at Leipzig University: http://www.hmt-leipzig.de/home/fachrichtungen/institut-fuer-musikwissenschaft/chronik-archiv/forschungsarchiv/document_331537/content_item_846172/Gade.pdf, accessed 17 May 2019.

a questioning of deadlocked images, labellings and sovereignties of interpretation. And it could, after all, help not to hypostasize traditional texts of reception in a way that they appear to be absolute authorities of judgement. It is revealing that it was precisely the speaking about his 'Nordic tone' and its characteristic sphere, linked to Gade's career since the Leipzig years, that has at the same time been a main hindrance for a more detailed preoccupation with his music. Gade, the Dane, has indeed been carried along in German musical histories since *c.* 1920 according to this topos – albeit in the manner of a presence primarily defined by doubt and by questions of notional history and history of thought. The musical foundations, though, for a judgement such as Hermann Kretzschmar's who saw in Gade the founder of a new era of instrumental music after Beethoven, had more and more been lost sight of. According to Kretzschmar, in his *Fourth Symphony*, originating from after his return from Leipzig,

> Gade is an excellent vassal of Schumann's and Beethoven's, in that first [*Symphony*], though, he appears as the head and leader of a new era. That C minor Symphony lent the higher instrumental music stimuli of greatest importance.[9]

Instead of seeking shelter under the topoi of the early Leipzig reception, it should be noted in the first place that at the beginning of the 'Gade-story' there was the observance of a musical deviation. Gade sounded different from what up to then was common in the genre of overture and symphony. The course-setting judgement was made by Felix Mendelssohn by choosing the *First Symphony* for the Gewandhaus-concerts' programme in the season of 1842–43,[10] later by the Leipzig public after the work's first performance. It was primarily from this that the 'Leipzig fairy tale' about the sensational triumphs of a hitherto unknown Dane from Copenhagen developed in Gade-literature, especially in its popular offspring.[11]

9 '…ist Gade ein hervorragender Vasall Schumanns und Beethovens, in jener ersten [Sinfonie] aber erscheint er als die Spitze und der Führer einer neuen Epoche. Jene Cmoll-Sinfonie gab der höheren Instrumentalmusik Impulse von größter Bedeutung'; Hermann Kretzschmar, *Führer durch den Konzertsaal, I. Abteilung: Sinfonie und Suite*, vol. I/II (Leipzig: Liebeskind, 1887), cited here after the 6th edn. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921), 500.

10 See Mendelssohn's two letters to Gade, on 13 January 1843 and 3 March 1843 in Sørensen, *En brevveksling*, Nos. 25 and 30, 82–84 and 92f.

11 See Siegfried Oechsle, *Symphonik nach Beethoven. Studien zu Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn und Gade* (Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, 40; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), 55ff.; Sørensen, *Niels W. Gade – et dansk verdensnavn*, 36ff.; Michael Matter, *Niels W. Gade und der 'nordische Ton'. Ein musikgeschichtlicher Präzedenzfall* (Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 21; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015), 25ff.

'Nordic' tones from Leipzig's sunny side – 'most amiable'[12] works from Copenhagian north

Up to this day, the reception history as to Gade's music has been dominated in an unrivalled fashion by the notion of its presumed 'Nordic character'. This topos was formed in Leipzig and was associated with metaphors such as scent, fog, complexion and tone (though all of them occurred in Denmark at the end of the 1820s already[13]). In this respect, it is consistent that Michael Matter's corresponding study is aligned with this topos. After an exhaustive reconstruction of the cultural Nordic discourse since the Enlightenment – a profound outline indispensable for future dealings with Scandinavian musical history since the eighteenth century – Matter investigates Gade's German reception, starting with his early work and focusing on its 'constant of reception', the 'Nordic tone'.[14] But in doing so, Matter creates the impression that Gade's comedown from an *international* to a *national player* had less been the consequence of his compositional development and his artistic decisions; rather, it seems conditional on a reception which was, practically until the composer's final years, fixated on the stereotype based on the Leipzig early work. According to this view, Gade ultimately becomes a victim of his own early successes. While the sensations of the first compositions were characterized by the invention of new patterns of musical writing, it was just these innovative sounds that evoked the reception's constants. Congealed as a trademark, all following works by Gade were measured by them. If the reception is then understood as centred on this contradiction, a dilemma arises from which Gade could not escape: If his later works lacked features counted among the stereotyped inventory of the 'Nordic tone', the earlier originality had paled or vanished completely. If the composer in turn revisited the musical substance of the 'Nordic tone', the new originality was underexposed or fully absent.

12 '…allerliebenswürdigste': with regard to the *Fourth Symphony* op. 20, *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, 43 (1885), 71.

13 In 1828, the poet Johan Ludvig Heiberg in the printed libretto's preface of the 'Singspiel' *Elverhøj* (Elfenhügel), created by himself and Friedrich Kuhlau, mentions Danish and Swedish folk tunes which are supposed to lend the whole thing a fairly national scent or complexion ('at give det Hele en ret national Duft eller Colorit'); *Elverhøi. Skuespil i fem Acter af Johan Ludvig Heiberg*, ed. Ferdinand Printzlau (Copenhagen: Hostrup Schultz, 1828), *Forerindringen [J. L. H.]*, IX. Also contained in F.[riedrich or Frederik] Kuhlau, *Elverhøi. Skuespil i fem Acter af J.[ohan] L.[udvig] Heiberg, sat i Musik med Benyttelse af gamle danske Folkeviser … Op. 100. Klaverudtog af Componisten* (Copenhagen: Lose, 1828; repr. Copenhagen: Dan Fog 1978). Mendelssohn writes from his journey to Scotland in 1829: 'Everything here looks so serious and burly and all lies halfway in scent, or smoke, or fog' ('Es sieht alles so ernsthaft und kräftig hier aus, und alles liegt halb im Duft, oder Rauch, oder Nebel'); Juliette Appold and Regina Back (eds.), *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 1: *1816 bis Juni 1830* (Kassel: Bärenreiter 2008), 345f.

14 Matter, *Niels W. Gade*; reviewed by Niels Bo Foltmann, *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 55 (2016), 595–600; and by Michael Fjeldsøe, *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 41 (2017), 28–31.

Instead of simplifying matters in a tragic constellation, the perspectives from which they are focused on could be altered more emphatically. One could either, for a change, not start from Gade's time in Leipzig but from the compositional developments of his long years in Copenhagen; or, the receptive topicality of the early years becomes the object of enquiry once more. In the first case, the approach should not to be narrowed down to the 'Nordic tone' and its corresponding points of proof in the works. In any case, the historiographical formation of a 'Leipzig School' ('Leipziger Schule') would have to be consulted as a permanent context. Just as the stock price of a single share cannot be observed without examining comparable prices of the market, it would be revealing indeed to take into account the judgements on Gade in connection with the changeable history of Mendelssohn's and Schumann's reception. Moreover, not least influenced by Wagner and his followers of German imperial times, the contents of a Romantic *imaginatio borealis* in its extremes shifted towards an ideology of the Nordic-Germanic with a certain racist undercurrent. This had an impact on Gade's reception as well as Gade's distance to all of this was, in opposition to all musical data, interpreted as Mendelssohn's influence. In an entirely Wagnerian sense, the Danish music critic and Gade-biographer Charles Kjerulf in 1917 spoke of Gade's 'Mendelssohnization' and connected it with a stigma of decadence.[15]

Below, the leading category of the 'Nordic tone' dominating the history of Gade-reception will (in reference to Michael Matter's rich and learned study) be examined once more inasmuch as the examination will less be pointed at an illustration of the early sensations, of their musical 'market value' and later 'slump in prices'; rather, a differentiation of discourses involved as well as of compositional potentials and of their patterns of development will be sought after more emphatically. This concerns, to start from Clara Schumann's talk of a 'Nordic national character' ('nordische Nationalcharacter'[16]), the theoretical bases of 'character-' or 'tone'-imagery, the distinction of 'Nordic' and 'national' and the compositional models, contained in the musical 'inventory' of the 'Nordic tone'. By differentiating these issues with regard to their context in a history

15 Charles Kjerulf, *Niels W. Gade. Til Belysning af hans Liv og Kunst i Hundred-Aaret for Mesterens Fødsel* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1917), 154ff. The book is defined by anti-German resentments and presents Gade's compositional career as a fight against Mendelssohn's influence, jeopardizing his proper identity. In connection with the reproach of Gade's 'Mendelssohnisierung' ('Mendelssohnization'; ibid., 156), see the author's 'Gefeiert, geachtet, vergessen'. D. M. Johansen's Grieg-biography (David Monrad Johansen, *Edvard Grieg*, Oslo: Gyldendal, 1934, 3rd edn., 1956) is written in a fascinating fashion to a large extent. In its valuation of Gade, however, based on Kjerulf's biography, it reiterates a view brought forward by it, according to which Mendelssohn had if not ruined Gade's Nordic identity, nevertheless weakened it decidedly (Johansen, *Edvard Grieg*, 58ff.). This is why, as through Johansen, Gade's reticent attitude in the face of Grieg's national endeavours was guided by a bad conscience (ibid., 59). Gade's reception in Scandinavia has so far been dealt with in a rudimental way at best.

16 Gerd Nauhaus (ed.), *Robert Schumann. Tagebücher Bd. II: 1836–1854* (Leipzig: DMV, 1987; licensed edn. Basel and Frankfurt/M.: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, n.d.), 259 (Clara Schumann's entry in the 'Ehetagebuch' III, March 1843).

of thought and with a view to their compositional/structural constitution, chances are heightened not only to focus on Gade's development in the decade of his work before 1848 but also in the following forty years in Copenhagen – at least in a rudimentary fashion. This interest seems all the more justified, the stronger the history of reception tended to reduce Gade to essentialist stereotypes.

Substance versus construct?

A lot has been written about the speaking of a 'Nordic tone', well documented in the history of reception. Nevertheless, questions and aspects of fundamental scepticism remain. They do not result from a reception that did not refer to concise musical facts. Recently, interrelations of that sort were elaborately constrained by Michael Matter. Doubt rather occurs regarding the question of clarity when it comes to the assignments themselves. Occasionally, such doubt is naively expressed in musicological seminars by way of asking whether there was in fact such a thing as a 'Nordic tone' after all, or if it was not mere 'construction' based on international folklore. History of reception is often understood then as some kind of almost arbitrary imaginary 'projected into' 'the music'. This doubt seems ascribable to Carl Dahlhaus who spoke of the 'prejudice of an ethnic substantiality of national characters'[17] in music. In most cases, however, a complementary note is overlooked according to which music, in any case, is a 'result of categorial formation'.[18] This certainly embraces the category of nationality. It is unacceptable, though, why it should only and exclusively apply to this particular topic. The contradiction between substance and construction/reception always concerns the whole domain of 'Töne und Charaktere' ('tones and characters'), to pick up a frequent phrase of Dahlhaus's. The tension between substantial foundation and clear analytical proof does actually apply to a lot of semantic contents ('Gehalte'), not exclusively to musically relevant north-*imagines* (although clarity must not be confused with unambiguousness). As a haziness of relations is apparently part of the matter itself, a fundamental methodical problem arises: Do the instruments of analysis destroy the object? Indeed, once the musical 'Formmaterie' ('matter of form') is sent through the filters of abstraction until only exact features remain, such as bourdon fifths, Lydian fourths etc., this theoretical condensate does not have much to do with the musical reality of artefacts any more. A substantialist understanding of the 'Nordic tone' cannot be refuted by distilling folkloristic essences from the music, in order to state then that these data did not carry any 'Nordic' information, but were, so to speak, music-culturally fleeting elements. To cite a favourite term of Dahlhaus's instead: The issues in question are 'configurations', connections aggregated most diversely from cultural knowledge of discourse and from

17 Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 33f. ('Vorurteil von der ethnischen Substantialität musikalischer Nationalcharaktere').

18 Ibid. ('ein Resultat kategorialer Formung').

precise musical structures. The primary goal here would be to fathom the transitions of music-culturally exchangeable elements to individual musical formations which are not exchangeable anymore and thus (at least within a temporal limitation) could refer to imaginarily more solid and historically more connected meanings. Of course, these musical-semantic relationships find themselves in historical fluctuation, as production and reception influence each other in mutual dependence.

Where is the north of the 'Nordic tone'?

Hence, the objection according to which the identification of a northern or indeed a regional reference in instrumental music were imperatively tied to verbal supplements could be parried by the fact that also other characters – as the scherzo-like, the elegiac, the sentimental or a 'melancholic tone'[19] – are dependent on paratextual information and on cultural processes of learning, in musical production as well as in auditory perception. This is also true of musical genres with scenic or literary references like the pastoral or the balladic. In addition, the indication of the cardinal direction only very indirectly implies an identifiable geographic direction. It is, in any case, a matter of 'mental maps', imaginarily constructed, in which oppositions of north and south are inscribed, instituted since Rousseau, Herder, Goethe or August Wilhelm Schlegel. This particular north represents foremost the emancipation from an aesthetic hegemony of classicism rooted in the antique south. The discourse mirroring this process is part of the outset of modernity since the late eighteenth century. Accordingly, northern space is conceived of as very wide and historically deep in the first instance.[20] A circumspect analysis of the phenomenon 'Nordic tone' would have to focus on the notions connected with the category 'tone' in rhetoric and metaphoric relations as well. Additionally, a further differentiation of the idea of north in history of thought and culture would be advisable, foremost with regard to the epochal caesura of 1850, which is central to Gade.

Varieties of northernness in Gade's oeuvre

Quite different concepts of northernness in cultural history and history of thought are relevant when it comes to Gade's work and its reception:

First, the archaic north, formed by mythical subjects such as Ossian or Edda-poetry. In cultural history it is opposed to the older south with its antique fitting and its classicist

19 To put not only the 'Nordic' but e.g. also the 'melancholic tone' in quotation marks is done here foremost to indicate the questionability of a permanent meta-linguistic marking of the phrase 'Nordic tone'. Sure enough, the ideological charge of the 'Nordic' in the twentieth century may considerably contribute to this necessity of creating distance. But epistemologically as well as music-aesthetically such a special status of the 'Nordic tone' within the wide span of musical tones and characters is hardly justifiable.

20 See Matter, *Niels W.* Gade, esp. 47ff.

reception following Winckelmann. In spite of the manifold sources of inspiration contained in Gade's 'Composition Diary'[21] dating from 1839–41, he frequents 'the sphere of the north'[22] in his first major orchestral composition by way of Ossian-poetry.

Second, the historical north, constituted following Rousseau and notably Herder's theory of 'Volksgeist' ('folk spirit') by referring to legends and fairy-tales, soon also to historic folk melodies. It is from this that the category of 'Volkston' ('folk tone') with its musical branches emerges. In Gade's early work this layer is evident in his use of the Old Danish *Ramund*-tune in the *Ossian-overture* and in the 'Volkston'-song *På Sjølunds fagre Sletter* at the beginning of the *First Symphony*.

Third, the national north in a narrower sense, shaped in Denmark insistently since the 1830s, later in the other Scandinavian countries, too. The art historian Niels Laurits Høyen is an important thinker on these developments later called 'Scandinavism'.[23] During these years the Scandinavian milieu is subject to a differentiation in the course of which Denmark advances to becoming the south of the thus imagined north. By re-introducing the 'large' north/south-difference into its northern side the concepts of north generate their own south. In this, a claim of autonomy becomes visible, identifying it as a creation of modernity. Transferred to scenic associations, the talk of 'charming' or 'endearing' qualities, which mark the reception notably of the *Second Symphony* and *Elverskud*, but also of compositions like *En Sommerdag på Landet*, is one of the most common Gade-stereotypes.[24] Norway, in contrast, is increasingly presented by the arts as the northern north: rough, pristine, severe and gloomy, up to outright existential menace.

Fourth, Wagner's north, rooted in Germanic mythology. This is primarily an artificial product which today would perhaps be subsumed under the 'fantasy' genre. This north, however, is most strongly politically and ideologically charged in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. National contents mutate into 'Kunstreligion', religion of art. And resonances with societal reality do not proceed as historical projections, but via political symbols and racist undertones. Whereas Gade widely left behind the Ossianic north in Germany on his return to Copenhagen, he sporadically did examine the Germanic north, as documented by his early Nibelung-project and his later contact with the matter of Baldur, only not to pursue it any further.

21 Rendered in Anna Harwell Celenza, *The Early Works of Niels W. Gade. In Search of the Poetic* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 199–207.

22 '…des Nordens Sphäre'; *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 22 (1845), 2.

23 Programmatic here is N.[iels Laurits] Høyen, *Om Betingelserne for en skandinavisk Nationalkonst's Udvikling. Et Foredrag, holdt d. 23de Marts 1844 i det Skandinaviske Selskab* (Copenhagen, 1844).

24 See Matter, *Niels W.* Gade, 163ff., and Siegfried Oechsle, 'Eine Erscheinung aus den "Buchenwäldern Dänemarks". Niels W. Gades 2. Sinfonie im Diskurs des Nordisch-Erhabenen', in Ole Kongsted et al. (eds.), *A due. Musical Essays in Honour of John D. Bergsagel & Heinrich W. Schwab/Musikalische Aufsätze zu Ehren von John D. Bergsagel & Heinrich W. Schwab* (Danish Humanist Texts and Studies, 37; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2008), 567–89.

These hardly exhaustive typological discriminations of the north do not intend to find categories as exact as possible for a regional 'sonography' of Gade's music and its Nordic tones or to sharply distinguish historic areas one from the other. At least, they promote the prospect of a better understanding of intermediation and more subtle transformations.

Nordic-national?

As the concept of nationality is essential to all these notions of northernness, relations must be differentiated between very distinctly. For instance, the discrimination of centre and periphery is still vital in a concept of nationality such as Schumann's, forming the basis of his speaking of a 'decidedly Nordic character'[25] in Gade's music.[26] Qualifying as 'national' were, to Schumann, the musical efforts of emancipation of the 'adjacent nations' ('angränzenden Nationen'). The centre, located within the imaginary borders, is, on the one hand, liable to the idea of an Italian-French-German 'triumvirate' of music, characteristic of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, since at least the 1830s there comes into play an increasing nationalization of the 'classical' era, led by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, as an epitome of German music. Lending the centre the entitlement of universality, though, would be far too simple – even if Schumann claimed that the nations assembled under 'periphery' were regarding 'the German nation as the first and most loved teacher in music' ('die deutsche Nation als ihre erste und geliebteste Lehrerin in der Musik betrachten'). With regard to Scandinavia, 'national' and 'Nordic' are synonymous here. As substantial foundations of 'national tendencies' ('nationellen Tendenzen'), Schumann names 'old folk tunes' ('alte Volkslieder'), 'old fairy tales and legends' ('alte Mährchen und Sagen'), scenic stereotypes of Scandinavia and its poets, notably the 'new appearing, eminent' ('neu auftauchenden bedeutenden'). This reveals a concept of north and its national status primarily focused on bourgeois 'Bildung', remaining integrated in Schumann's aesthetics of the poetic and standing on a universal position of an 'adept of mankind' ('Kenner der Menschheit'). Thinking in national essences, defining the true identity of Danish, Swedish or German music, is far removed from that. An anonymous critique of Gade's *Comala*, dating from 1846, illustrates how subtle, poetic and yet musically mediated such historic characterizations can become. In this piece, accordingly, there wafts

25 '…entschieden ausgeprägten nordischen Charakter': Robert Schumann, 'Niels W. Gade', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 20 (1844), No. 1, 1 January 1844, 1–2. All other quotes in the paragraph above are taken from this text as well.

26 See Laurenz Lütteken, '"… im gesunden musikalischen Deutschland". Schumann und das "Nationale" in der Musik', in Matthias Wendt (ed.), *Robert und Clara Schumann und die nationalen Musikkulturen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Bericht über das 7. Internationale Schumann-Symposion 2000 im Rahmen des 7. Schumann-Festes, Düsseldorf* (Schumann Forschungen, 9; Mainz: Schott, 2005), 134–48.

> the national folk-tone, that musical mystic of the north which we meet, so original-mysterious, in all melodies of the Nordic peoples' tribes; and not only in their fondness of gloomy, melancholic minor keys, but also in the peculiarly soft and sensual treatment of major harmonies.[27]

The category of nationality as such would not have to be kept apart from this concept of the 'Nordic tone' because of this, as stipulated by Anna Celenza.[28] Instead, a more exact specification of the term is necessary.[29] With regard to Gade's composing after 1850 for instance, that is after his return to the Danish metropolis, it would have to be shown why the *Fourth Symphony* of the same year, particularly because of its 'un-Nordic' and universal tone, tells of the new national standpoint of its maker. For indirectly it seems to announce his national claim to be allowed, as a representative of a European marginal nation, to present a universal symphony that does not mark its own origin.

Gade's concept of nationalism in music, taking into account his oeuvre as a whole, largely corresponded with Schumann's. His musical working on different north-topoi was less aimed at the construction of national identity; rather, the attraction of this poetic substance lay in the creation of innovative sounds and forms. Originality and individuality remain the highest-ranking aesthetic categories of his artistic self-concept. For all of his life, Gade heeded to Schumann's advice to remain open to 'other spheres' ('andere Sphären'[30]) and to Schumann's warning him of keeping in one single style. This is also revealed by Gade's answering the question as to why he had no longer followed up the sphere of the Nordic-national of his early work in his later compositions: 'There was nothing more to be retrieved from it.'[31] For Grieg, this assessment would have meant the end of his career as an artist on a national mission. For Gade, obviously, it did not. He did not entirely avoid his Leipzig innovations in later years, though – they indeed remained self-reflexive addresses in subtle allusions.

Categories such as the 'the north' and 'the national' would certainly have to be differentiated further. Nevertheless, this also applies to the musical issues that vouch for them. They are aligned with the types of orchestral setting found in Gade's early oeuvre.

27 '…der nationale Volkston, jene musikalische Mystik des Nordens, die uns in allen Weisen der nordischen Völkerstämme so originell-räthselhaft entgegentritt, und zwar nicht nur in der Vorliebe für die düsteren, melancholischen Molltonarten, sondern auch in der eigenthümlich weichen und sinnigen Behandlung der Durharmonieen'; *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 48 (1846), 227.

28 Celenza, *The Early Works of Niels W. Gade*, 189.

29 In a similar way this also applies to Yvonne Wasserloos, 'Achsen-Grenzgang als nationale Mission? Niels W. Gade und Johannes Verhulst zwischen Innovation und Konservierung', *Die Tonkunst*, 10 (2016), 288–99.

30 Schumann, 'Niels W. Gade'.

31 'Der var ikke mere at gøre ud deraf'; after William Behrend, *Niels W. Gade* (Copenhagen: Schønberg, 1917), 113f. Kjerulf, *Niels W. Gade*, 270f., quotes Gade remarking: 'Der er ikke mere at bringe ud deraf.'

The 'Nordic tone' and its types of orchestral composition

It cannot be stressed enough that the 'Nordic' characteristics of sound in the early orchestral works are not to be found in some kind of essence (in which, then, for instance, the component 'modal tonality' would rank highly). But this does not mean, in turn, that the phenomenon had no structural counterpart in the music. Instead of reducing the matter to music-theoretically definable distillates, however, tangible types of musical writing must be taken into account. Abbreviated in a hypothesis: The 'Nordic tone' in Gade's works comprises an inventory of very different modes of orchestral sound. More precisely, one is dealing with a palette of 'Nordic' tones and characters.

First: The largest public impact[32] was caused by the 'Bardenchor' ('chorus of the bards'; Gade used the German designation as the heading of the final movement in *Comala*). It consists of a melody, mostly in unison and dominated by brass, grounded on bulky, arpeggiated chordal accents on strong beats. This characteristic sound with its elaborate evocation of elementary artlessness is met by harmonic means which can offer an appearance of antiquity.[33] The type, moulded sharply in terms of instrumentation, has precedents in Ossian-operas, such as those by Rossini and Le Suer,[34] but in all likelihood also in the various examples of incidental music composed for Adam Oehlenschläger's tragedies by A. P. Berggreen and J. P. E. Hartmann in the 1830s.[35] Yet it is only in Gade's early works that it attains topical conciseness and variance of sound. It was probably the impression derived from the likes of this that inspired Schumann to the musical picture of 'Ossian's giant harp' ('Ossians Riesenharfe'[36]) in his article on Gade.

Second: The mobile, genuinely instrumental side piece of the static 'Bardenchor' is formed by fast march-like models in which vigorous scalar motions in dotted rhythms

32 This can surely not be restricted to Leipzig. Reception documents in contemporary German periodicals reach from Riga to Cologne, from Hamburg to Munich.

33 See Matter's characterization of the 'Bardenchor' (*Niels W. Gade*, 209ff.). Next to the major/minor-ambivalences specified there, one could add axial notes such as pedal points which lend the sound aspects of static and ruggedness.

34 See ibid. 69ff.

35 In connection with Berggreen's music for Oehlenschläger's *Socrates* (1835), see Niels Martin Jensen, 'Niels W. Gade og den nationale tone. Dansk nationalromantik i musikalsk belysning', in Ole Feldbæk (ed.), *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, vol. 3: *Folkets Danmark* (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1992), 213f. Hartmann's incidental music for the tragedy *Olaf den Hellige* (autograph dated 'April 1838' with opus number 23) could also be mentioned here, especially its 'No. 3. Chor af Skalderne i 4de Act' for male choir and large orchestra, with a symphonic scoring reinforced by trombones and harp. No. 4 is 'battle music' combining chordal tremoli (violins and violas), arpeggiated harp chords, brass in unison and drawn out *cantabile* lines in the basses. In addition, there are 'Tamburino miltare e gran cassa' (Royal Library Copenhagen, C II, 114, Tværfolio, 34ff., according to the source's pencil foliation; a digitatization of the autograph is found at http://img.kb.dk/ma/dankam/ms/hartmann_j_p_e/hartmann_olaf.pdf; accessed 17 May 2019.

36 Schumann, 'Niels W. Gade'.

prevail. Intervallic leaps, motorically repeated, in turn provide retaining contrasts. Orchestral sforzati, sharply subdividing, and signal-like series of notes can be added. Harmony contributes to an archaic effect here, too, for instance by way of a poly-diatonic major/minor-tonality in which parallel triads hardly function as (Riemannian) substitutes.

Mediated via verbal indication such as the title of op. 1, both types can supply the sphere of sublimity with receptive connections for an Ossianic imagery (whereas the aesthetics of the sublime as in Kant's dynamic-sublime is quite associable with climatic-scenic north-stereotypes). The genre combines monotony and monumental simplicity, paired with the notion of legendary incidents. As the evocation of the 'bards' particularly possessed imaginative potentials but offered little potential in terms of musical development, one could speak of a static pithiness.[37]

The third type in the inventory of 'Nordic tones' and the associated north-*imagines* offers a much bigger variability. It is the *cantabile* in a restrainedly conducted melos and a harmony in which modal colourings occur in a muted sonority, usually carried out by woodwinds and lower strings. Other formations may be added which could perhaps be construed as a 'reverberation' of responsorial chanting practices. The subordinate section of the *Ossian-overture* and the slow movement of the *First Symphony* are prominent examples of these *cantabile* models. Though stimuli via older Scandinavian 'folkeviser' can be demonstrated, no direct quotations occur. Consequently, a designation such as 'Romanze im Volkston' would perhaps apply to this type of 'Liedsatz'.[38] In the history of reception corresponding allusions of elegiac, melancholic, remote, old or of mysterious appear. Not only is this primarily lyrical domain more versatile and more capable of development than the slightly showy 'Bardenchor'. Usually coloured modally, the *cantabile* also exhibits a subtle *couleur historique*, rather than offering regional associations.

A fourth domain within the inventory of structures and sounds headed 'Nordic tone' is marked by dance-like types that further develop the type of the 'Elfenscherzo', the 'Scherzo of the Elves'. Gade first and foremost adopted Mendelssohn's *Overture* for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and transformed some of its features into the symphonic milieu. Due to working with rapid figuration, ornamental formulas, scoring effects like *sordini* and tonally changing scale variants, the type actually deviates least from patterns of German musical Romanticism. Nevertheless, it was precisely the trio ('Meno Allegro')

37 Schumann's concerns are most certainly related to this 'Ossianic manner'. His review of the *Ossian-Overture* (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 16 (1842), 41f.) contains the phrases 'Einförmigkeit des Ausdrucks' ('monotony of expression') and 'Kälte des Tons' ('coldness of tone') – though this association, due to its synesthetic sensitivity, still fascinates today.

38 In retrospect, Gade stated to have composed the song-model from the *First Symphony*'s beginning as a 'Ballade im Volkston' (Royal Library Copenhagen, C II, 6 Gades Samling 256, kapsel C–E, single sheet). The source is the draft of an album entry dating from the 1880s. The autograph text is in German. According to its invention in the manner of a two-part horn tune with a 'choral' refrain, this particular *cantabile* is indeed a special case.

of the *First Symphony's* Scherzo – representing it in its archaizing minor tonality as a kind of prototype – that evoked the greatest furore in Germany (including Mendelssohn[39]).

The panorama of symphonic composition as such does not yet represent a musical-structural substratum for the topos of the 'Nordic tone'. With its musical image of an 'historical curtain' opening at the beginning and closing at the end in front of the 'Ossianic' formal tableau, the *Ossian-Overture* exemplifies that the individual form, possessing something of a narrative design here, is not only the 'carrier' of a special *couleur locale*, but forms a crucial constituent of the 'mise-en-scène' in itself. The epic milieu of the formal 'action' melds boreal topoi to a sphere that is more than a side by side of stylistic-technical types of setting.

This short survey also reveals that Gade's early efforts in the matter that the reception called 'Nordic tone' originally is an affair of instrumental music. There again, it is not restricted to the thematic positions of sonata exposition but focuses on the complete classical four-movement cycle. Gade's working on a musical poetics of the North is primarily a symphonic one.

It also becomes transparent that the question of Gade's further compositional development and its reception must take into account the changing combinations of styles, characters and tones. This simply means that, for instance, a history of Gade's reception based on the musical topos of the 'Bardenchor' will fall short.[40] Conversely, this also applies to attempts of connecting musical semantics of the North with song-like melodic inventions.[41]

Of course Gade returns to his own compositional materials later, develops them, puts them in new contexts, uses them as self-quotations or turns away from them completely. An exhaustive examination of this process in his oeuvre, surpassing verbal documents of reception and their selective analytical assessment, in favour of considering more thoroughly the point of view of composition history, is not yet at hand. At least, some lines of perspective in this regard may be suggested.

39 Mendelssohn's letter to Gade, 3 March 1843 (Sørensen, *En brevveksling*, No. 30, 92f.). See also Friedrich Kistner's, the Leipzig publisher's, letter to Gade on the same day (ibid., No. 29, 90off.).

40 Although Matter does not reduce Gade's 'Nordic' sound to the type of the 'Bardenchor', he does put exclusive focus on it when it comes to the question of Gade's 'personal style': 'The "Bardenchor" quasi typifies Gade's general mode of composition in a nutshell.' ('Der Bardenchor verkörpert gleichsam in komprimierter Form Gades generelle Kompositionsweise'; Matter, *Niels W. Gade*, 211).

41 In the *First Symphony* the introduction's song-model not only advances to the first movement's main theme but is also subject to a 'monumentalization' in the Finale – a final conception encompassing the cycle which in this manifest thematic relationship represents a novelty in the genre's history. The author's study quoted above (*Symphonik nach Beethoven*) focuses on this song-matter primarily from the perspective of symphonic history, not for the cause of searching for the 'Nordic tone' in Gade.

On Gade's further dealings with the compositional spectrum of the 'Nordic tone'

With the model of the 'Bardenchor' mentioned above, the young Gade created for himself the possibility of transforming the old symphonic 'gears of shiver, fear and horror' ('Hebel des Schauers, der Furcht, des Entsetzens'[42]) into the great archaism of Ossianic imagery. The title 'Nachklänge von Ossian', 'Echoes of Ossian', served as a semantic signifier for such poetic associations. However, Gade thus provoked a conflict between mythological authenticity and aesthetic originality. Clearly, the contradiction of uncivilized ferocity of the 'Nordlands-Kämpen'[43] ('northern warriors') and continual enhancements of the musical material standing in for it could hardly be solved by way of composition. The threshold of stimulus for impressions of mythical fright was, in any case, not to be lowered – an effect of familiarization that could, above all, not be escaped via a strategy of artful artlessness. Even in his *First Symphony*, Gade distinctly withdraws from the bards' sphere of the Ossianic; for the original title of the main theme's song version is about medieval Danish legends of Valdemar-times and refers scenically to the Danish island of Sjælland (Zealand). The *Second Symphony* goes even further in a sublimation of literary-historic contexts.[44] Thereafter, the 'Bardenchor' occurs in reduced, clearly individualized variants, until it finally ends, as demonstrated by Michael Matter, in a self-quotation with a humorous musical G-A-D-E-signature in the final movement of the last symphony.[45] Not least Ferdinand Hiller's reaction emphasizes that the *Eighth* was nevertheless a reference to the early work.[46]

In 1846, when Gade, by then an established conductor in Leipzig, first turned to the choral-symphonic genre of works for soli, choir and orchestra with *Comala*, he once

42 E. T. A. Hoffmann in his review of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik. Aufsätze und Rezensionen*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (Munich: Winkler, 1977), 36.

43 The phrase surfaces in the early nineteenth century, see e.g. Theodor von Wedderkop, *Bilder aus dem Norden gesammelt auf einer Reise nach Dänemark und Schweden*, part 2 (Oldenburg: Schulze, 1845) (including a twelve-page supplement of Swedish folksongs in several parts), 158, passim. Digitization at https://books.google.de/books?id=SnUJliIPyIIC, accessed 17 May 2019.

44 In this regard, the Gade of the *Second* is closer to Jean Paul's characterization of Ossian: 'Alles ist in seinem [Ossians] Gedichte Musik, aber entfernte und dadurch verdoppelte und ins Unendliche verschwommene, gleichsam ein Echo, das nicht durch rauh-treues Wiedergeben der Töne, sondern durch abschwächendes Mildern derselben entzückt.' ('Everything in his, Ossian's, poem is music, but a remote one, hence doubled and blurred into the infinite; like an echo that does not delight by a rough-true reproduction of the tones but by a extenuated dampening of them'); Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, ser. I, vol. 5, ed. Norbert Miller (Munich: Hanser, 1973), 89.

45 Matter, *Niels W. Gade*, 178f.

46 In a letter to Gade concerning the *Eighth Symphony*, Hiller expresses his joy 'to hear once again the Nordic tone so distinctive of you which in the time of the C minor symphony astonished us so and which, in spite of all the tones you are master of, is the one most suitable for you!' ('…jenen Dir eigenthümlichen nordischen Ton wieder angeschlagen zu hören der uns zur Zeit in der cmoll Symph. so sehr frappirt & der, trotz aller Töne, deren Du Dich bemeistert, derjenige bleibt der Dir am Besten steht'); Ferdinand Hiller's letter to Gade, Cologne, 16 April 1872, in Sørensen, *En brevveksling*, No. 610, 833f.

again took his departure from Ossian, therefore from an imaginative space of cultural history which could be called the 'Great North'. Nonetheless, with his next work in this genre, the 'Ballade nach dänischen Volkssagen für Solo, Chor und Orchester' ('ballad after Danish folk legends for soli, choir and orchestra') which Gade himself titled *Erlkönigs Tochter/Elverskud* (1854–55), he makes an analogous withdrawal here too. In this work, manifest melodic borrowings from older Danish folk tunes are not detectable. Yet, the Danish legend matter and the splendidly orchestrated musical tableaus of mood provided for the work's becoming an epitome of musical Danishness ('Danskhed') in national reception. Accordingly, it also ended up on the official 'Kulturkanon' list,[47] issued by the Danish Ministry of Culture in 2006. The international career of *Erlkönigs Tochter/Elverskud* remains unmentioned there – although the work was published in 1854–55 (parts and piano reduction), as well as in 1865 and 1879 (first and second print of the score) in the Leipzig edition of Kistner in German.[48] A French and an English piano score followed in 1869 and 1872 respectively. In fact, via the subtitle all these editions do contain a note concerning the ballad's provenance from the sphere of Danish legends. (The Danish origin of the Oluf-ballad is already mentioned in Herder's translation in *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*.) Yet Gade's composition, today viewed as 'romantikkens danske nationalepos',[49] was one of the most popular choral-orchestral works in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century.[50] It may be regarded as overdue that now, for the first time, a recording in German was released.[51] And a closer examination of the work's genesis and reception would have to ask how important the national significance of the text was to the composer after all.

The pool of Allegro-themes with more or less march-like traits, mentioned in second place above, Gade would extend in many forms. A martial character noticeably gives way to a more pliable flow, in which rawer chordal accents stand back in favour of a motivic

47 Special issue of *Kulturkontakten*, Copenhagen, January 2006, under 'Partiturmusik', 51.

48 Tr. provided by Edmund Lobedanz. Next to the printed parts, the Leipzig edition of 1854–55 contains a piano score, and only this is where both German and Danish text appears (the German text is given the primary position). Both prints of the score from 1865 and 1879 merely have German text. As late as 1876 a piano reduction with German und Danish vocal text was issued at Wilhelm Hansen in Copenhagen, Danish now being the primary language (the choral parts exclusively contain the Danish text). See esp. Niels W. Gade, *The Elf-King's Daughter Op. 30. Ballad founded on Danish Legends for Soli, Chorus and Orchestra/Erlkönigs Tochter Op. 30. Ballade nach dänischen Volkssagen für Soli, Chor und Orchester*, ed. Niels Bo Foltmann (Niels W. Gade Works/Werke, IV/2; Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødring/Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2018), viii–xvi ('Preface to this Volume').

49 *Kulturkontakten*, 51.

50 In connection with the work's reception, see Jensen, 'Niels W. Gade og den nationale tone', 279–89, as well as the 'Preface' to Foltmann's edition.

51 Published in 2018 by the label DaCapo (Danish National Vocal Ensemble, Concerto Copenhagen, Lars Ulrik Mortensen). The preceding performance on 26 February 2017 in Copenhagen has partly been enthusiastically received (concert review in *Berlingske Tidende*, https://www.b.dk/kultur/gade-som-hovedvej; accessed 17 May 2019).

design more richly branched and more agile. The first movement of the *Second Symphony*, for instance, is governed by a hymnal verve with chorale-like elements. In the *Third Symphony* the sublimation of Ossianic *maestoso* reaches its peak and its point of transition at the same time. With its abstract materials and its tendency to broadening expansion, the music earns a high level of motivic density. The themes in themselves – with the exception of the finale – turn out richer in contrast and form larger melodic arches. This is where patterns emerge that linger until the last symphony. By itself, a 'northern' reference would hardly be comprehensible here. That this sphere, though, is perceived with hardly any derogation in the reception of the *Third Symphony* shows the effect of growing possibilities of further links in the oeuvre which in turn allow for more sublime solutions.

The *cantabile*, on the third characteristic position in the imaginative domain of the 'Nordic tone', has, in contrast, different and, after all, bigger potentials, as there is no necessity here to boost the Nordic-monumental by way of self-outdoing. Rather, individuality is viable in a dimension of deviation that is alluded to by the metaphors scent, tone or complexion. Knowing of the public's expectations – a public regarding Gade as a representative of a Nordic complexion in instrumental music – the composer can operate with sound deviations on the brink of perceptibility. Precisely in this, however, the matter becomes increasingly self-reflexive due to the possibility to play with the perception of perception or the hearing of hearing. This may not only motivate the recurring talk of the music's charm and allurement but it rather stimulates the imaginative power of hearing as a whole. In terms of *cantabile* inventions, not necessarily restricted rigidly to a structure of 'Liedsatz', Gade succeeds in creating a self-contained type of writing, still praised by Philipp Spitta at the end of the century in his distinctive liaison of great expertise and poetic imaginary:

> A special kind of Danish music – that had already begun to swell like a bud, in the music for 'Holger Danske', in Weyse's songs and in some, at least in the newer, folk songs, – has blossomed in Gade. Something tender, aromatic, yet fresh; dewy roses is what one would like to call these maiden-like slender melodies. I characterize this manner as Danish; for among the contemporary Swedish melodies, including Lindblad's most beautiful songs, I have not found it … Nobody will forget them once they are absorbed.[52]

52 'Eine besondere Art dänischer Musik, die schon in der Musik zu "Holger Danske" zu treiben anfängt, in Weyses's Gesängen und manchen jedenfalls neueren Volksliedern als Knospe erscheint, ist bei Gade aufgeblüht. Etwas Zartes, Duftiges und doch Frisches; bethaute Rosen möchte man diese jungfräulich schlanken Melodien nennen. Ich bezeichne die Art als dänisch; denn unter den gleichzeitigen schwedischen Melodien, auch den schönsten Liedern von Lindblad, habe ich sie nicht gefunden … Niemand vergißt sie wieder, der sie einmal in sich aufgenommen hat.' As examples Philipp Spitta specified the secondary theme of the *Ossian-Overture*, the Andante of *First Symphony*, the central movement of the first violin sonata and the second movement of the E minor quintet: 'Niels W. Gade', in *Zur Musik. Sechzehn Aufsätze* (Berlin: Paetel, 1892), 376.

Finally, with regard to the fourth 'section' of the 'Nordic tone' in the early work, the dance/scherzo-like formations, one could speak of quite a rapid amalgamation with the *cantabile*. The trio of the Scherzo in the *First Symphony*, associable with a 'Nordic' elven dance and euphorically received in Leipzig, was in any case not repeatable. The middle movements, which at latest from the *Third Symphony* onwards develop a spectrum of solutions with Intermezzo-character way before Brahms, are the main positions for mediation of dance-like and song-like characters with folkloristic-archaising peculiarity. From here there are direct paths from Gade's short Leipzig period to his long creative time in Copenhagen.

From a primarily compositional perspective, Gade's dealing with the musical potentials founded in his early work presents itself as a history of differentiation, mediation and self-reflexion. In this, the renunciation of Ossianic imaginary and its musical condensations proceeded in the various characteristic disciplines of the 'Nordic tone' in totally different dynamics. If, however, the focus were only laid on the early 'original' and if Gade's musical development was primarily reconstructed along the lines of reception documents, taking the Leipzig early work as their benchmark, then there necessarily would arise the image of a loss of his own originality and of a decline to epigonality. But the 'case of Gade' is far more complicated than that.

Gade after 1848: 'national Romanticism', 'Scandinavism' and aesthetic universality

The four decades of Gade's working as a composer in Copenhagen cannot be outlined here, not even by way of a summary. Instead, a few basic considerations shall be ventured.

Gade's turning away from the Ossian-myth arguably signals also the orientation on a concept of northernness mentioned above, especially illustrated by the shaping qua 'Scandinavism' after *c.* 1840. In this development of cultural notions of space, the large, older idea of north, being the 'project' of a collective northern European culture, with regard to music essentially formed by Ossian reception, gives way to the smaller dimensions of a regionalized and historically younger north, centred around Denmark, Norway and Sweden. They are more strictly founded on national legends or historical matters. The examination of Scandinavian folk tunes' tradition, increasingly accompanied academically, becomes more intense and more subtle at the same time. Regional scenic stereotypes play a larger role as well.[53] The idea of common, cultural-historically and linguistically founded mentalities act as an inter-Scandinavian counterbalance to the politicization of nationality. Significantly, it is Schumann again who provides a vivid phrase for the contrary north-spheres of myth and landscape when he in his Gade-picture supplements the 'Drachentödter' ('dragon slayer') with the 'poet' who was educated by native nature with its mellow 'Buchenwäldern' ('beech groves') and sea

53 See Jensen, 'Niels W. Gade og den nationale tone', esp. 205ff.; Oechsle, 'Eine Erscheinung'; Matter, *Niels W. Gade*, 203ff.

shores.[54] The changing cultural self-perceptions in the Scandinavian north doubtlessly provide more plausible reasons for Gade's development after the *First Symphony* or after *Comala* respectively than the topos of 'Mendelssohnization', one-sidedly aligned with German music.

The most important aspect, when it comes to explain Gade's behaviour as a composer and conductor after returning from Leipzig in 1848 and after the foundation of his Copenhagen existence, is certainly the European change of middle-class nationalism around and after 1848. Characterized by multiple identities, as formed in close connection with courtly and middle-class milieus in trade, art and science, the older nationalism was replaced by more exclusive concepts of national affiliation. National tones in the political discourse, including cross-national relationships, became increasingly more aggressive at the same time – with consequences for Gade's attitude in the question of a national double-identity (or at least with regard to the size of national identities' overlapping). His reaction by way of his *Fourth Symphony* of 1849/1850 shows most clearly that Gade was aware of the political tendencies. His behaviour must be interpreted along the lines that for him the more rigid nationalism after 1848 had meant a growing danger of the Leipzig early work being put in this altered context. The development after 1848 could also be viewed as a de-poetization of the Nordic in favour of its national functionalization. Instead of reducing himself to the sphere of the 'Nordic tone' in the sense of a substantial foundation of national identity, Gade by way of his 'universal' *Fourth* set a clear signal for the fact that the changed understanding of the 'national' jars with an idea of nationality which served as the basis of his 'Nordic' early work. For his B flat major symphony he received the allegation of 'Deutschtümelei' ('Teutomania'): 'The composer is anxious for being German and therefore loses nativeness'[55] – a judgement that namely in the altered political coordinate system after 1848 was a national one. Nevertheless, it also made apparent which paths were to be denied to Gade and on which paths one aimed to fixate him in a changed conception of nationality.[56]

54 'Dear Gade, you are an excellent poet (in addition to the dragon slayer) – not in vain did you promenade in the beech groves and on the shores of the sea' ('Lieber Gade, Sie sind ein ganz trefflicher Poet (ausser d. Drachentödter) – in den Buchenwäldern sind Sie nicht umsonst promenirt, und am Strand des Meeres'); Schumann's letter to Gade, Dresden 28 December 1844, quoted after Sørensen, *En brevveksling*, No. 85, 186.

55 '…der Componist bestrebt sich darin deutsch zu sein, und verliert dadurch an Ursprünglichkeit'; *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 34 (1851), 37. In 1850–75, the work became the most frequently performed symphony of all in Germany. See Rebecca Grotjahn, *Die Sinfonie im deutschen Kulturgebiet 1850 bis 1875. Ein Beitrag zur Gattungs- und Institutionengeschichte* (Musik und Musikanschauung im 19. Jahrhundert, 7; Sinzig: Studiopunkt, 1998).

56 With regard to the differentiation of the Scandinavian north, which provides Denmark with the role of a cultural south-position, Gade's leaving Leipzig could also be perceived as a mental departure from the regions of the 'Nordic tone'. This seems to reflect quite precisely Gade's sentiments, who in 1848–49 launches into the *Mariotta*-project, from which a 'Singspiel' in three acts evolves (first performance Copenhagen 17 January 1850): 'The piece is set in Italy, so I had to come out of my

Furthermore, it should be considered whether Gade's successive renunciation of the boreal genre – being far more than an 'Ossianic manner'[57] – is affected by genuinely aesthetic aspects. In any case, the features serving as an illustrative agenda or a narrative 'mise-en-scène' of mythical incidents vanish from his music. Elements of the early work connoted Ossianically are transferred to vocal music with *Comala*, belayed there by tangible verbal references. In *Elverskud*/*Erlkönigs Tochter* op. 30 there appear at the utmost very sublime folk tone-adaptions – echoes of the 'Echoes of Ossian' as it were. The reason for this recurrence in op. 30 is the Danish legendary matter of the text. In *Frühlings-Fantasie* op. 23 (1852/53), created two years earlier, with its German original text and its more universal lyrical topic, there was, in contrast, no cause for implementing a 'Nordic' element, for example by way of an archaically coloured 'Volkston'-*cantabile*. But to apply a general differentiation via the category 'style' would be problematic here for two reasons. On the one hand, one would have to deal with the particular 'work style' of single compositions. On the other hand, the rather subtle difference (in purely musical issues) such as to the German 'folk tone' of Spohr's, Hiller's or Schumann's hardly justifies a scholarly managing of the features alongside the category of style.[58]

Gade's reaction to the altered concepts of nationality and the Nordic converges with an adherence to the aesthetics of tones and characters. It meets the idea of artistic independence, placing sovereign aesthetic strategies above a thinking in ethnic-national essences. The matter of the 'Nordic tone' remained a selectable compositional topic for Gade – however not as a regulated access to a general library of the 'Nordic' style, so to

Nordic fogs and it did me very well in various ways.' ('Das Stück spielt in Italien, ich musste also aus meine nordische Nebel heraus, und es hat mich sehr wohl gethan in vielen Hinsicht.'; Gade's letter to Conrad Schleinitz, member of the Gewandhaus board of directors, Copenhagen 29 October 1849, in Sørensen, *En brevveksling*, No. 175, 293).

57 See R. Larry Todd, 'Mendelssohn's Ossianic Manner, with a New Source. On Lena's Gloomy Heath', in Jon W. Finson and R. Larry Todd (eds.), *Mendelssohn and Schumann. Essays on their music and its context* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1984), 137–60; John Daverio, 'Schumann's Ossianic Manner', *19th-Century Music*, 21 (1998), 247–73.

58 In connection with a dwindling interest in the Ossian-sphere, Matter refers to a criticism of Romanticism in the course of the debate on realism since *c.* 1848 which ultimately dates back to Hegel (Matter, *Niels W. Gade*, 192ff.). Gade's distancing himself from the Ossian-sphere, though, can on the one hand be understood as a composed immanent criticism, on the other hand it corresponds to Danish cultural and intellectual history since the 1840s. Moreover, the discrediting of the Romantic in the name of realism is not specific to Gade-reception. Schucht's criticism (cf. ibid.) of Romantic sentimentality as a pathological deformation must be regarded a dilettante radicalization of Hegel's critique of Romanticism. A discussion of the category of sentimentality in Gade would in turn have to take into consideration the idea of idyll, connected with the 'Konzertstück für Chor und Orchester' ('concert piece for choir and orchestra') *Frühlings-Botschaft* op. 35 (1858) or with the *Idyllen* for piano op. 34. See Alexander Lotzow, 'Niels Wilhelm Gade's *Frühlings-Botschaft* op. 35 and the Art of Musical Idyll', *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 42/1 (2018), 3–23; http://www.dym.dk/dym_pdf_files/volume_42/dym42_1_01.pdf, accessed 17 May 2019.

speak, but more and more as a reception of his own solutions and therefore ultimately of historical solutions also.

Gade indeed did not deliver any programmatic statement concerning the question of his cultural or political identity. Nevertheless, a letter to his son Felix dating from 1878 indirectly reveals a 'universalistic' credo of his art. Its context is an 1878 special concert in the grand hall of the *Casino*, organized by the Copenhagen *Musikforeningen* in favour of Gade:

> For my concert's programme I enjoyed myself in choosing four highly different compositions, [the] '1st symphony', being the first larger music in a Danish [sic!] tone, afterwards the strictly Jewish 'Zion' after to the Old Testament – which in the grand hall presented itself well in a perfectly different way – hereon the endearing 'Frühlingsfantasie' and finally the beginning of the great 'Baldur', the first music of Valhalla.[59]

Gade's admission of having enjoyed himself in compiling the works shows a conscious aesthetic giving of signs. As far as we know, it was solely here, therefore in private, that the composer verbally put one of his works into the context of the 'Nordic tone'. The older and more comprehensive stereotype of the 'Nordic' is replaced here, though, by the national attribute, again without using the idea of nationality directly. The look-out of retrospection, from whence Gade's biography and general music history interfere with each other, is quite obvious.[60] At the latest, the sharp contrast of the Old Testament matter in the concert piece *Zion* – written in 1874 for Birmingham, printed in 1874 in English and in 1877 in German (Novello, London and Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig respectively) – illustrates Gade's claim not to be restricted to the sphere of the Nordic-national. The *Frühlings-Fantasie* on a German text by Edmund Lobedanz, composed in 1852, thus shortly after the *Fourth Symphony*, Gade primarily wrote for the German market. This work, too, reveals Gade as a cross-border composer, this time in lyrical-mirthful distance to his own early work. With the *Baldur*-music, the sixty-one-year old Gade presents an up-to-date product insofar as it is an adaptation carried out in 1877–78 of *Baldurs Drøm*/*Balders Traum*, dating from 1856–57.

59 Niels W. Gade's letter to Felix Gade, Copenhagen, 7 May 1878; Sørensen, *En brevveksling*, No. 910, 1151f.: 'Jeg morede mig ved Programmet til min Concert at vælge 4 saa høist forskjællige Compositioner, "1ste Sinfonie" som den første større Musik i dansk Tone, dernæst den streng jødisk gammeltestamentariske "Zion" – som tog sig ganske anderledes godt ud i den store Sal – derpaa den elskværdige "Frühlingsfant:" og slutteligen Begyndelsen af den storslaaede "Baldur", den første Valhallamusik.'

60 In his letter Gade also mentions the symphony being new to most members of the orchestra. The work had last been performed in the *Musikforeningen* in 1861. See Angul Hammerich, *Musikforeningens Historie 1836–1886* (Festskrift i Anledning af Musikforeningens Halvhundredaarsdag, 2; Copenhagen, 1886), 197.

However, Gade only adapted the first and last number of his earlier composition originally encompassing ten.[61] Both of these numbers exclusively employ choir and orchestra, no soloists. It would be in vain to search for recurrences of the 'Nordic tone' here.[62] Gade had the date of the original composition, 1857, printed on the programme. By choosing this particular music, he publically stressed having taken up the Valhalla-topic earlier than Wagner. According to Gade, the Copenhagen audience acclaimed *Frühlings-Fantasie* as much as *Baldur*. Apparently, they got along well with the composer's ostentatious message of not letting himself be fixed on a definitive characteristic, cultural or national sphere.

The 'Leipzig School' between canon and epigonality

Ideally, enquiries into the history of reception explore ways of understanding art on the basis of selected historical judgements. Nonetheless, not only their representativeness remains to be questioned, including their mechanisms of selection, of mutual enhancement and of topical solidification. Rather, such enquiries always touch on the matter of functional aspects, for instance concerning the reduction of historical complexity offered by a stereotype like the 'Nordic tone'. And it also involves the question as to what is hidden by this global category. To give an example: As mentioned already, since its genesis in 1850 Gade's *Fourth* has been presumed to be a 'Teutomaniac' work, in which Gade appears as a 'excellent vassal of Schumann's and Beethoven's'[63] – a verdict continuing at least up to the *MGG*-article 'Symphonie' and its classification of the piece under 'Leipzig classicism'.[64] But precisely this 'Nordically tone-less' work was according to prevailing statistical data in fact the most frequently played symphony of all by a living composer of Gade's time.[65] Scholarly interest in this fact has been so scarce until today that an analytically substantiated filing of the work into the genre's history is still

61 In 1897, a piano reduction by August Winding was published by Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen. Gade combined the first number with the chant of the gods 'Nu stiger Odin op til Valhalla' and the final chorus 'Hærfader Odin! højt i Valhalla' to a 'Indledningsscene' for choir and orchestra. See Dan Fog, *N. W. Gade-Katalog. En fortegnelse over Niels W. Gades trykte kompositioner* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog, 1986), No. 117, 57ff.

62 See Jensen, 'Niels W. Gade og den nationale tone', 302ff.

63 Kretzschmar, *Führer durch den Konzertsaal*, 500.

64 'Leipziger Klassizismus'; Ludwig Finscher, 'Symphonie', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil, vol. 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter/Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998), 99. The remark refers to Gade's whole symphonic production since the *Third Symphony*.

65 Grotjahn, *Die Sinfonie im deutschen Kulturgebiet*; Stefan Keym, 'Eine "deutsche Gattung"? Zum Verhältnis von Symphonie und Nationalität im Leipziger Konzertrepertoire und Musikdiskurs 1835–1914', in Sabine Mecking and Yvonne Wasserloos (eds.), *Inklusion und Exklusion. 'Deutsche' Musik in Europa und Nordamerika 1848–1945* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), 41–63.

not available.[66] Apart from this, the metaphor 'vassal' clearly identifies the piece's author as an epigone. Only for a while could the 'Nordic tone' of works before the *Fourth* slow down Gade's post-Leipzig removal from the canon. But why of all things should the terrain of epigonality be entered with a 'minor or peripheral master' ('Klein- oder Nebenmeister') like the Dane Gade, be it with or without a musical *aurora borealis*? In matters of inferiority, there is, precisely speaking, no holding back at all in post-classicist nineteenth century, as de-canonization and 'epigonization' soon after 1850 also concerned Mendelssohn with great harshness. And if the question of epigone-status is supposed to be asked on a grand scale then it would, in the end, not only concern the whole 'Leipzig School' but likewise everybody born after the era called 'Kunstperiode'[67] ('art period') by Heine.

This view can be called blunt. But it can at least clarify that criticism of the category 'canon'[68] is not yet, quasi in reverse conclusion, identical to a positive ascertainment of epigonality. And at the same time, it should be stressed that an historical localization of a figure like Gade cannot be based upon the antagonism between national stereotypes of reception and a canonically 'secured', aesthetically neutral universality. A differentiated analysis of the historiographical use of the category 'epigonality' must rather engage in temporal qualities of historicity, as connected with the question of individual historical continuities, of aesthetic-compositional concepts including their immanent 'Ablaufzeiten'[69] ('times of expiry'), again distinct by tempi, by directions and by relations of developments. In this, the original self-conceptions of the historical representatives concerned are already relevant. The resigned self-view of Gade's friend Carl Reinecke is most impressive in this regard. Looking back from the beginning of the twentieth century, Reinecke states:

> I do not want to oppose being called an epigone … I could very well enumerate a considerable number of my works in which the influence of Schumann or Mendelssohn would be hard to find, but that did not help me …: Even in my obituaries I will be called a composer of Mendelssohn's and Schumann's course.[70]

66 See, however, Niels Bo Foltmann, *Kildematerialet til Niels W. Gades symfonier. Historisk/analytisk gennemgang af symfoni nr. 4*, Magisterkonferensspeciale (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 1990; unpub.).

67 Heinrich Heine, *Die romantische Schule*, in *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. Manfred Windfuhr, vol. 8/1: *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland/Die romantische Schule* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1979), 154f.

68 See above, n. 5.

69 Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1979), 135.

70 'Ich will nicht dagegen opponieren, wenn man mich einen Epigonen nennt … ich könnte wohl eine ganz stattliche Anzahl meiner Werke anführen, in denen Schumannscher oder Mendelssohnscher Einfluß schwer zu entdecken wäre, aber das hat mir nichts geholfen …: Noch in meinem Nekrologe werde ich ein Komponist in der Mendelssohn-Schumannschen Richtung genannt werden.' Carl Reinecke, *Erlebnisse und Bekenntnisse. Autobiographie eines Gewandhauskapellmeisters*, ed. Doris Mundus (Leipzig: Lehmstedt, 2005), 44.

Gade's classification as belonging to the 'Leipzig School' does in fact occur with similar permanence. For the Dane, though, this subsumption was connected with much more complex circumstances, especially since his return to Copenhagen. Hugo Riemann most explicitly expresses positive aspects in his retrospect of the century, published in 1901 (according to its title *Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven*, 'History of Music since Beethoven', the whole century is, strictly speaking, overshadowed by epigonality). There, Gade is dealt with under the 'Epoche Schumann-Mendelssohn'[71] ('era Schumann-Mendelssohn') in the section 'Die Leipziger Schule', whereas Riemann treats all other Danes mentioned since the end of the eighteenth century in the chapter on 'Die nationalen Strömungen' ('the national currents'). Doubtless, this implies a conscious reverence to the cross-border musician Gade, who is explicitly not counted as belonging 'to the allegiance of Mendelssohn' ('zur Gefolgschaft Mendelssohns'), but is regarded as a 'kindred nature' ('seelenverwandte Natur') that is more than 'an epigone or a satellite' ('mehr als ein Epigone oder Trabant').[72]

In the second half of the century the 'Leipzig School' was increasingly identified with epigonality. This was not least due to the German reception of Beethoven after 1850. On the one hand, progress and future were not exclusively tied to the question of legitimate Beethoven-heritage. Rather, access to his inheritance was only granted via direct historical pilgrimage. Brahms's 'path to the symphony' as a decade-long 'struggle' with the 'giant' is perhaps the most prominent narration in this regard. Leipzig began, visually speaking, to stand in the way of this canonization – and this applied, independent from the mutual partisan 'couleur', to Wagnerites as well as to Brahmsians. On the other hand, the international openness of the 'Leipzig School' became problematic in the course of the massive national-political charge of the Beethoven-myth. For the more the universal was declared a national virtue in the German discourse, represented by a classicism ever increasingly reduced to Beethoven, and the more at the same time a 'purely musical thinking' was regarded as a domain of the national genius, the more did the latent indifference of German music aesthetics towards national 'tones' and characters take effect. In German perception, the representatives of the 'Leipzig School' from other European countries, among them the Englishman William St. Bennett, the Lorrainer Théodore Gouvy, the Dutch Johannes Verhulst and indeed the Dane Gade as well, were more and

71 Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven (1800–1900)* (Berlin and Stuttgart: Spemann, 1901), 207ff., 264ff., and 270ff.

72 Ibid. 270f. Karl Nef, *Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suite* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921), draws the line after the section on Mendelssohn and Schumann: In the 'phase after Mendelssohn and Schumann the national symphony of the so-called adjacent nations appears, a completely new phenomenon' ('… Periode nach Mendelssohn und Schumann tritt als völlig neue Erscheinung die nationale Sinfonie der sogenannten Nebennationen auf'; 236f.): The Scandinavian countries are counted among them too. Gade, 'who elevated the Nordic symphony to international relevance' ('…der die nordische Sinfonie zu internationaler Bedeutung erhob'), appears in the Denmark section of the chapter 'Die nordischen Länder', 'The Nordic countries' (276ff.). See also Keym, 'Zum Werk- und Deutungskanon', 502.

more moved to a terrain that was historically imagined as an appendix of the 'central period' of the Mendelsohn-Schumann time, regionally as peripheral.[73] Insofar one can argue that Gade, according to this perspective, was in danger of being labelled an epigone of secondary degree. In the opposite point of view, from the perspective of national emancipatory endeavours in later nineteenth century, and therefore viewed from the agents of the 'periphery', a Leipzig affectation in turn led to the claim of lacking national identity. Gade's conflict with the Leipzig-critic Grieg proves this unmistakably. Applied to the long nineteenth century, Gade's classification among the 'Leipzig School' does not, in any case, live up to the intricacy of the historic matter. Gade's restraint in the question of his own music-historical positioning may have something to do with this complexity.

Gade's origins, leading the Dane to Leipzig at times in which there were hardly hints of any 'school', offer a highly differentiated view as well. And here, too, another German 'giant' can serve as a 'marker of distance': Johann Sebastian Bach. Whereas for Mendelssohn and Schumann, the era's two 'warrantors', the adoption of Bach (surely in quite different ways) was of vital importance not only for their artistic self-finding but also for their life-long work on contrapuntal formations,[74] a comparable reference to Bach is almost entirely absent in Gade. This is true for the Dane's years of apprenticeship and travel as well as for his remaining lifetime, considerably longer in comparison to Mendelssohn and Schumann. Surely there are no monocausal explanations for this fact. Simply to call it a deficiency would assume a universal relevance of Bach, too rashly disregarding the national context. The German reception of Bach since Forkel, then especially in the 1830s and 40s, is undisputedly determined by the interest of creating a national figure of identification in sublime, monumental dimensions.[75] The leading force in this regard was the protestant north with Berlin and Leipzig as its centres. The young Gade was at the utmost collaterally influenced by this German canonization of Bach (although he later staged major performances of *St Matthew Passion* in Copenhagen in the 1870s and 80s). Neither did contrapuntal studies emerge, dealing with Bachian patterns, nor were there any exercises in vocal-polyphonic writing of Dutch-Italian provenance preserved to a more exhaustive extent. In Gade's work, counterpoint at all times remained a 'poetic', integral constituent of his composing, without ascertained historical points of reference.

For music historiography, this background provides rather few arguments for incorporating Gade without much ado into the 'Leipzig School'. To put him in greater distance to it, should, in turn, not intensify national discerning and separating (by making the

73 For Gade, see also Kjerulf, *Niels W. Gade*, 192f.

74 See in particular Anselm Hartinger, Christoph Wolff and Peter Wollny (eds.), *'Zu groß, zu unerreichbar'. Bach-Rezeption im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007).

75 Martin Geck, 'Als Praeceptor Germaniae schlägt Bach Beethoven. Zur politischen Instrumentalisierung der Musikgeschichte im Vormärz', in ibid., 31–37.

composer solely an object of national historiography). It would probably be more appropriate instead to widen the concept of the 'Leipzig School' and thus restore its original European dimension.

Asking for a distinctively individual historical shaping of the young Gade, one would necessarily have to refer to the pool of older Scandinavian folksongs and, in connection with them, to the Nordic world of legends and fairy tales. Gade, however, exported works of art inspired by them, with their specific mythological-literary poetry, to Leipzig where they served as a basis for the creation of the 'Nordic tone'. The 'Nordic tone', in turn, must be counted as part of the basic lay-out of the 'Leipzig School', rather than consigning it to a national periphery in this historiographic formation.

When the young Gade chose the original Uhland-quote 'Formel hält uns nicht gebunden, unsre Kunst heißt Poesie' ('we are not bound to formulas, our art is called poetry') for his *opus primum*, he proclaimed a programmatic expression of departure and of a relationship with tradition that does not show any great deal of an epigone self-concept. Doubtless, Gade shared the basic sentiment of his fellow generation that made Schumann call himself and those born after the era of Mozart, Goethe or Beethoven 'recht tapfre Epigonen'[76] ('fairly brave epigones'). It remains to be pondered, though, if the talk of grave and menacing 'legacies' – a *basso ostinato* of German music historiography since the late nineteenth century – is at all appropriate with regard to Gade and his Scandinavian context to a comparable amount, or if it rather is a self-image of the German 'Kulturnation'. In any case, the Dane's compositional-historical connections are aligned with his own present – understood as a domain of musicians still active or recently deceased, which allows for names such as Spohr, Kuhlau, Weber, Marschner, Schubert, Frøhlich, Mendelssohn and Schumann to come into play.

'Gegenwartsmusiker'

The concept of canon is primarily based on a valuation that carries a claim of surpassing its own time. Non-canon qua epigonality in fact requires a value judgement as well. Nonetheless, a temporal difference becomes vitally important here, for epigones are successors, followers or imitators. (Differing from the English term 'subordinate', the prefix 'nach' in the German word 'nachrangig' has a temporal as well as a qualitative dimension.) In a combination of historical and aesthetic aspects, the dimension of time is the more severe one, at least in the era of modernity and its historical thinking: Even

76 *Schumann. Tagebücher II*, 74. About a visit to Vienna in 1838, Schumann wrote: 'On Thursday morning the Requiem by Mozart in the Augustinerkirche for Mikschik. I stood next to Mozart's son; I thought of how I too sat [during a] Faust [performance] next to Goethe's grandson, and how we [are] fairly brave epigones' ('Donnerstag in der Früh in der Augustinerkirche Requiem v. Mozart für Mikschik. Ich stand neben Mozart's Sohn; ich dachte daran, wie ich auch den Faust neben Göthes Enkel gesessen, und wie wir recht tapfre Epigonen').

in the ('theoretical') case of identical quality, an imitator would still remain an epigone. This is why the matter must primarily be regarded from a temporal point of view.

To avoid terms like 'canon' and 'epigonality', a phrase like 'one's own present' seems tempting. It is, however, quite precarious. In this regard, one might put forward the idea of the 'non-simultaneity of the simultaneous'. But it would at best offer a starting point for analysing the overlay of historical 'places of time' ('Zeitplätze'), not yet the explanation of the problem as such. Yet instead of only advancing up to the diversity already mentioned in connection with different temporal styles, one should rather unclose the notion of 'present' itself. However, as this notion does not make sense without reference to a subject, the spotlight must be directed on the conception of subjective historicity. With regard to the age of epigones during Heine's 'Kunstperiode' this allows for an individual balance between offensive-prospective production and historically broad-minded reflexion. Determinations like past, future and progress become elements of intense debate. The musical discourse after 1830, and most notably after 1848/50, mirrors this in an apparently accelerating way. As is well known, aesthetic parties and groups were tied to the temporal notions of 'future' and 'past'. That 'present' is more than the empty 'middle' in between, separating 'progones' from epigones in the sense of a dividing line, was confirmed by Robert Schumann in a late statement.

In a letter of February 1854 to Richard Pohl – who amongst other things had published in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* under the pseudonym 'Hoplit' – Schumann, who was the journal's founder, decidedly speaks against the term 'Zukunftsmusiker' ('musician of the future'):

> … I am not very happy with Hoplit's and his party's Liszt-Wagnerian enthusiasm. Who they think to be musicians of the future ('Zukunftsmusiker'), I think of as musicians of the present ('Gegenwartmusiker'), and who they consider musicians of the past ('Vergangenheitsmusiker') (Bach, Händel, Beethoven), to me seem the best musicians of the future ('Zukunftsmusiker'). I can never deem intellectual beauty in its most beautiful form an obsolete point of view.[77]

Schumann's neologism 'Gegenwartsmusiker',[78] 'musician of the present', opposes an understanding of history and progress founded primarily on the antithesis of future and

77 '… ich harmonire nicht sonderlich mit seinem [Hoplits] und seiner Parthey Liszt-Wagner'schen Enthusiasmus. Was Sie für Zukunftsmusiker halten, das halt' ich für Gegenwartmusiker, und was Sie für Vergangenheitsmusiker (Bach, Händel, Beethoven), das scheinen mir die besten Zukunftsmusiker. Geistige Schönheit in schönster Form kann ich nie für "einen überwundenen Standpunkt" halten'. *Schumann Briefedition*; series II: *Freundes- und Künstlerbriefwechsel*, vol. 5: *Briefwechsel Robert und Clara Schumanns mit Franz Brendel, Hermann Levi, Franz Liszt, Richard Pohl und Richard Wagner*, ed. Thomas Synofzik, Axel Schröter, and Klaus Döge (†) (Cologne: Dohr 2014), No. 26, 409.

78 The German word is used here with a genitive-s, analogous to the complementary phrases 'Vergangenheitsmusiker' and 'Zukunftsmusiker'.

past, while the middle in between, tagged by the 'temporal location' present, shrivels to a mere point of change. From the look-out of 'Zukunftsmusik' (at least in its programmatic radicalness), present is only open in the direction of future. The past as historical may indeed have been preliminary for the particular present, but from there on it is disposed of as nothing more than a 'precursor' of one's own mission. A future so consequently imagined as 'rücksichtslos' ('inconsiderate', but literally also meaning 'without looking back' in German) cannot, strictly speaking, generate distinctions that could be identified historically. Present effectively splits up into an opposition of paradoxes: It consists of timely elements which, nevertheless, are always ahead of their time, and of outmoded ones, which already do not belong to their time any more, albeit still existent and pursued 'in' it.

In Schumann's understanding, 'Gegenwartsmusik' in exchange reflects past as a reason or source of having-become. In this act of reflexion, past can preserve timeliness – in the context at hand an aesthetic one. This is why the sentence: 'I can never deem intellectual beauty in its most beautiful form an obsolete point of view', is hardly a classicist credo. The temporality of 'progress' is not caught up in the linear distinction of earlier and later, as if it was an arrow of time pointed constantly towards enhancement in a qualitative sense. On the contrary, progress, arising from a concept of present such as Schumann's, remains an historical time, 'revising itself over and over again'.[79] It reflects a past from which progress originates or develops and it refers to a future in which it fulfils itself. Elaborating further on the issue of the qualitative: It collides with the idea of linear enhancement, especially when the reflection of a past intensifies itself to an artistic evaluation of its up-to-dateness. This practice's present allows for deviations which in the future display themselves as different historical dynamics. Or to start from Schumann's 'musicians of the future' Bach, Handel and Beethoven: According to this point of view, the past was where 'projects' were begun that are ongoing still and that manifest themselves as a differentiation of the present. The 'space' thus unfolded, a 'space' for individual concepts of present, is also valid for subjective creative layouts and the temporalities of their immanent progresses. Present as a place of progressive epigonality which inscribes its 'layers of time' into the 'one' history – that is perhaps how this view of temporality could be captioned.

In musical aesthetics, the functionalization of terms like future and past may easily obscure the fact that they are modes of time, only meaningful in relation to a subject. Naturally, the partisan musical dispute after 1850 is an element of the discourse of modernity that does not only care for 'the' history or for directions and programmes of epochs but always depends on concepts of subjectivity as well.[80] One's own historical

79 '… die sich stets aufs neue überholt'; Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft*, 266.

80 The differentiation between self-reflexion of art qua art system and the self-reflexion of a biographical subject cannot be elaborated on any further here. See Tobias Janz, *Zur Genealogie der musikalischen Moderne* (Paderborn: Fink, 2014), esp. 215ff.

placing in this inevitably becomes an affair of subjective reflexion, extending to the self-determination of artistic 'standpoints' and 'directions' including their respective tempos of progress.

Even if Gade did not directly comment on Schumann's term 'Gegenwartmusiker' and the accompanying 'standpoints' of the nineteenth century's partisan musical dispute, he did take a stand to the questions of historical self-positioning contained in it and to the determination of his own temporality with regard to artistic connections and their concept of progress. In this context, there is a significant letter by the composer written just a few months before his death.

Gade advises his son Axel, who had just written a trio, with regard to the relationship of individual strategies and artistic authenticity:

> … I like the trio and I would wish for you to hold on to your cordial inner sound of sentiment, without letting you be influenced by external things such as, for instance, originality, personality, depth of effect, the own self, … it must indeed come out of itself![81]

Subjective inwardness as a basic requirement for creativity, marked-off from possible external influences, is a downright trivial category in early and mid-nineteenth-century aesthetics. Sixty years earlier, Mendelssohn writes to Zelter from Rome, in art there counted only that 'which in profound seriousness flowed from the innermost soul'.[82] Gade's enumeration of originality, personality and the own self (next to the depth of effect) as issues of 'external things' can be understood as a specific scepticism towards a subjectivity which in the communicational system of art had considerably radicalized itself since the mid-century. And additionally, there were also, in all probability, experiences of dealing with the public placing in terms of nationality, time and again accompanied by major debates in the Danish and German press, that were linked to the matter of a possible influence from Wagner and the 'New German School'.

The final phrase of the citation from the letter ('… it must indeed come out of itself!') is a turning towards a legitimatization of the artistic self, relying on the immanence of the matter as such. Art has to emerge from the implicitness of art. This conceptual step is already found in Mendelssohn's letter cited above: 'If not the matter alone has evoked

81 Niels W. Gade to Axel Gade on 28 August 1890; Sørensen, *En brevveksling*, No. 1439, 1575f.: '… jeg synes godt om Trioen, og jeg ønsker at Du maa vedblive at holde paa Din hjertelige inderlige Stemningsklang fremdeles, uden at lade Dig paavirke af ydre Ting, som f. Ex. Originalitet, Personlighed, Virkningsfuldhed, Sig selv etc. … det maa jo komme af sig selv!'

82 '…nur das, was im tiefsten Ernst aus der innersten Seele geflossen ist'; Mendelssohn to Carl Friedrich Zelter, Rome, 18 December 1830; in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 2, eds. and comm. Anja Morgenstern and Uta Wald (Kassel: Bärenreiter 2009), 172. See also Thomas Christian Schmidt, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen der Instrumentalmusik Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys* (Stuttgart: M & P, 1996), esp. 148ff.

the work it will never "Herz zu Herzen schaffen" ("reach from heart to heart")'.[83] Gade's succinct statement documents a continuity of the idea of aesthetic autonomy which is clearly to be separated from that of 'absolute music' and its metaphysical issues for the later nineteenth century, too.

However, the 'it' forming the subject of Gade's sentence hardly represents solely the work and the act of creation. Rather, the music-historical self-positioning is indirectly shaped from out of this sphere as well. Whereas Mendelssohn, to return once more to the aesthetic credo of the Zelter-letter, is most decidedly after an historical backstop here – 'nobody can forbid me to continue to work on what the great masters left behind'[84] – Gade seems much more reticent with regard to historical recourses. This may also demonstrate a sensitivity of the Dane in the face of the German-national canonization of Bach and Beethoven already mentioned, which particularly in the post-mid-century era could show quite a chauvinist quality. The partisan musical dispute, too, was a deeply national discourse, in which historical claims to inheritance were constructed for legitimatizing aesthetic and art-political interests. And the testaments written out for this in retrospect were drafted in German.

The claim of 'Zukunftsmusik' is to write 'the' future of 'the' music in the shape of its own progress's history. This does not only reveal a usurpatory grasp for the notional 'objects' of past and future. What is also added is the pressure of acceleration inherent to this reflexivity: It is not absolutely necessary to consult Hegel's 'Furie des Verschwindens' ('fury of disappearance') for the charging of present with 'future-ness' to realize that in this the ageing of the present is subject to acceleration. However, the composure of the epigone Gade signals a distance to this as well: What seems to be 'laissez-faire' in matters of creativity contains in the strict sense the postulation to be allowed to allot the tempo of one's own development oneself. Gade's 'it must come out of itself!' in fact conceals the aspects of his own strategies, decisions, and actions. This, if you will, is the classicist nucleus of his composure. Yet his implicit idea of an historically mediated becoming also reveals the claim for a subjective continuity of composing, accruing from historic connections and their spans set in his own oeuvre, without sealing it off from contemporary developments.

The persistence of Gade's border-crossing endeavours up to his later years can be witnessed in the case of *Kalanus* of 1869. In the musical press, the Dane found himself confronted here with the reproach of having sacrificed his melodic-harmonic originality for Wagnerian chromaticism and therefore of having left his own 'sphere'.[85] But in this

83 'Wenn nicht der Gegenstand allein das Werk hervorgerufen hat, so wird es nie "Herz zu Herzen schaffen"', Mendelssohn to Zelter, ibid. ('Herz zu Herzen schaffen' quot. from Goethe's *Faust I*, v. 544).

84 '…kann mir niemand verbieten, …an dem weiter zu arbeiten, was mir die großen Meister hinterlassen haben'; ibid.

85 *Kalanus* (1869) provoked a fierce debate in the Danish and German press concerning the question whether Gade had 'stepped out of his sphere'. See the preface to the work's edition in Niels W. Gade, *Kalanus Op. 48. Dramatic Poem by Carl Andersen for Soli, Chorus and Orchester/Kalanus Op. 48. Dramatisches Gedicht von Carl Andersen für Soli, Chor und Orchester,* ed. Karsten Eskildsen (Niels W. Gade Works/Werke, IV/4, Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødring/Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2018), viii–xii.

instance, too, it could be demonstrated that Gade is not after the import of 'objective' innovations. He rather takes measure at his own oeuvre's premises and defaults. They are followed up and evolved in the sense of 'developing variation'. The basic relation of structural parameters, compiled since the early work, is not completely re-negotiated though. No striking turning points are found in Gade's career in which supposedly 'the' counterpoint or 'the' chromatics had become a focal point of his composing. Harmonics, metrics, voice leading, formal experiments, the structural reassessment of sound colours etc. – all of it is, as it were, processed in a parametrical overlapping with changing accents (for instance in the subtle working with rather free, asymmetrical structures of a metric-harmonic kind). This can be called Romantic classicism or classicist Romanticism – such labellings hardly matter much.

Conclusion

Gade has been treated both as a founder and an epigone of an era. In a way, figures like him form the material for canonization and de-canonization. Instead of dismissing such fluctuations as the fate of individuals it should be considered that to different degrees this is also true of Mendelssohn and Schumann, for instance. Precisely speaking, it concerns the whole era or period dealt with under the term of 'Leipzig School'. Gade would be one of several causes to have this historiographic formation undergo a thorough analysis with regard to its construction and functions. For both sides of the partisan musical dispute the 'Leipzig School' widely served as a negative repository in their fight about the true Beethoven-heritage. Not only would the causes as to why and to what extent this was the case have to be profiled more sharply. Also, the era's distinct international signature would have to be taken into account more emphatically. It forms a complementary opposition to tendencies of national emancipation after *c.* 1830 and can, as a whole, only be described as a European phenomenon. This has largely been missed out in the foremost German historiographical management of the 'Leipzig School' as a gathering place of Beethoven-epigones. More recent approaches referring to the theory of cultural transfer and its processes have not changed this significantly. The term 'transfer' may be revelatory when it comes to the international emanation of institutional models like the Leipzig conservatory – even if differences are at least as revealing as parallels.[86] But not without good reason is the thinking in transfers, especially regarding countries and metropolises, in danger of increasing national disparities and

86 See Wasserloos, *Kulturgezeiten*; Yvonne Wasserloos, 'Die Dänen in Leipzig. Formen des Kulturtransfers im 19. Jahrhundert', in Stefan Keym and Katrin Stöck (eds.), *Musik – Stadt. Traditionen und Perspektiven urbaner Musikkulturen*, vol. 3: *Musik in Leipzig, Wien und anderen Städten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Verlage – Konservatorien – Salons – Vereine – Konzerte* (Leipzig: Schröder, 2011), 165–81. Of cardinal relevance is Jin-Ah Kim, 'Musik und Kulturtransfer. Ideen zu einem musikwissenschaftlichen Forschungsbereich', in Jin-Ah Kim and Nepomuk Riva (eds.), *Entgrenzte Welt? Musik und Kulturtransfer* (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 2014), 9–56.

of strengthening nationalist agendas in order to heighten the method's productivity and to protect the term of transfer from trivialization and generalization.[87] In any case, the 'Nordic tone' of Gade's early work is hardly understandable as a result of transfer processes. It is rather a German-Danish co-production amidst a, for long periods of time, common musical culture, decidedly different from the levels of literature or politics, for instance, that are dependent on unequally deeper national divisions.

The deconstruction of musicology's older claim, prevalent in the twentieth century, to define an obligatory tempo of 'the' historical progress and to use it as a basis of value judgements including a stable canon, does seem to widen the view on domains of epigonality in music history. Yet the need for orientation and, as a consequence, for criteria that constructively determine historical times remains. To quote the idea of 'the non-simultaneity of the simultaneous' does not solve much in this instance. Its non-simultaneity according to the devise 'one progress, but many tempos and degrees of realization' would not surpass a pretended plurality and would only perpetuate the antagonism between canonical 'leaders' and epigone successors. But to conversely dissolve the term into a multitude of subjective 'presents' and their respective inner 'logic' would be in jeopardy of reflating varieties of an older post-structural arbitrariness. By referring to Schumann's idea of 'Gegenwartsmusiker' and its temporal reflexivity there is the chance to explore subjective artistic concepts in their music-cultural historicity – and not only within established epochs including their patterns of valuation, but as a working on and with them.

Translated from German by Alexander Lotzow

87 On the allegation of reinforcing national concepts, see Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der "Histoire croisée" und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 28 (2002), 607–36.

Abstract

Taking stock on Niels W. Gade's 200th birthday in 2017, various achievements can be pointed out: the catalogue and the critical edition of his works, likewise of his correspondence, a recent biography, numerous recordings etc. However, the Dane is usually reduced to one topos of reception, the 'Nordic tone', and categorized into the repository of the 'Leipzig School', which, according to respective aesthetic parties, encompasses the time of epigones between Beethoven and Wagner or Beethoven and Brahms. The article takes its starting point from these concepts. The 'Nordic tone's north' is historico-culturally differentiated and distinguished from the context of nationality. Instead of tying it to musical essences of nationality, it is demonstrated that the 'Nordic tone' consists of a multitude of characteristic types of orchestral composition. Subsequently, the term 'Leipzig School' is examined with regard to categories like canon and epigonality. Primarily, rather than implicit value judgements, their temporal logic is focused on. Led by Schumann's neologism 'Gegenwartsmusiker' ('musician of the present'), a concept of progress is reconstructed, the subjective autonomy of which might be characterized by the paradox label of 'progressive epigonality'. Especially for the 'post-classicist' years from *c.* 1830 onwards, it might stimulate an intensified search for structures and perspectives of a European history of music.

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2

Special section

Papers from the conference *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-Garde? Hanns Eisler and his Contemporaries*

Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-Garde?

Introduction

17–19 September, 2015, an international conference was organized in Copenhagen by the Internationale Hanns Eisler Gesellschaft, Berlin, the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies at the University of Copenhagen and The Royal Library in Copenhagen. The full title of the conference, *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-Garde? Hanns Eisler and his Contemporaries*, points to the difficulties still at hand when one wants to address music that deliberately aims at being of social relevance and to have political impact; concepts and terms are disputed and the implications using specific terms and concepts are manifold. The idea was to revisit methodological questions while at the same time to present and discuss specific cases. In order to open the field of discussion we had asked our two key note speakers, Prof. Stephen Hinton (Stanford University) and Univ.-Prof. Dr. Nils Grosch (Universität Salzburg) to reconsider their seminal works on the matter, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik* (1989) and *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (1999), respectively. The call for papers gave this account of the matter up for discussion:

> The idea that modern art should be useful in society instead of being confined to small circles of connoisseurs and that artists, composers and musicians should act as highly skilled artisans instead of considering themselves bohemians or geniuses had a powerful renaissance in the decades following World War I. Hanns Eisler (1898–1962) and German contemporaries such as Kurt Weill and Paul Hindemith as well as Danish composers such as Jørgen Bentzon, Otto Mortensen and Bernhard Christensen embodied this trend. They had all experienced what Eisler called 'the terrible isolation of modern music', by which he meant the institutionalized seclusion of modernist music from a wider audience. In order to have social relevance, music should appeal to an audience with a need for music that serves a specific purpose. This meant breaking down barriers between 'high' and 'low' culture, 'serious' and 'light' music, and between genres considered as 'art' and those merely as 'craft'. Strategies involved composing music for amateurs, children and for music education, for films, plays and operas, as well as songs for political rallies, demonstrations, cabarets and choirs.
>
> No doubt a political agenda was at stake in the attempt to provide socially relevant, useful and progressive music. The desire to have an impact on social reality made

> it essential to communicate with a specific audience. Even so, labelling these efforts 'political' music limits the focus to openly political genres or only to certain aspects of the works in mind. On the other hand, terms such as *Gebrauchsmusik* or applied music (*angewandte Musik*) remain embroiled in earlier disputes. In order to rethink these issues the conference aims to consider the mind-set of these composers and artists as an embodiment of a large-scale attempt to reformulate basic assumptions concerning the relationship between art and its audience, between notions of artistic value and function, and between modernity and accessibility. Broader concepts such as *Neue Sachlichkeit* (in the Nordic countries also referred to as *kulturradikalisme* [cultural radicalism]) or vernacular avant-garde may be more adequate to the task, if one wishes to grasp the depth of attempts to transform hierarchies of value and genre perceptions and, at the same time, the diverse ways in which these efforts manifest themselves in stylistic terms.

Along with the conference, which was funded by the Hanns and Steffi Eisler Stiftung, the Sonning Foundation and the Center for Modern European Studies (CEMES) at the University of Copenhagen, there were two public concerts as part of the Golden Days Festival. One was a political cabaret programme at the theatre Riddersalen, where Bertolt Brecht's and Hanns Eisler's *Round Heads and Pointed Heads* had it first performance in 1936, and the other at the Queens Hall at the Royal Library presented the music for that play in the original scoring which was not played in 1936, along with the first live performance of the music by Bernhard Christensen for Poul Henningsen's documentary *Danmark* (1935) and the presentation song of the communist workers' theatre called R.T. written 1933 for their participation in the international workers' theatre festival in Moscow. An additional grant from CEMES has provided the funding that makes it possible to publish a number of papers from the conference as a special section of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, co-edited by Peter Schweinhardt, Potsdam.

Michael Fjeldsøe and Peter Schweinhardt

The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik – Revisited[1]

Stephen Hinton

In his invitation to give a keynote lecture at the 2015 conference 'Neue Sachlichkeit or Vernacular Avant-Garde', Michael Fjeldsøe posed a series of questions that included the following at the very end: 'What happened to the notion of *Gebrauchsmusik*?' By way of response I initially contemplated a paper that would essentially rehearse the history of the term that I had presented in extensive detail in the entry on 'Gebrauchsmusik' for the *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*.[2] On further reflection, however, I opted to take a somewhat different approach, one that reviewed not only the term's history, but also my own scholarly engagement with that history. The result is an amalgam of three main ingredients: part lexicography, part disciplinary history, part academic autobiography.

The lexicographical purpose of the *Handwörterbuch* involved balancing the competing claims of system and history by delineating how the word *Gebrauchsmusik* has been variously used over the past century. Some of the connotations have been historiographical in nature, some more overtly linked to cultural politics, some essentially descriptive, others unabashedly prescriptive, some positive, others pejorative. Following the term's coinage and rapid rise to prominence in the mid-1920s, as the quoted sources amply demonstrate, the compound noun enjoyed widespread currency both in Germany and in Anglophone circles. Of particular note in this latter regard are the lectures that Paul Hindemith gave at Harvard in 1950 and subsequently published as *A Composer's World* in 1952.[3] With reference to his own music, while downplaying the cultural-political battles in which he had himself been embroiled as a young composer, Hindemith included the oft-cited and rather misleading account of the term's history and significance. Seeming to take credit for being the first to have used the word, he was nonetheless at pains to distance himself from its cultural impact and importance.

1 This is a revised version of the keynote lecture at the conference *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-garde? Hanns Eisler and his Contemporaries* (Copenhagen, 2015). The title alludes to my monograph *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik*, cf. fn. 7.

2 'Gebrauchsmusik', *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, Auslieferung 15 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1988); reprinted in H.H. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Terminologie der Musik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 164–74.

3 Paul Hindemith, *A Composer's World. Horizons and Limitations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952).

> A quarter of a century ago, in a discussion with German choral conductors, I pointed out the danger of an esoteric isolationism in music by using the term *Gebrauchsmusik*. Apart from the ugliness of the word – in German as hideous as its English equivalents workaday music, music for use, utility music, and similar verbal beauties – nobody found anything remarkable in it, since quite obviously music for which no use can be found, that is to say, useless music, is not entitled to public consideration anyway and consequently the *Gebrauch* is taken for granted. … [When] I first came to this country, I felt like the sorcerer's apprentice who had become the victim of his own conjurations: the slogan *Gebrauchsmusik* hit me wherever I went, it had grown to be as abundant, useless, and disturbing as thousands of dandelions in a lawn. Apparently it met perfectly the common desire for a verbal label which classifies objects, persons, and problems, thus exempting anyone from opinions based on knowledge. Up to this day it has been impossible to kill the silly term and the unscrupulous classification that goes with it.[4]

As I stated in my subsequent *New Grove* entry on the term, history has shown that Hindemith was more successful in wrongly being considered the term's inventor than in distancing himself from its relevance to his own music and that of his contemporaries.[5]

After World War II, not only was the notion of *Gebrauchsmusik* considered 'silly', as Hindemith put it in his Harvard lectures; in an age that sought autonomy at all costs, even at the expense of 'public consideration', it acquired emphatically negative connotations. Karlheinz Stockhausen, for example, went so far as to denigrate his modernist colleague Bernd Alois Zimmermann by calling him a 'Gebrauchsmusiker' on account of how he used preexisting musical materials rather than create wholly original, previously unheard ones. To quote the conclusion of the *New Grove* article, 'lack of absolute autonomy became synonymous with a lack of artistic value. The earlier generation in the interwar years had thought otherwise; it was for them that the term had had its positive, historically significant meaning.'[6]

It was above all with the interwar period that I had principally been concerned in *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik*, a study of musical aesthetics in the Weimar Republic that I submitted as my Ph.D. thesis to the University of Birmingham in 1984 and published

4 Ibid., p. viii.

5 'Gebrauchsmusik', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 9, 619–21. Among the documents consulted in the *Handwörterbuch* entry is an unpublished manuscript titled 'Betrachtungen zur heutigen Musik' from 1940, in which Hindemith offers a different account from the one presented at Harvard 10 years later. 'I must admit', he writes there, 'that I do not feel entirely uninvolved whenever the word "Gebrauchsmusik" is uttered. I think back to the time some 15 years ago when people in Europe began to realize that neither for music nor for the musician could a normal and healthy path forward be seen in the continual development of concertistic [*konzertanter*], especially symphonic forms'; see 'Gebrauchsmusik', *Handwörterbuch*, 5.

6 'Gebrauchsmusik', *New Grove*, 621.

as a book in 1989.[7] In posing his question Michael Fjeldsøe was not only inviting me to consider the history of *Gebrauchsmusik* during the Weimar Republic and beyond as discussed in the dissertation, but also to subject to scrutiny the recent literature on the subject. To that extent, by undertaking a form of critical self-examination, I also felt obliged to adopt what is sometimes called in musicology the 'confessional mode', a mode of discourse to which I am typically not inclined, but which seems indicated here. At the Copenhagen conference I was really reviewing two careers: the career of a widely used musical term and that of a scholar who had chosen to write a dissertation and a number of follow-up publications on it.

'How, 25 years later', Fjeldsøe wondered in his invitation, 'would I capture the mindset of Eisler, Weill, Hindemith? Were there perceptions within musicology, in the year of the fall of the Berlin Wall [the year, as mentioned, in which the dissertation was published as a book] that were marked by Cold War blind spots, or were these perceptions captured in modernist discourses that did not leave room for the appreciation of functionalist aesthetics? Are we in a better position to deal with "engaged music" today?' The short answer to these last questions is a resounding 'yes'. Parallels have emerged, as I explain, between the 1920s and the waning years of the Cold War, the years of my graduate study in the UK and Germany, during which I was trying to begin a career as a musicologist.

'A quarter of a century ago'

There is something necessarily daunting about revisiting a project that was nothing more, but also nothing less, than what the Germans call a *Gesellenstück* – an apprenticeship exercise. It is not only daunting, in some respects it is doubly painful. Did I really write that? Who was that person who has become so much older and necessarily sees things somewhat differently now? In a sense, however, as with all such academic projects, I have been revisiting the obligatory apprenticeship exercise in a variety of ways ever since. There is no getting away from it: our dissertations are part of our identity as scholars; they are an expression of who we were and, at the same time, inform what we go on to do, often quite extensively, later in our careers. In responding to the invitation, I will address both aspects of my topic – first, what attracted me to it to begin with some thirty or so years ago, and secondly, some of the ways in which my work on 'Gebrauchsmusik' – and the musicological discourse in general – has changed in the interim. Along the way, I will touch on the work of two of the seminal figures mentioned in particular: Hanns Eisler, a principal point of focus at the 2015 conference, and Kurt Weill. There is an autobiographical significance in choosing them in that my interest in the topic really began with Eisler but, for the past quarter of a century, has been nourished chiefly by Weill.

7 Stephen Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik: a Study of Musical Aesthetics in the Weimar Republic with Particular Reference to the Works of Paul Hindemith* (New York: Garland, 1989).

As a high school student I really couldn't make up my mind what to study in college, whether to study Music or German or something quite other, like Economics. After a certain amount of agonizing and prevarication, I opted for a compromise solution by enrolling in a so-called combined honours programme in Music and German at the aforementioned University of Birmingham, one of the very few such programmes in existence at the time. The contrast between my two areas of study turned out to be considerable, a kind of disciplinary schizophrenia, such that realizing the 'combined' part of 'combined honours' was largely up to me. In the Music Building students studied Classical Music, with a capital C and a capital M, whereas in the German Department things were much less narrowly canonic. The fundamental disconnect quickly became evident, and my attempts to resolve it kindled an already nascent interest in philosophical aesthetics. It was especially stark when it came to the twentieth century. In the German curriculum there was a popular course known as 'soc. lit.', short for 'the sociology of literature'. It was taught by the Marxist scholar Wilfried van der Will, a graduate of the University of Cologne and self-confessed lapsed Catholic, who saw his students as post-1968 disciples (with Stuart Hall's Centre for Contemporary Studies just three floors above us). In Music, things could scarcely have been more different. We took the obligatory survey of twentieth-century music and related seminars, all of them taught, not by a musicologist, but by the modernist British composer John Casken. This arrangement was typical at the time. Instructors in twentieth-century music were invariably composers themselves. As such, they tended to teach music history from their own perspective as artists, not as aesthetic critics, to use Oscar Wilde's distinction. As Wilde wrote in his brilliantly insightful and brilliantly entertaining essay 'The Critic as Artist':

> Technique is really personality. That is the reason why the artist cannot teach it, why the pupil cannot learn it, and why the aesthetic critic can understand it. To the great poet, there is only one method of music – his own. To the great painter, there is only one manner of painting – that which he himself employs. The aesthetic critic, and the aesthetic critic alone, can appreciate all forms and modes. It is to him that Art makes her appeal.[8]

Our composer-instructor taught us the modernist tradition of which he felt himself to be a part. It began with Debussy, Stravinsky and the Second Viennese School, even a dash of Ives, and studiously avoided the figures I would soon develop an interest in, before continuing the narrative thread with Stockhausen, Messiaen and Boulez and even that rascal Cage, with his dialectical relation to Schoenberg. British composers such as Benjamin Britten and Michael Tippett put in only a fleeting appearance – Tippett actually more than Britten. Harrison Birtwistle, however, was included and enthusiastically

8 Oscar Wilde, 'The Critic as Artist', in *Intentions* (New York, Lamb Publishing, 1909), 225.

celebrated as one of the good guys. And so were some of the contemporary composers from Poland, whom Casken knew from having studied there with Dobrowolski and from his friendship with Lutosławski. We were certainly not appreciating 'all forms and modes', but rather a quite exclusive selection. Things are very different now, of course. The curriculum, not just at Birmingham, has expanded considerably. As I was beginning to draft this paper, I received an advertisement for a lectureship at Oxford in Music since 1930 that included the following qualification: 'Please note that this is not a position for candidates who are primarily composers.' As for the candidates' expertise: 'This expertise may embrace a range of interdisciplinary and theoretical approaches to music studies, and may be in any musical tradition, including Western art music, popular, folk and world musics, experimental music, and music for film and mass media.' Times have certainly changed. So to expand my provisional answer to the question about 'engaged music', yes, we are in a better position now to deal with it; we certainly didn't deal with it then in our music history lecture surveys and seminars.

Not that Dr van der Will didn't have his own tub to thump. He was interested in the art of the class struggle, and traced its roots back to groups such as the *Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller* (League of Proletarian-Revolutionary Authors). Later postwar politically progressive associations such as the Gruppe 47 were also mentioned. But the main focus, and one that the 1968 generation had latched onto, was the prewar progressive German culture of the 1920s, which Germanists and others were studying and documenting extensively. And it was not long before the names of figures such as Hanns Eisler and Ernst Busch cropped up because of their prominence in leftwing culture at the time. Our mentor even played old recordings of the 'singendes Herz der Arbeiterklasse', 'the singing heart of the working class', as Busch was dubbed as a performer of Eisler's songs of agitation and propaganda, the so-called *Kampflieder*. And when I later spent a year abroad (a requirement of undergraduate studies in German at Birmingham), I elected to enroll at the Freie Universität in West Berlin, where I was able to cross over easily into East Berlin and stock up on the readily available recordings and scores marketed there as part of the cultural heritage of the German Democratic Republic. Eisler, after all, had written the new National Anthem of the GDR, a recording of which I acquired in a particularly string-rich, rather saccharine rendition that seemed to me at the time quite un-Eislerian.

That Eisler, like Cage, was a Schoenberg pupil and, moreover, formally and quite histrionically broke with his teacher only added to the intrigue for me. I was now able to study that vexed relationship from both sides of the fence, as it were, via the teachings of Dr van der Will on the one side and from those of Mr. Casken on the other. The music of the revolution and the revolution in music – it was quite a heady brew for an impressionable undergraduate.

When it came to picking an undergraduate thesis topic, it was something of a no-brainer, 'Music and Socialism: Hanns Eisler's Development in the 1920s'. German Studies, above all the 'soc. lit.' class, had brought to my attention a composer otherwise

suppressed from the modernist canon, and I was keen to bring him to the attention of my other home department, Music. As my research progressed, I could certainly relate to Eisler's struggles with his teacher. My own composer-teacher didn't threaten to put me over his knee and give me six of the best – a very British form of punishment, as it happens, that was familiar to me from my having attended school in London, and the kind of punitive treatment that Schoenberg actually suggested Eisler deserved because of his subversive ideas – no such threats were made, but the resistance toward introducing sociology and politics into the study of music was hard to overlook. That said, one of my other teachers was quite sympathetic toward my project. He was Dr Nigel Fortune, the distinguished scholar of seventeenth-century Italian music, who was a Labour Party activist with strong left-leaning sympathies. It was Nigel Fortune who encouraged me to remain in Birmingham for postgraduate study.

I mention all of this autobiographical background because in hindsight, as suggested earlier, parallels emerge between the musical culture of the 1920s and that of the 1970s, in particular between the musicological discourses of the two decades. My interest in Eisler brought to light categories that were both necessary, in order to appreciate what motivated him, and useful, in order to question the aesthetic prejudices of my own time. It seemed curiously automatic when my advisor-to-be asked me what I wanted to do research on – a question that I quickly answered in a single word, albeit a compound one: *Gebrauchsmusik*. In 'soc. lit.' I had read about *Gebrauchslyrik* and *Gebrauchskunst*. Exploring *Gebrauchsmusik* would be a fitting way to introduce a 'soc. lit.' perspective to the study of music. So I got to work in search of the origins of the concept, a search that would eventually lead to the *Begriffsmonographie*, literally a 'concept monograph' – or put less loftily, a separate entry – for the *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, one of the first things I worked on after finishing the dissertation.

The title of my dissertation, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik*, was intended as a more or less obvious allusion to Carl Dahlhaus's *Die Idee der absoluten Musik*.[9] Already as an undergraduate I had seen Dahlhaus give a lecture, on Schoenberg as it happened, and was amazed by the acuity with which he took concepts apart and put them back together again. A friend of mine at the Technische Universität, where I would eventually have the good fortune to work with Professor Dahlhaus as his research assistant and eventually as his 'wissenschaftlicher Assistent', once quipped that the music department there should be renamed 'Institut für Begriffsentwirrung', the institute for conceptual disentanglement. Dahlhaus was the superlative role model for doing historical musicology informed by philosophical aesthetics, an approach that my study of *Gebrauchsmusik* certainly required, if not demanded. Things really took off in that direction when I was awarded a DAAD grant to spend one of my three postgraduate years back in Berlin, during which time I attended as many Dahlhaus classes as I could, both lectures and seminars.

9 Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Idee der absoluten Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978).

Studying twentieth-century music history with a real musicologist was a revelation, after having learned about it from a composer. With his encyclopedic knowledge and methodological self-awareness, Dahlhaus seemed like the very incarnation of Wilde's aesthetic critic. His *Hauptseminar* on Stravinsky, for which I wrote a paper on neoclassicism, was especially valuable to me, as was the opportunity to trace the concept of *Gebrauchsmusik* back to its origins. I knew the British literature on this topic well, which associated the concept with Hindemith and even suggested, wrongly, that he coined it, and I knew Eisler's comments, both negative and positive, about it. But thanks to my exposure to a whole host of experts in Berlin, including Rudolf Stephan, I would not only discover that the attribution to Hindemith was erroneous, however much he himself embraced that fallacy; I also read enough literature to appreciate that people were already talking with great interest about *Gebrauchsmusik* in the early 1920s in the aftermath of the November revolution and during the period of hyperinflation, which refocused attention on use value (*Gebrauchswert*, to use the Marxist terminology). I learned, too, that the impulse to talk about *Gebrauchsmusik* was as much as anything musicological. Broad cultural interests in the utility of art and scholarly interests in how earlier music was used went hand in hand. The key figure was the musicologist Heinrich Besseler, and he was key for three reasons: first, because the idea of *Gebrauchsmusik* was central to his revisionist work on medieval and renaissance music; secondly, because his philosophical background as a student of Martin Heidegger allowed him to raise the concept to terminological status within his discipline; and thirdly, because he made vital connections between the past and the present by advocating for *Gebrauchsmusik* as something that contemporary musicians should also focus on, which of course Eisler, Weill and Hindemith and many others would do.

Besseler's 'Fundamental Questions'

The key text was and remains Besseler's *Habilitationsvortrag*, the public lecture he gave in 1925 as part of the ritual required for his being awarded the German professorial qualification known as *Habilitation*. As its title indicates, the lecture addressed 'Grundfragen des musikalischen Hörens' (Fundamental Questions of Musical Listening). The intended act of historical and cultural relativization is evident already in the opening sentences:

> When Hugo Riemann wrote his 1873 doctoral dissertation 'On Musical Listening', he stood comfortably within a closed musical tradition that went without saying. [Besseler's difficult-to-translate phrase is 'inmitten der glücklichen Selbstverständlichkeit einer geschlossenen musikalischen Tradition'.] Such a general topic back then could lead without further ado to basic questions of classic-romantic harmony.[10]

10 Heinrich Besseler, 'Grundfragen des musikalischen Hörens', *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, 32 (1926), 35–52, here 35.

Several sentences later he declares this tradition to be over, or at least called into question:

> In the creation of music, as in its theoretical reflection, assumptions that used to be automatic have become questionable to an extent that music history rarely observes. Naïvely sensing the highpoint of a traditionally closed era is gone, Viennese classicism has been stripped of its absolute standing, R. Wagner is in the process of losing his direct impact and becoming historically distant. Encroaching in the largest measure on the sphere of the present – alongside the new rhythms and sounds of negro jazz bands [this is hard to translate without an extensive footnote: Besseler uses the word *Nigger-Jazzband*, probably fairly neutrally, without all the American cultural baggage] – is early music.[11]

Already in his Freiburg dissertation on the German suite in the seventeenth century, completed under Wilibald Gurlitt in 1923, Besseler had noted that 'the aesthetic access [*Zugangsweise*] to this music is not through listening but through participation, whether through playing, dancing or singing along; in general, through use [*das Gebrauchen*].'[12] In that sense, the title of the *Habilitation* lecture could be misleading. The *Habilitationsschrift* itself developed this perspective further, this time focusing on 13th- and 14th-century motets, music, he emphasized, that was not 'created for "aesthetic enjoyment"; nor did it really 'concern the "listener" in the usual sense, but rather only believers in prayer and observation.'[13] As he expressly acknowledges in the lecture, his musicological attempt at understanding earlier musical cultures on their own terms was influenced by general phenomenological questions of the kind posed by Heidegger. His perspective, in other words, was at once diachronic and synchronic insofar as he translated his philosophy teacher's fundamental distinction between 'thing' (*Ding*) and 'equipment' (*Zeug*) into specifically musical concepts with historical import: 'autonomous music' (*eigenständige Musik*) and 'utility music' (*Gebrauchsmusik*). The first type he associated with concert music, a relatively recent phenomenon, but one which 'for generations has counted as the highest and, as it were, solely legitimate form of performing and listening to music'. With the second type, aesthetic contemplation is secondary or even irrelevant. Invoking Heideggerian terminology, one could say that its mode of existence belongs to the sphere of 'readiness-to-hand' (*Zuhandenheit*), as opposed to 'presentness-at-hand' (*Vorhandenheit*). Besseler defined such music as 'umgangsmässig', something analogous to the vernacular in language (*Umgangssprache*)

11 Ibid.

12 Heinrich Besseler, *Beiträge zur Stilgeschichte der deutschen Suite im 17. Jahrhundert* (diss., U. of Freiburg, 1923), 14.

13 Published in two parts as Heinrich Besseler, 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 (1925) and 8 (1926); quotation here from the Part II ('Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry'), 144.

in the sense of being inseparable from everyday life rather than autonomous. Active participation or involvement is key. The gist of Besseler's theory is encapsulated in this central passage from his lecture.

> For the individual, *Gebrauchsmusik* constitutes something of equal rank to his other activities, something with which he has dealings in the way he has dealings with things of everyday use, without first having to overcome any distance, that is, without having to adopt an aesthetic attitude. With this in mind we might define the basic characteristic of *Gebrauchsmusik* as something with which we are immediately involved [*umgangsmässig*]. All other art … in some way stands in contrast to Being as self-sufficient, as autonomous [*eigenständig*].[14]

In later writings Besseler replaced his original binarism with *Darbietungsmusik* ('presentation music') versus *Umgangsmusik* (literally 'ambient music', a term which has unfortunately become synonymous with background music).[15]

So much for Besseler, whose work has received quite a bit of attention in the interim, both in German and in Anglophone scholarship. I am thinking in particular of Thomas Schipperges' work; Laurenz Lütteken's probing study on Heinrich Besseler's 'musikhistoriographischer Ansatz'; Martin Scherzinger's challenging article from 2006 on 'Heideggerian Thought in the Early Music of Paul Hindemith' (challenging to my own work, that is); and Matthew Pritchard's 2011 article 'Who Killed the Concert? Heinrich Besseler and the Inter-War Politics of Gebrauchsmusik', which included in an appendix the author's own English translation of Besseler's 'Grundfragen'.[16]

Eisler's 'applied music'

Before returning at the end to a key historiographical matter that I raised in the dissertation and which Pritchard raises again in his article a quarter of a century later, I should like to discuss briefly Eisler's concept of *angewandte Musik* (applied music), a variant of *Gebrauchsmusik* that was defined in a gesture of ideological opposition towards it.

14 Besseler, 'Fundamental Questions', 45f.

15 Heinrich Besseler, 'Umgangsmusik und Darbietungsmusik im 16. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 16 (1959), 21–43.

16 Thomas Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler: Musikwissenschaft und Wissenschaftspolitik in Deutschland 1924 bis 1949* ([Munich:] Strube Verlag, 2005); Laurenz Lütteken, 'Das Musikwerk im Spannungsfeld von "Ausdruck" und "Erleben": Heinrich Besselers musikhistoriographischer Ansatz', in Anselm Gerhard (ed.), *Musikwissenschaft — eine verspätete Disziplin? Die akademische Musikforschung zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Modernitätsverweigerung* (Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 2000), 213–32; Martin Scherzinger, 'Heideggerian Thought in the Early Music of Paul Hindemith', *Perspectives of New Music*, 43 (2006), 80–125; Matthew Pritchard, 'Who Killed the Concert? Heinrich Besseler and the Inter-War Politics of *Gebrauchsmusik*', *Twentieth-Century Music*, 8 (2011), 29–48.

Besseler's focus on the mode of access or *Zugangsweise* to music – in short, on how music is used – may include but is not exhausted in the act of listening, as mentioned. In any case, it is as much about the sphere of reception as it is about conception. Music is no more inherently *Gebrauchsmusik* or *Umgangsmusik* than it is *eigenständige Musik* or *Vortragsmusik*, still less 'absolute music'. Bach reception offers one of the more dramatic examples of a conceptual shift in reception from the sphere of pragmatism and utility to the sphere of the absolute, with its attendant metaphysical connotations. But there are plenty of other examples from history, where the musical traffic moves in both directions. Born of a particular historical moment, in which the classic-romantic tradition no longer goes without saying, Besseler's binarisms serve as conceptual aids to illuminating this very fluidity of music's ontology – a point underscored above all by Lütteken.

Moreover, from the phenomenological perspective that Besseler adopts, it could be argued that *Gebrauchsmusik* effectively amounts to a tautology; all music is used in one way or another, even *Darbietungsmusik*. The concept ceases to be tautological only within the tradition of aesthetic autonomy, in which, as Oscar Wilde famously quipped in the preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 'all art is quite useless'.[17] Wilde's manifesto represents the extreme *l'art pour l'art* position. In a brief essay entitled 'What is "extramusical"?' from the book *Was ist Musik?* that he coauthored with Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Dahlhaus raised the question of what 'music' means in Eisler's angewandte *Musik*, a term coined in contradistinction both to *Gebrauchsmusik*, from which the composer wished to distance himself politically vis-à-vis his contemporaries, and to absolute music, from which he wished to distance himself as a renegade Schoenberg pupil. 'When he spoke of "angewandte Musik"', Dahlhaus observed, 'as a counter concept to absolute music – a concept, that is, in which the social and political functions are supposed to be contained in the thing itself and not imposed from without – [Eisler] unwittingly clung to the premise that "pure" music, unencumbered by texts or functions, were music "proper": he allowed his coinage to be dictated by what he was negating.'[18] Dahlhaus's point is well taken. There are numerous facets of Eisler's life and work that support the notion of his having clung to this premise, not so much unwittingly as quite knowingly. He may have broken with his teacher in an almost oedipal way as a young man, but in later life he would narrow the gap that had opened up between his generation and that of his mentor. The applications of his music were in part imposed from without, as expedient measures to be taken in response to socio-political circumstances. 'Only after the seizure of power by the proletariat', Eisler maintained, 'can a new musical culture arise.' He was talking here about a music whose comprehension had hitherto been 'the prerogative of the ruling class', the very culture in which he himself had been schooled. Even in 1927, as his concept of *angewandte Musik* was emerging, he bemoaned that 'the

17 Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1891), vii.

18 Carl Dahlhaus, 'Was heißt "außermusikalisch"?', in Carl Dahlhaus and Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Was ist Musik?* (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1985), 66.

enjoyment of complicated works of art is denied the greater part of people'.[19] He looked forward to the day when that wouldn't be the case. In his controversial Schoenberg lecture to the Akademie of Arts in East Berlin given in 1954 he stated that '[m]illions of workers and farm labourers who live in countries emancipated from capitalism will have little or no affinity toward Schoenberg for the time being'.[20] Note the qualification: for the time being. Eisler envisaged a utopia in which music could again be 'pure' or 'absolute', not necessarily applied or *angewandt*.

Eisler's development provides a particularly drastic illustration of the dilemma that faced all classically trained composers of his generation. This tension between utility and autonomy is something I have pondered quite a bit since writing the dissertation. In the entry on 'Gebrauchsmusik' for the *New Grove*, I was keen to emphasize the basic methodological point that the same piece of music can be viewed both in terms of its use value and in terms of its autonomous features and that these two perspectives are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Historically, artistic autonomy manifested itself as a complex of practices that involve three overlapping areas: the social, the aesthetic and the theoretical. First, autonomy is a sociological category: the composer's employment status or sources of patronage, the context of musical presentation and the nature of music's social function. Secondly, autonomy concerns questions of presentation, how musical objects are approached, and hence the status of music as a discrete work. Aesthetic autonomy also informs the kind of criticism and interpretation that music attracts as well as matters of musical form. Thirdly, the dimension of music theory encompasses questions of formal taxonomy and other structural factors. Seen in this way 'autonomization' is the process whereby composers become their own bosses, freed from direct service to institutions and patrons; their musical works are conceived less for specific social occasions, more as discrete works, independent of immediate social function; and the identity of their works, in formal and structural terms, increasingly resists their being subsumed under generic norms. Autonomy and the postulate of originality are closely linked. This consideration of Besseler's binarism in terms of a historical dialectic led me to the following observation in the *New Grove* entry:

> One need not subscribe to Adorno's negative dialectics, which posits social relevance in artistic isolation, in order to appreciate one principal point of his critique: namely, that proponents of *Gebrauchsmusik* could not – or rather would not – relinquish certain facets of their autonomy as composers. They remained modern professional composers, with all the aims and aspirations implied by the ultimately irreversible

19 Hanns Eisler, 'Musik und Musikverständnis', *Die rote Fahne*, 16 November 1927; in Tobias Faßhauer und Günter Meyer (eds.), *Hanns Eisler, Gesammelte Schriften 1921-1935* (Wiesbaden et al.: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007), 55–59, here 58f.

20 Hanns Eisler, 'Arnold Schoenberg', in Günter Mayer (ed.), *Hanns Eisler. Musik und Politik: Schriften 1948-1962* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982), 329.

> division of labour. The choice, then, was not a simple one between 'autonomy' and 'utility', concepts which insofar as they denote types of music exist merely as abstract constructs. Even 'autonomous' music has its uses. Rather, the call for *Gebrauchsmusik* functioned historically as a corrective to extreme, not necessarily desirable manifestations of autonomy. Composers in the 1920s were rejecting not the hard-won autonomies of Beethoven so much as the extreme isolation of the Schoenberg school.[21]

Weill: Gebrauchsmusik *vs.* Verbrauchsmusik

Weill, like Eisler, defined himself in opposition to Schoenberg, albeit more emphatically in his later period than in the early part of his career when he readily expressed admiration for Schoenberg in his reviews for the journal *Der deutsche Rundfunk*. (Before joining Busoni's master class, he had briefly contemplated studying with Schoenberg.) And like Eisler, he sought to develop a concept of utility that distinguished his own approach from that of others. Whereas Eisler took particular aim at amateur music-making as practised by Hindemith and others by distinguishing between their *Gebrauchsmusik* and his 'applied music', Weill, for his part, applied the concept of *Gebrauchsmusik* to his own work, but did so by dismissing commercial popular music as ephemeral, hence his counter concept *Verbrauchsmusik*, music that is merely consumed. In fact, thinking dialectically, he hoped that the difference between these two categories, between *Gebrauchsmusik* and *Verbrauchsmusik*, and even between them and art music (*Kunstmusik*), might eventually be erased, a historical process for which he used the Hegelian expression *aufheben* (indicating the synthesis or 'sublation' of opposites). He saw himself as committed – and he would remain committed throughout his career – to attempting something that many twentieth-century composers dismissed as futile, if not impossible, namely 'conducting an experiment to create music that can satisfy the artistic needs of broad social strata, without sacrificing its artistic substance'.[22] My book *Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform* explores in detail Weill's attempts to realize that aim in a realm in which he cast himself in the role of reformer.[23]

What has happened?

To return to Michael Fjeldsøe's question: What happened to the notion of *Gebrauchsmusik*? It has certainly not gone away, as Matthew Pritchard's recent article on Besseler testifies. Pritchard asks a similar question to Fjeldsøe by taking up the following

21 'Gebrauchsmusik', *New Grove*, 620.

22 Kurt Weill, 'Die Oper wohin? "Gebrauchsmusik" und ihre Grenzen', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 31 October 1929; in Kurt Weill, *Musik und musikalisches Theater: Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Stephen Hinton and Jürgen Schebera, with Elmar Juchem (Mainz: Schott, 2000), 92–96.

23 Stephen Hinton, *Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

conclusion that I drew in my dissertation thirty years ago, when I wrote that 'Gebrauchsmusik as practised by Weimar composers did not bring about changes of either radical or lasting consequence'.[24] I was writing then; Pritchard is writing now, yet he added that my claim 'still poses a challenge to any scholar arguing for the importance of this movement. On the face of it one simply has to agree.' He also quotes my claim that the methodological problems broached by Besseler are ones 'with which musicology has subsequently concerned itself and, in many respects, solved, or at least learned to live with'. 'The "solution"', he continues, 'involves re-inscribing all of those further, subdisciplinary divisions, superficially convenient but at some deeper level untrue, against which we have been struggling ever since Dahlhaus – between historical musicology and ethnomusicology, classical music and popular music, analysis and cultural studies.'[25] That is surely the main point. When I began my research in the late 1970s a radical reinscription had taken place, especially in Western Europe. My disciplinary schizophrenia at Birmingham in an 'uncombined' honours programme reflected a musicology curriculum whose sole focus was a historical narrative of autonomous music or, put more accurately, of music made to fit the paradigm of autonomy.

Because I was asked by the journal *Twentieth-Century Music* to serve as a reader for Matthew Pritchard's essay, and agreed to do so and reveal my identity to the author, I had an opportunity to revisit that old claim myself. Here's what I wrote to the editor, who then passed on my comments to the author, concerning the conclusion of the piece.

> It has to do with Bekker's sociological interpretation of the symphonic genre as an alternative to Besseler's anti-concert rhetoric. It is worth mentioning here that Weill, who revered Bekker, appropriated his idea of the 'gesellschaftsbildende Kraft' of music to apply to his own conception of musical theater, which, as the author acknowledges, was presented as a form of *Gebrauchsmusik*. I'm thinking here of articles such as 'Gesellschaftsbildende Oper', *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, 19 February 1929. (It should be noted, however, that Weill first used Bekker's term in the article 'Der Rundfunk und die Umschichtung des Musiklebens' in 1926.) Weill's own theories can be seen to mediate between the poles of Bekker and Besseler. And if I were to have the opportunity to provide a gloss on my statement ... written nearly 30 years ago – that '*Gebrauchsmusik* as practised by Weimar composers did not bring about changes of either radical or lasting consequence' – I would be inclined to point to Weill's musical theater works composed in the United States as representing a continuation of the changes that the composer had sought to bring about in Weimar Germany.

24 Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik*, 40.
25 Pritchard, 'Who Killed the Concert?', 47.

I strongly recommended publication of the article, noting that 'I leave it up to the author whether he/she would like to stray into the fleshpots of Broadway and/or toward the contested intentional "Kitsch" of *Down in the Valley* (a *Gebrauchsoper* for use in institutions of higher education)'.

To return to Michael Fjeldsøe's questions: yes, when I began work on *Gebrauchsmusik* in the UK there were certainly perceptions captured in modernist discourses that did not leave a whole lot of room for the appreciation of functionalist aesthetics. In the UK, German Studies were tapping into the student movement's interest in interwar progressive German culture. And in Germany, Dahlhaus's pupils such as Albrecht Dümling along with others associated with the journal *Das Argument* were shining a spotlight on the music of Eisler and other composers of *Gebrauchsmusik* (or, as Eisler preferred to call it, *angewandte Musik*). Are we in a better position to deal with 'engaged music' today? Undoubtedly. *Gebrauchsmusik* is alive and well in musicology, even if it goes by other generic names. To cite a very recent example. In March 2016 the University of California at Berkeley hosted a conference on what it calls EZ Music ('EZ' evidently a pronunciation respelling of 'easy'). The call for papers defined the label as 'simple, generic, kitschy, or trivial music, usually for amateur performers or listeners. Examples might include music for children, community or church choirs, pedagogical compositions or practices, and music that endeavors to be low-brow or populist in spirit.' EZ Music and *Gebrauchsmusik* obviously overlap without being synonymous. The challenge, I think, remains, not only to appreciate the specific disciplinary impasse that prompted Besseler's binarism in the first place, but also to apply his categories not as actual, clearly circumscribed musical phenomena, but as heuristics for coming to grips with complex figures such as Eisler and Weill. The same heuristics lend themselves to exploring all kinds of other music, too, not least music that might fall under the rubric 'EZ Music'.

If that's my principal conclusion, there is one more thing I should mention that has preoccupied me in my recent research and which I have touched on here with respect to my own formation, and that is to revisit Cold War research into the Weimar Republic as itself a topic of historical inquiry – the history of history, if you like. What were the postwar motivations in studying 1920s culture? What was the *Erkenntnisinteresse*, as Habermas would say – and how did that interest colour the findings? The Nazi years provide an important clue, but they remained something of a blind spot (a Cold War blind spot, perhaps, to recall one of Fjeldsøe's questions). The tendency to leave those years out of conference programmes has diminished, of course, but Cold War histories of the 1920s still deserve further analysis and scrutiny. In the context of my research on Weill it has become increasingly evident in the past 20 years or so just how much postwar images of the composer were shaped by a desire to welcome him back from emigration with a positive German identity, one that in hindsight seems as much a construction as the negatively construed American identity.

Abstract

The author revisits the history of *Gebrauchsmusik*, a musicological term that was coined in the early 1920s in musicological circles and which soon became a slogan with international currency. In documenting shifts in the term's meaning and cultural significance and scrutinizing the role it has played in musicological discourse, the author reviews his own scholarly biography, from 1970s England, via Berlin during the 1980s, to his current home in the US. Apart from Paul Hindemith, who is widely but wrongly credited with having invented the word, composers discussed here who were similarly working in a culture that promoted the idea of *Gebrauchsmusik* include Hanns Eisler and Kurt Weill.

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Neue Sachlichkeit and Schulhoff's Improvisations

Andrew Wilson

Erwin Schulhoff, the eldest son of a German Jewish family from Prague, was born in 1894 and died at the Wülzburg internment camp in Southern Germany in 1942. His activities as composer and virtuoso pianist, first based in Germany until 1923 and then in Czechoslovakia are intrinsically related to the cultural, economic, social, and technological changes which define Weimar Germany. Although chronologically, geographically, and ideologically at the periphery of a narrow understanding of *Neue Sachlichkeit* and despite the probable influence of Czech Poetism, Schulhoff's artistic activities from 1919 onwards are surely related to the movement.[1] Rather than discussing this relationship through some of his better-known compositions, for example the 1930 *Hot-Sonate für Altsaxophon und Klavier* (WV 95)[2] written for the radio and first performed in Berlin the same year, I will focus on two instances of Schulhoff's improvisations. The first musical example is taken from a recording that is representative of Schulhoff's jazz orientated piano duo, regularly broadcast live from 1931 onwards on *Radiojournal,* Czechoslovakia's first radio operator. This piece, entitled *Sami dva* (*Only two*) and whose score remains lost, was written by Schulhoff's duo partner Oldrich Letfus (1900–1959). The other case study is the first of Schulhoff's *Studie* (WV 119).[3] Originally entitled *Optimistische Komposition*, this piece is a notated variant of a solo extemporization he performed in 1936, probably at a worker's gathering in Ostrava, and which he transcribed after the performance.[4] *Sami dva* and *Optimistische Komposition* offer a unique opportunity to investigate how improvised performance as art might relate to musical *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Both musical examples stage the characteristics of *Gebrauchsmusik*

1 This essay is a revised version of my paper at the conference *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-garde? Hanns Eisler and his Contemporaries* (Copenhagen, 2015). It draws on Stephen Hinton's discussion of *Neue Sachlichkeit* and its relationship with Heinrich Besseler's concept of *Gebrauchsmusik* in *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik: Musical Aesthetics in the Weimar Republic with Reference to the Works of Paul Hindemith* (New York: Garland, 1989). It also implicitly builds on Nils Grosch, *Die Musik der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999) which examines in detail the cultural and historical changes which characterize the emergence of musical *Neue Sachlichkeit* from the end of WWI to the second half of the 1920s.

2 Erwin Schulhoff, *Hot-Sonate, (Jazz-Sonate), für Altsaxophon und Klavier, (1930)* [WV 95] (Mainz: Schott, 2007 / 2013).

3 Erwin Schulhoff, *Studie. Dvě skladby pro klaír* [*Studies. Two Compositions for the Piano*], *(1936)*, [WV 119] (Supraphon: Prague, 1974), [H 5557].

4 See Josef Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff, Musik und Werk* (Hamburg: Von Bockel, 1994), 137.

whose features as musical performance are described in Heinrich Besseler's *Habilitation* lecture of 1925 entitled 'Grundfragen des musikalischen Hörens'.[5] Schulhoff's improvisations rely on communicative mechanisms, respectively the radio and popular gatherings, which Besseler clearly differentiates from the concert hall and its association with the 'educated bourgeoisie' of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century.[6] They nevertheless remain bound to the notion of improvisation as art. According to Edgar Landgraf, this conception of improvisation first emerged around 1800 in the contemporaneous writings of Adam Müller and Heinrich von Kleist.[7] It refers to the identification of improvisation as an inventive tool that generates newness, originality and otherness, attributes which Landgraf claims are inherent to the aesthetics of autonomy and its rejection of 'rule-governedness and mimesis'.[8] These factors, I suggest, might warrant the inclusion of *Sami dva* and *Optimistische Komposition* in a broad definition of musical *Neue Sachlichkeit*.

The recording of *Sami dva*,[9] a unique testimony of Schulhoff's understanding of improvised jazz, and the score of *Optimistische Komposition* inevitably confront us with questions of style. Nevertheless, this paper seeks less to discuss these musical examples

5 Heinrich Besseler, 'Grundfragen des musikalischen Hörens', *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, 32 (1926), 35–52, transl. Matthew Pritchard and Irene Auerbach, 'Fundamental Issues of Musical Listening (1925)', *twentieth-century music*, 8 (2011), 49–70. Unless otherwise mentioned, all other translations are my own.

6 Besseler, 'Fundamental Issues of Musical Listening', 51.

7 Edgar Landgraf, *Improvisation as Art: Conceptual Challenges, Historical Perspectives* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 7–10.

8 Ibid. 8. Referring to the 'first-hand accounts of improvisation performances' in the writings of Karl Philipp Moritz and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, as well as to Carl Ludwig Fernow's 1801 book *Über die Improvisatoren*, Landgraf also underlines the proximity of the idea of improvisation as an art-creating process that does not follow a plan or rule to the aesthetics of genius. However, both Moritz and Goethe remain hesitant in fully endorsing the notion of improvisation as a means of generating newness, originality and otherness. This changes, Landgraf argues, with Müller and Kleist. For his part, Fernow, sees the aesthetics of genius fulfilled by the (Italian) improviser. My understanding of autonomous art draws on Niklas Luhmann's definition of the term in *Art as a Social System* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) as well as on Landgraf's definition of the term in *Improvisation as Art*, 42–83.

9 The original recording of *Sami dva* is housed in the archives of Prague Radio. The record is an Ultraphone 78 rpm disc with *Sami dva* on one side and a tango entitled *Odešla láska* by Tino Marek, on the other. The recording's original title and archival reference is: 1. Tino Marek: Odešla láska. 2. Oldřich Letfus: Sami dva. Hraje klavírní duo E. Schulhoff a O. Letfus. Ultraphon A 10612. Gramofon. archiv Cs. rozhlasu, sign, 8412–8413 (Véra Stará (ed.), *Ervín Schulhoff vzpomínky, studie a dokumenty* [*E. S. Memories, Studies, and Documents*] (Praha, 1958), 158). The recording is mentioned in Emanuel Uggè, 'Jazzové klavírní duo čili hodinka s prof. E. Schulhoffem a drem Oldřichem Letfusem' [*Jazz piano duo or an hour with Prof. E. Schulhoff and Dr Oldřich Letfus*], *Revue Ultraphonu*, 3 (1933), 9. Both compositions also appear in some of the radio programmes of the Schulhoff-Letfus duo listed in Stará. The recordings of *Sami dva* and *Odešla láska* have since been released by Supraphononline, see https://www.supraphonline.cz/album/250478-historie-psana-selakem-album-ultraphonu-4-1933.

in terms of style and form rather than to highlight the similarities between their 'communicative, medial, and dramaturgical qualities' and those (possibly) associated with musical *Neue Sachlichkeit*.[10]

Besseler's Gebrauchsmusik

In 'Grundfragen des musikalischen Hörens' Besseler explicitly addresses the 'aesthetic' potential of *Gebrauchsmusik* and its participatory and communal aspects. Independently from its political connotations, it is defined as a type of music-making which bypasses 'concert-type characteristics' and whose focus is less on 'perfection of execution' than on a form of music-making in which 'the composer takes a back seat'.[11] Whilst claiming that this kind of music-making (and listening) has been 'pushed aside by the concert', particularly since the Romantic period, he further qualifies it as music which is 'at its most vital when it emerges out of the moment for the sake of the moment'.[12]

Besseler also argues that contrary to autonomous music, 'the music of the Minnesänger' or 'the Protestant chorale of the sixteenth century' are instances of 'art music' which nevertheless remained bound to 'the interactions of everyday life'.[13] *Gebrauchsmusik*, moreover, differs in its reception from autonomous music: functional music, he writes, 'is not to be yielded to passively by an undefined mass of listeners, but rather, the listeners should, as a true community of like-minded individuals, approach the music with an active, expectant attitude'.[14]

Schulhoff's relationship to Neue Sachlichkeit

Despite an initial interest in expressionism, Schulhoff rapidly rallied after the war to the contemporary anti-expressionist and anti-romantic movement.[15] This attitude appears

10 Niels Grosch, 'Neue Sachlichkeit, Mass Media and Matters of Musical Style in the 1920s', in R. Grüttemeier, K. Beekman and B. Rebel (eds.), *Neue Sachlichkeit and Avant-Garde* (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2013), 185–201, at 197.

11 Besseler, 'Fundamental Issues', 52–53.

12 Ibid. 53. *Gebrauchsmusik* music includes 'work songs' (54), 'communal songs' (55), 'student songs' (55), 'songs of allegiance' (56), etc. Besseler also refers to improvised jazz as 'an unadulterated' illustration of functional music (dance music) (52).

13 Ibid. 63.

14 Ibid. 52.

15 While in Dresden (1919–1921) Schulhoff helped create the local Dada group. His friends and colleagues at that time included the founders of the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919* Lasar Segall, Conrad Felixmüller and Otto Dix as well as other artists, such as the painter Otto Griebel, the writer Theodor Däubler and the art critic Will Grohmann, many of whom were also associated with the *Novembergruppe*. Concerning Schulhoff and the *Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919*, see Tobias Widmaier (ed.), *Erwin Schulhoff. Schriften* (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1995), 105. Otto Dix, Conrad Felixmüller, Otto Griebel and Will Grohmann were all associated with the *Novembergruppe*; see Shearer West,

most strongly in his 'Revolution und Musik', a text probably written in the second half of 1919.[16]

Schulhoff starts his text by defining art as a sensuous experience and claims that human beings will always seek the physical stimulation of art.[17] Music, he further asserts, 'is never philosophy' adding that 'only a bourgeois is capable to believe that art is philosophy'.[18] These arguments progressively lead to the text's main topic, Schulhoff's criticism of the 'sickly intellect' of 'romantic-fantastic expressionism', a category that includes Scriabin and Schoenberg:

> All these works of the above mentioned composers [Schoenberg, Scriabin], who determine the 'new direction', are, though of great importance, more the result of absolute aesthetic rather than rhythmic intuition, they are throughout sound (*Klang*), respectively tone colour (*Klangfarbe*), often with an aftertaste of sickly intellect. This direction may be called 'romantic-fantastic expressionism'.[19]

The final section of 'Revolution und Musik' is a quasi-declaration of intent of his music of the 1920s, a period which includes his numerous Kunst-Jazz compositions, the first of which are the *Fünf Klavierstücke* of 1919. In this passage, Schulhoff repeats his appeal for rhythm and dance music, referring in particular to contemporary popular dances,

The Visual Arts in Germany, 1890-1937: Utopia and Despair (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 112, 114; see also Frank Almai, *Expressionismus in Dresden* (Dresden: Thelem bei w.e.b., 2005), 228, and Franziska Lampe, 'Zum Holzschnitt als visuelle Strategie um 1918/19', in Nils Grosch (ed.), *Novembergruppe 1918: Studien zu einer interdisziplinären Kunst für die Weimarer Republik* (Münster, New York: Waxmann, 2018), 45.

16 Erwin Schulhoff, 'Revolution und Musik', in Widmaier (ed.), *Erwin Schulhoff. Schriften*, 11–15, cf. 106.

17 Ibid. 11: 'Das Werk im allgemeinen entspringt gesteigerter menschlicher Sinnlichkeit, der Grad der Bedeutung des Werkes entspricht dem Grade der menschlichen Sinnlichkeit! Da der Mensch sinnlich ist, d. h. eine starke Steigerung des Empfindens unausgesetzt anstrebt (Tempobeschleunigung durch die Maschine dadurch erzeugtes Bequemlichkeitsempfinden, – Besuche der Kinos, Erzeugnis der Erlebnisempfindung u.s.w), ist ja schon an und für sich jede Möglichkeit einer Kunstabschaffung ausgeschlossen, es wird sogar die Maschine zum Kunstwerke, wenn man bedenkt, daß sie ja zur Sinnessteigerung, ja sogar zur Ekstase aufschwingen läßt, von der die Masse ergriffen und gewirbelt wird (Grammophone, Orchestrione, Aeroplane, Autos, amerikanische Vergnügungsetablissements etc., dies nur als einzelne Beispiele herausgenommen), dann muß ja natürlich das Kunstwerk in diesem Sinne bestehen bleiben.'

18 Ibid. 13: 'sie [Musik] ist niemals Philosophie, sie entspringt dem ekstatischen Zustande und findet in der rhythmischen Bewegung ihren Ausdruck. Nur der Bourgeois ist fähig zu glauben, sie sei Philosophie …'.

19 Ibid. 14: 'Alle diese Werke der hier aufgeführten Componisten [sic], welche die "neue Richtung" bestimmen, sind, obwohl von großer Bedeutung, mehr Erzeugnis absoluter aesthetischer Intuition als rhythmischer, sie sind durchwegs Klang bezw. Klangfarbe, häufig mit einem Beigeschmack krankhaften Intellekts untermischt. Man kann also diese Richtung als "romantisch-phantastischen Expressionismus" bezeichnen.'

i. e. 'One-Step, Foxtrott, Tango, Yazz u.s.w.'[20] He also advocates a music which would draw on 'real events', comparing his understanding of music not only to works of Paul Klee, Marc Chagall and George Grosz but also to the paintings of Teniers, a Flemish Baroque artist who painted numerous scenes of everyday life.[21]

In the 1930s, Schulhoff would further develop his idea of musical realism characterized by its proximity to the aesthetic ideals of socialist realism. In 1941 Schulhoff described his compositions of this 'third creative period' as music void of 'decadent lyricism and hysterical outbursts. It has become hard, inflexible and uncompromising!'[22]

The ambivalence surrounding Schulhoff's attitude towards *Neue Sachlichkeit* is particularly striking in his answer to a friendly suggestion asking him to adapt, for the stage (as a ballet or pantomime), his first Symphony of 1925, premiered in Berlin in 1928. In his reply, Schulhoff strongly condemns the use of the term *Neue Sachlichkeit* to designate contemporary music in Germany as in his view 'the German never got rid of his sentimentality. The current Bach and Handel renaissance is nothing else but a sign of impotence which is covered up by the slogan "Neue Sachlichkeit"'.[23]

Nevertheless, the 'sachliche' potential of his music was not restricted to his compositions. While Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt mentioned his 'élan musical' in his 1926 article 'Der neue Klaviervirtuose',[24] Bek acknowledges the 'absence of excessive pathos' and 'strict objectivity' of his pianism noticeable in the 1928 recordings for the German label Polydor.[25]

As a pianist, Schulhoff has regularly been described as the perfect post-WWI virtuoso, whose anti-romantic attitude was further characterized by 'a phenomenal memory, a

20 Ibid. 15.

21 Ibid. 14f.: 'In einem Zeitalter, in welchem Materialismus und Realismus vorherrscht, gibt es also auch nur demnach eine entsprechende Kunst, d. h, "Kunst", nicht mehr als die lächerlich große Geste, sondern gänzlich aus dem realen Erlebnisse heraus, nicht mehr übergrosses Pathos, sondern Selbstverständlichkeit, und wie einst Teniers als einer der ersten niederländischer Klassik in der Malerei Kunst als reales Dasein erfasste, wie heute Klee, Chagall, Grosz u.s.w. Kunst gänzlich realisieren, warum sollte dies am wenigsten in der Musik möglich sein?' The painter is probably David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690).

22 '[Musik frei von] dekadenten Lyrismen und hysterischen Ausbrüchen. Sie ist hart geworden, unerbittlich und kompromisslos!' Schulhoff's diary, 18 March 1941. – *Schulhoff's diary* (*Schulhoffs Tagebuch*). Original lost. Copy kindly provided by Tobias Widmaier of a transcription of the original compounded by Josef Bek and Marketa Kralovcova in 1971. Concerning the loss of Schulhoff's diary, see Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 164.

23 '[…dass] der Deutsche nie aus seiner Sentimentalität herauskann. Die augenblickliche Bach- und Händelrenaissance ist nichts anderes als ein Zeichen von Impotenz, welches mit dem Schlagwort "Neue Sachlichkeit" bemäntelt wird.' Letter to Emil Hertzka, 18 May 1928, as quoted in Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 84.

24 Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, 'Der neue Klaviervirtuose', *Der Auftakt*, 6 (1926), 79–82, at 82.

25 Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 157: 'Vortrag mit elegantem Ausdruck ohne übertriebenes Pathos, strenge Sachlichkeit mit durchaus auch kontrolliertem Gefühl'. These recordings have been reissued by Parnassus Records in 2014. See Erwin Schulhoff, *Complete Piano Recordings 1928/29*, Parnassus Records, 2014.

flawless talent for sight-reading, innate technical aptitudes, and an absolute peace of mind when performing in small or large venues'.[26] His modern pianism, the capacity to control his nerves in all circumstances, his skills in improvisation, and wide repertoire, which included works from the early 18th century to the 20th century, were additionally sought-after assets in the ever-growing market of live radio broadcasts of the interwar period.[27]

Improvised free fantasies and improvisation on given themes probably make up the bulk of his skills in extemporization, which he must have acquired in his youth. When and where Schulhoff acquired these skills remains undocumented, although Josef Bek, Schulhoff's main biographer, relates it to his musical education.[28] Whether he was capable of improvising fugues on given themes is unknown. However, his brief employment at the Czech State Conservatory in Prague in 1929, teaching 'sight reading and figured bass',[29] suggests that he must have been capable to realize at sight a piano (keyboard) thorough bass part.

Schulhoff was probably also capable of what Riemann's music dictionary of 1908 labels as 'fantasia-playing', that is improvisation which 'gives free rein to the fancy'.[30] This mode of improvisation might account for the compositional process of his unmeasured fantasy-like pieces of 1919–1922, which he defined as musical prose.[31] Moreover, according to Riemann's dictionary, between the improvised fugue and the free fantasy 'stands the varying of a given theme – a fantasia on a melody – of which every ordinary musician ought to be capable'.[32] The Czech pianist would later merge these skills with forms of extended tonality, syncopated rhythms derived from African-American dance music, and whatever scraps of authentic (African)-American jazz he might have come across in the early 1920s.[33]

26 Ervína Brokesova as quoted in Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 154, originally from Stará, *Ervín Schulhoff*, 39: '…phänomenales Gedächtnis, die Fähigkeit tadellosen Lesens vom Blatt, angeborene technische Begabung und absolute Ruhe im Vortrag auch in großen Konzerten.'

27 Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 157; Vladimír Gregor, 'Ostravské působení skladatele Ervína Schulhoffa v letech 1935–1938' [Musical activities in Ostrava of the composer Erwin Schulhoff], *Sborník Ostrava*, 2 (1964), 82–123, at 88.

28 Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 14.

29 *Schulhoff's diary*, 10 Dec. 1929.

30 Hugo Riemann, 'Improvisation', *Dictionary of Music,* transl. J.S. Shedlock (London: Augener, 1908 [4th edn.]), 368–69.

31 See Katrin Bösch and Ivan Vojtěch, 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen Erwin Schulhoff und Alban Berg', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 13–14 (1993–1994), 65–68.

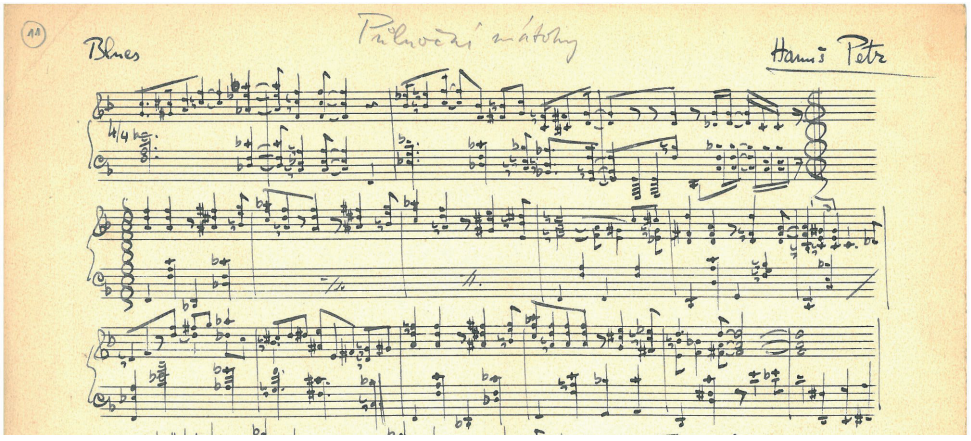
32 Riemann, 'Improvisation', 368–69.

33 Although improbable, one cannot fully discard the idea that Schulhoff heard authentic African-American jazz in one form or another in the first half of the 1920s. Nevertheless, and similarly to many of his contemporaries, he did refer to the novelty pianist Zev Confrey as a jazz pianist. A documented contact with a 'legitimate' white jazz musician took place in 1930, when he performed the radio premiere of his *Hot-Sonate* together with saxophone player Billy Barton: 'Zu erwähnen: der famose Bläser Willy Barton, ein Jazzspieler von Beruf. Schulhoff erklärt, nur solche könnten seine Sonate spielen.' Hanns Gutman, 'Neue Musik im Berliner Sender', *Melos*, 9 (1930), 251–52, at 252.

Sami dva

Sami dva, translated as *Only two,* is a composition by Oldřich Letfus (1900–1959),[34] Schulhoff's first partner in his jazz-oriented live radio broadcasts. The recording is allegedly one of the only two remaining audio testimonies of the Schulhoff-Letfus duo. This collaboration started at the beginning of 1931 and had initially been suggested and organized by Karel Boleslav Jirák,[35] the Czech composer and conductor, who in 1930 was also the programme director of the Czech Radio Corporation based in Prague.[36]

While these radio broadcasts might have been partially financially motivated, they were also related to Schulhoff's desire to promote jazz in Czechoslovakia in the same spirit as his failed project of starting a 'Gebrauchs-Musik Schule' (school of functional music) in 1931, whose aim was to train Czech musicians in jazz and 'radio' music.[37] Schulhoff also composed pieces similar in style and form to *Sami dva*, for example *Pulnocní mátohy* / *Midnight Ghost* (1933),[38] which also served as platforms for their improvisations.[39]



Example 1. *Pulnocní mátohy* / *Midnight Ghost* (1933), bb. 1–16. Signed Hanuš Petr, one of the numerous pseudonyms used by Erwin Schulhoff. National Museum of Prague – Czech Museum of Music. Shelfmark: S 173–508.

34 For a short biography of Oldřich Letfus see *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí, svazek prvý* [*Czechoslovak Music Dictionary of People and Institutions, Volume One*] (Praha: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1963), 828.

35 Bek mentions 13 November 1930 as the starting date: 'So entstand ein Jazz-Klavierduo, das den Hörern zum erstenmal am 13. November 1930 vorgestellt wurde' (Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 118). The date mentioned in Uggè's 1933 article is 13 December 1930, Uggè, 'Jazzové klavírní', 9.

36 Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 118. About *Radiojournal*, see https://www.radio.cz/en/static/history-of-radio-prague.

37 Ibid. 120.

38 Schulhoff's manuscripts mentioned in this paper are all housed in the National Museum of Prague – Czech Museum of Music.

39 Schulhoff was also active as a pianist in Jaroslav Ježek's jazz orchestra at the Osvobozené divadlo (Prague Liberated Theatre) from 1933 to 1935 (Schulhoff's diary, 10 March 1941).

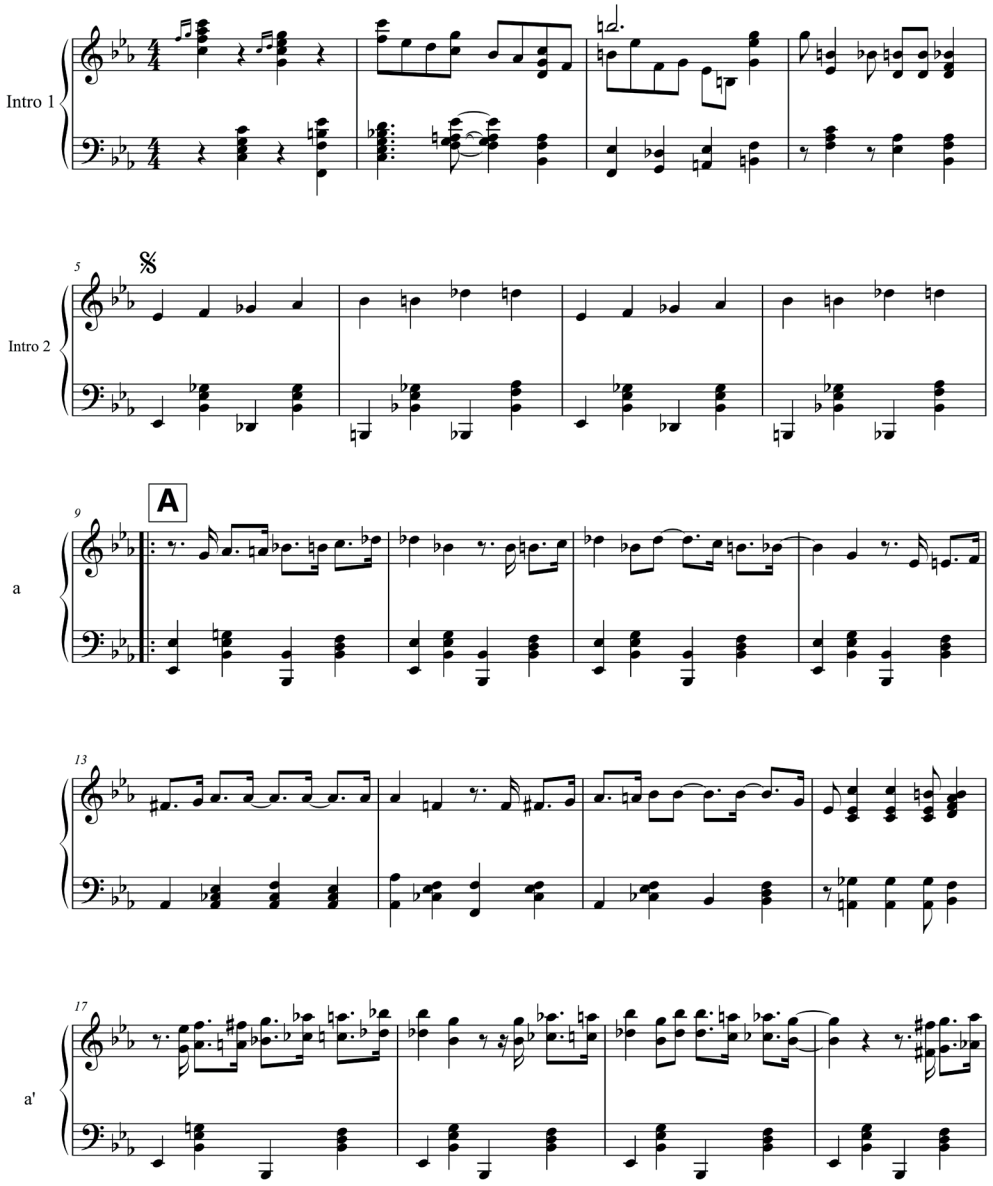
Possibly in a self-conscious desire not to be associated, as a composer, with this less prestigious musical genre, Schulhoff signed these hit songs with pseudonyms, e. g. Hanuš Petr in *Pulnocní mátohy*. The use of pseudonyms highlights his ambivalent relationship as a composer to *Gebrauchsmusik*. However, Schulhoff the performer, or more specifically in this case the radio broadcasting improviser, never felt inclined to mask his name. On the contrary, his capacity for extempore playing was consciously publicized in a 1933 interview by Emanuel Uggè entitled 'Jazzové klavírní duo čili hodinka s prof. E. Schulhoffem a drem Oldřichem Letfusem' ('Jazz piano duo or an hour with Prof. E. Schulhoff and Dr Oldřich Letfus') printed in the monthly journal of the Czechoslovak Radio Corporation. In this article, Schulhoff describes his collaboration with Letfus and claims that these radio events are instinctive musical dialogues between himself and his partner similar to the improvised performances of 'pure' jazz bands (*míním čistý jazz*), the notated scores serving as springboards for their improvisations.[40]

While *Sami dva* was part of the duo's programme prior to 1935, it is also one of the pieces included in their live radio experiments of 1936 with Letfus performing from Prague and Schulhoff broadcasting from Moravian Ostrava.[41] In the recording, improvisation appears to primarily consists of agogic and dynamic variations of the melodic lines. New material is also added in the form of fills, for example the rhythmic fills introduced in the repetition of part A.

After two distinct introductions of four bars, the piece consists of a regular repetition of two idiosyncratic melodic lines of eight bars each (A and B). Each melodic line is played twice (a + a'; b + b') and then followed by a contrasting section (or bridge) (see Example 2). There are three different bridges, two of eight bars and one of four. Each bridge occurs twice throughout the whole performance, whose overall structure is summarized below (see Table 1).

40 Uggè, 'Jazzové klavírní', 9: 'Někteří skladatelé již pro nás píší v duchu na 2 klavírech. Obvykle však pracujeme improvisačně [sic], hrajíce ze 2 totožných exemplářů notového materiálu. Reagujeme na sebe navzájem instinktivně a podle toho tvoříme. Naše hra je tudíž zcela analogická čistému jazzovému tvoření, které spočívá na schopnosti dokonalé improvisace, což je podmíněno přesným a správným hudebním citem a intuicí.' ('Some composers already write for us with two pianos in mind. Usually, however, we work improvisationally [sic], playing from two identical copies of sheet music. Our playing is therefore completely analogous to pure jazz creation, which is based on the ability for perfect improvisation, which is conditioned by accurate and correct musical feeling and intuition.')

41 Stará, *Ervín Schulhoff*, 132, 139, 149. Letfus's original score of *Sami dva* remains missing. It is neither in the National Museum of Prague – Czech Museum of Music nor in the Prague Museum of Popular Music.



Example 2. Oldřich Letfus, *Sami Dva* / *Only two,* undated (1933?), transcribed by Wilson (2017) from the recording, bb. 1–20.[42]

42 The transcription of *Sami dva* was made possible thanks to the invaluable help of Elia Marcionetti and Carlos Gil Gonzalo.

Intro	**Intro 1 + Intro 2** (8 bars)			
Part A	**a + a'** (16 bars)	**bridge 1** (8 bars)	**a + a'**	**bridge 2** (4 bars)
Part B	**b + b'** (16 bars)	**bridge 3** (8 bars)	**b'** (8 bars)	**Intro 2** (4 bars)
Part A	**a + a'** (16 bars)	**bridge 1** (8 bars)	**a + a'**	**bridge 2** (4 bars)
Part B	**b + b'** (16 bars)	**bridge 3** (8 bars)	**b' + ending** (8 + 2 bars)	

Table 1. *Sami dva*, overall structure.

Optimistische Komposition

The 'frivolity' of *Sami dva* contrasts strongly with the more purposeful music of *Optimistische Komposition*. Schulhoff's improvisation, as notated in his transcription of the first of the two *Studie,* starts with an initial sober quasi-modal polyphonic texture that builds up to a climactic sequence of polychords before returning back to its initial texture (see Example 3). The impression of an arch form is reinforced by the ending, which is a mirror inversion of the initial two phrases (bb. 1–8 and 9–16). Moreover, the improvisation seems to have mainly relied on the repetition, transposition and variation of the musical material of bb. 1–16.

While the lighter minded jazz oriented improvisations are musically closer to his works of the 1920s,[43] these improvisations on 'revolutionary songs and on his own themes'[44] mirror Schulhoff's compositions of the 1930s. They are similar in spirit to his political songs, for example *Píseň o Thälmannovi* / *Song about Thälmann* (1933), a genre probably influenced by the songs of Hanns Eisler.[45]

The musical events, which included improvisations as well as some of his own compositions, were organized in collaborations with the Czech DDOČ, the Association of Communist Theatre Workers of Czechoslovakia.[46] According to testimonies of contemporaries who witnessed these events, *Optimistische Komposition* might have been improvised during a memorial evening of the three Ls (Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg) at 'an Inn at Herlinger in Silesian Ostrava on January 14, 1936'.[47] Together with *Der Marsch*

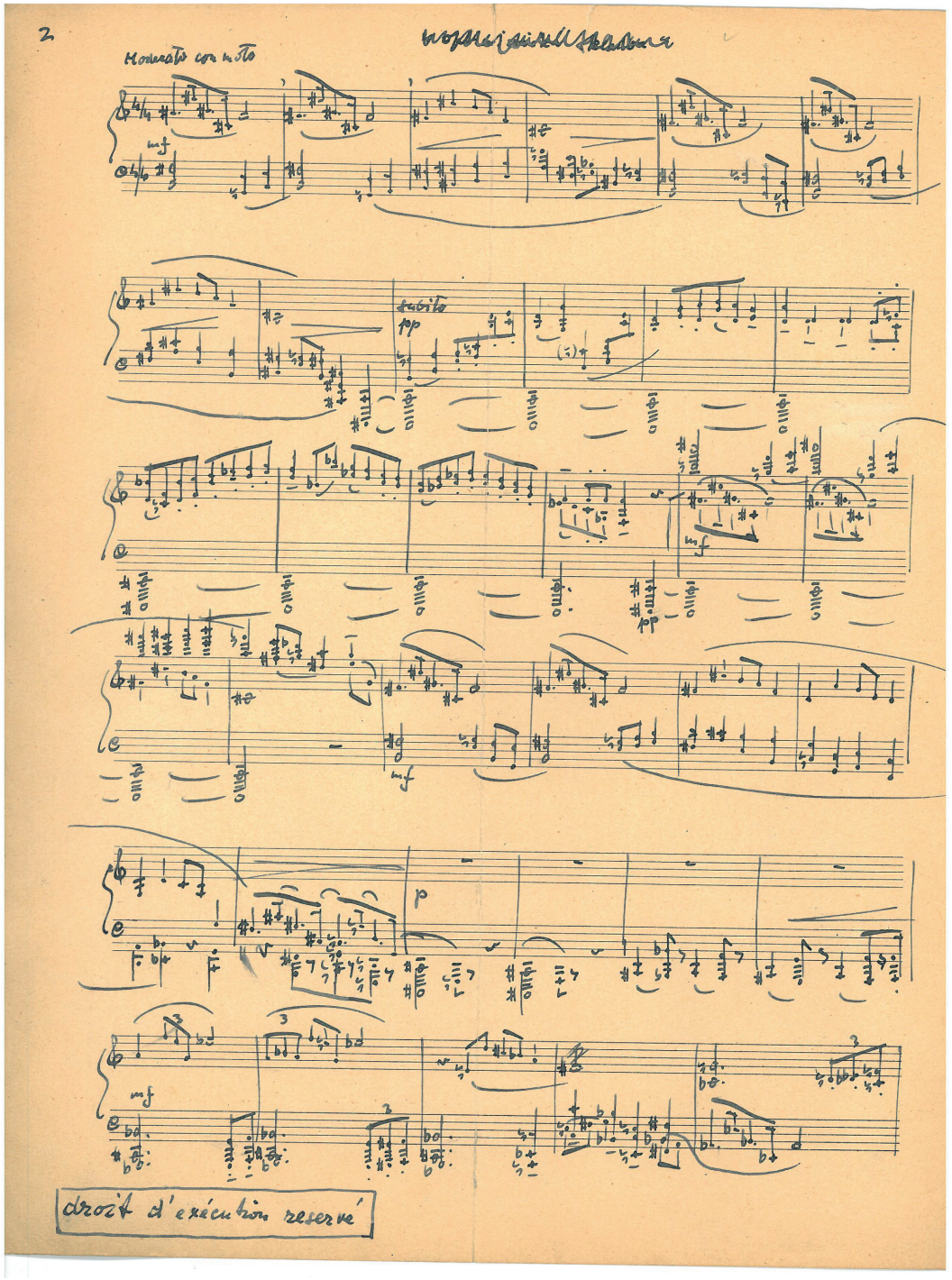
43 Schulhoff continued to broadcast in Ostrava, where he had moved to in 1935, together with a new partner Jan Kaláb (1908–1979).

44 Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 137.

45 Jiranek claims that 'already before the time when, in Germany, the *Ebert* government suppressed the Spartacus League, Schulhoff bound a close artistic friendship with German revolutionary artists, in particular with *Bertolt Brecht* und *Hanns Eisler*', Jaroslav Jiranek, 'Die tschechische proletarische Musik in den 20er und 30er Jahren', *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 4 (1962), 205–34, at 210f.

46 Bek, *Erwin Schulhoff*, 137.

47 Gregor, 'Ostravské působení', 100f.



Example 3. Erwin Schulhoff, *Optimistische Komposition*, clean copy of the manuscript of the first of the 1936 *Studie* (WV 119), pag. 2. National Museum of Prague – Czech Museum of Music. Shelfmark: S 173-335-2.

der Tschechischen Arbeiter, another instance of Schulhoff's improvisations influenced by socialist realism, they were later notated and regrouped under the title *Studie*.

Schulhoff's anti-romanticism initially expressed in 'Revolution und Musik' is not only reflected in his work as a composer and as a classical interpreter but also in these two instances of improvised performance. Rather than a concert-like display of virtuosity, performed by 'the inspired genius that Romanticism valued so highly',[48] Schulhoff's examples create the illusion of a participatory and communal type of music making: *Sami dva* embodies the latest trends in popular dance music and *Optimistische Komposition* echoes the musical material of popular and/or revolutionary songs. Furthermore, both performances are staged as events unrelated to any type of concert environment. The radio and the public space recreate modern conditions for music listening which mirror Besseler's pre-classical music listening and which favours (according to Besseler) the audience's active involvement.

In these performances, Schulhoff merges the aesthetic potential of *Gebrauchsmusik* with his contemporized knowledge of classical and pre-classical extemporization techniques, the *Sachlichkeit* of his pianism, and particularly in the case of *Optimistische Komposition*, his understanding of extended forms of tonality. These innovative uses of the artistic quality of *Gebrauchsmusik* remain strongly related, I would suggest, to the notions of agency and inventiveness which Landgraf claims characterize autonomous art.[49]

Conclusion

Although it is probable, there is no evidence that Schulhoff was aware of Besseler's texts or vice versa.[50] However, the aesthetic potential of *Gebrauchsmusik* summarized in Besseler's 'Grundfragen des musikalischen Hörens' is strikingly close to the Czech artist's interest in and contact with non-concert types of music making. The text is therefore an important theoretical-historical document related to the evolution of Schulhoff's aesthetic views.[51]

48 Angela Esterhammer, *Romanticism and Improvisation, 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 9.

49 Landgraf, *Improvisation as Art*, 46.

50 For instance, Schulhoff might have come across Besseler's text when a key passage was reprinted in the first issue of *Musik und Gesellschaft* in 1930; see Heinrich Besseler, 'Der Zugang zur Musik aus der Alltäglichkeit', *Musik und Gesellschaft*, 1/1 (1930), 3–5, reprint, ed. Dorothea Kolland (Berlin: verlag das europäisches buch, 1978).

51 Another example of Schulhoff's fascination with functional music can be seen in his article entitled 'Manifest zur Wirtshausmusik' (*Manifesto to Inn / Tavern music*). The text was printed in *Der Auftakt* in 1924 and signed Erwin Hoff. It ends with a call for musicians to first learn music from those performers who have not 'studied' music ('Musiker – lernt einmal erst Musik von denen, welche die Musik nicht "gelernt" haben, denn diese Nichtmusiker sind viel mehr lebendiger als ihr'). Widmaier (ed.), *Erwin Schulhoff. Schriften*, 19–20.

As mentioned in the introduction, Schulhoff's œuvre might remain at the periphery of a narrow understanding of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, especially one that centres exclusively on Weimar Germany. Nevertheless, the artistically staged performance of music as a communal activity rather than as 'an object',[52] embodied by the performance of *Sami dva* and *Optimistische Komposition*, gives us a novel angle from which to observe the relationship between *Gebrauchsmusik* and musical *Neue Sachlichkeit*, the former being an aspect of the latter, as Hinton has argued in reference to Kurt Weil's understanding of the term.[53] Moreover, if one considers musical *Neue Sachlichkeit* as an aesthetically mediated or induced representation of non-autonomous art, a category which surely includes the type of music-making and listening described in Besseler's lecture, then one can only but consider the *Gebrauchsaesthetik* of Schulhoff's improvisations as related to the 'communicative, medial, and dramaturgical' qualities of musical *Neue Sachlichkeit*.

52 Besseler, 'Fundamental Issues', 66.

53 Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik*, 90f.

Abstract

Sami Dva (1933), a rare testimony of Erwin Schulhoff's jazz orientated piano duos, and *Optimistische Komposition* (1936), a transcription of one of his solo extemporizations, are evidence of the Czech musician's skills in improvised music. These two examples also offer a unique opportunity to discuss how certain forms of improvised music might relate to a broad definition of musical *Neue Sachlichkeit*.

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Eisler and the 'Coon Song'

Tobias Faßhauer

New Objectivity embraced jazz.[1] This statement is a truism, and, as with most truisms, it oversimplifies the facts. What was labeled jazz in the Weimar Republic was rarely jazz in the modern sense of the term; rather, it encapsulated North and Latin American music that reached back to the last third of the 19th century. In the four decades preceding World War I, Germans had become acquainted with the minstrel and 'plantation' song, habanera, spiritual, Methodist gospel hymn, American march, Boston, two-step, one-step, cakewalk, ragtime, tango, and maxixe, and all these genres continued to shape the German image of the Americas and their music during the twenties. Foxtrot and shimmy (whose names were almost synonymous with jazz in Germany) were just two new dances in a trajectory of musical imports from the New World. To be sure, there were indeed new dimensions to German reception of American music after the war. Americanism now became a dominant factor in the national culture of popular music, American dances conquered the realm of art music, new standards of dance band instrumentation were established, and the term 'jazz' itself implied a shift of focus from composition to a new kind of performance practice that appealed to audiences for its alleged barbarism and savagery. Still, there seems to be no essential break between German prewar and postwar reactions to American music. To put it pointedly, 'jazz' was just a new name for an already familiar if highly dynamic phenomenon, and for that reason we should avoid speaking indiscriminately of jazz reception in Weimar Germany. In my view, the term 'musical Americanism' should be used instead.

In fact, the so-called *Kunstjazz*[2] of Paul Hindemith, Ernst Krenek, and Kurt Weill was shaped to a far greater extent by prewar American music than by any contemporary popular style, such as urban blues, New Orleans and Chicago jazz, Harlem stride piano, novelty piano, or the new type of Broadway and Tin Pan Alley song that emerged around 1920. One need only hear the first 'jazz' number in Krenek's opera *Jonny spielt auf* of 1926 to understand that Weimar *Kunstjazz* is deeply rooted in the popular music of the 19th century, and that there was little sensibility for and knowledge of actual jazz. Krenek's piece,[3] supposedly played by the band of the title character, the

1 This essay is a revised version of my paper at the conference *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-Garde? Hanns Eisler and his Contemporaries* (Copenhagen, 2015). My thanks go to Nicholas Baer for his English editing and some valuable hints.

2 For a discussion of this term see Ingeborg Harer, 'Kunstjazz', *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_K/Kunstjazz.xml, accessed 2 July 2019.

3 See the piano vocal score (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1926 [U. E. 8621]), Part 1, Scene 3, bars 573–672.

African-American violinist Jonny, behind the scenes, is a strange kind of kozachok with occasional blue notes. Jazz is identified with deliberate primitivism by the composer, thus providing its reactionary opponents with arguments against it.

When Hanns Eisler reviewed the first Berlin production of *Jonny* for the communist newspaper *Die rote Fahne* in 1927, he was especially critical of Krenek's jazz imitations: 'As to the music, it should be noted: The otherwise talented Krenek has completely failed here. … The interspersed dance pieces are really poor; you can hear better ones these days in any coffee house.'[4] A little later, Eisler, who was striving for a socially effective musical language, adopted Americanist elements himself. His film and incidental music, ballads and fighting songs owe many of their attributes to Kurt Weill, who had developed a much subtler and more refined Americanist style than Krenek had done for *Jonny spielt auf*. But in the works of all three composers, the jazz character that was generally ascribed to them is primarily a matter of instrumentation, or to put it more precisely, of the use of saxophone, banjo, and, in Krenek's case, flexatone. Admittedly, punctuated and anapestic rhythms that were considered characteristic of the foxtrot and shimmy are ubiquitous in their *Kunstjazz*, but syncopation seldom exceeds a degree that can be found in minstrel songs and American cut-time marches. In the music of Weill and Eisler, blue notes are equally rare. Eisler, however, displayed a special predilection for certain 'jazzy' instrumental effects: flutter-tongue, growling trombone glissandi, and the use of wah-wah mutes in the brass.

There are two songs from Eisler's Americanist work of the years around 1930 that stand out, as they do not just critically adopt a general trend in popular music but explicitly address the social background of the musical influences from across the Atlantic. These songs are *Ballade vom Nigger Jim* (1930) and the *Niggerlied* from his music for the anti-war film *Niemandsland* by Victor Trivas (1931). The way they reflect on the racial aspect of musical Americanism makes them the exact opposite of Krenek's unintelligent and implicitly racist approach to African-American music in *Jonny spielt auf*.

It seems that these two songs by Eisler refer quite intentionally to the German derivative of an American genre, the 'coon song' that had evolved from the tradition of blackface minstrelsy. According to Sam Dennison's definition in the *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, the coon song is

> [a] genre of comic song, popular from around 1880 to the end of World War I, with words in a dialect purporting to be typical of black Americans' speech. The term 'coon' in early blackface minstrel songs had usually referred to the racoon,

4 Hanns Eisler, 'Ernst Křenek: *Jonny spielt auf*', in Hanns Eisler, *Gesammelte Schriften 1921–1935*, ed. Tobias Faßhauer and Günter Mayer, in collaboration with Maren Köster and Friederike Wißmann (*Hanns Eisler Gesamtausgabe*, series IX, Vol. 1.1; Wiesbaden, Leipzig, Paris: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007), 48–50, at 50: 'Ueber die Musik wäre zu sagen: der sonst begabte Krenek hat hier vollkommen versagt. … Die eingestreuten Tanzstücke sind sehr dürftig, in jedem Kaffeehaus kann man heute bessere hören …'.

> whose meat was supposedly preferred by plantation slaves … . Soon the term became synonymous with the slave himself … . By 1880 the term 'coon' was used disparagingly of Blacks in general … . As a social phenomenon the coon song epitomized white attitudes of the period toward Blacks. Musically, it was often exciting and innovative …[5]

In the late 1890s, the coon song became associated with ragtime. This trend is exemplified by Joseph E. Howard and Ida Emerson's *Hello, Ma Baby* from 1899, which found its way to Europe and even seems to have influenced Claude Debussy in the composition of his cakewalk *The Little Nigar*, 1909. Apart from the cakewalk pattern in the refrain (the rhythmic motive  projected onto a two-note pendulum), typical elements in this song include a continuous punctuated rhythm in the verse, so-called ragtime progressions, i.e. chains, or at least pairs, of (secondary) dominants, and especially the disposition of that harmonic pattern in such a way that the double and even the triple dominant appear at phrase endings.

German reception at the turn of the century was little aware of the distinction between the older minstrel songs, like those of Stephen Foster and James A. Bland, and the more recent coon song. This indifference is mirrored by several Wilhelmine collections of what was called *Negerlieder* or *Negergesänge*. The three collections which I consulted for this article assemble music of different types under the same label, mostly minstrel songs, especially by Foster, a few coon songs in the proper sense of the term, and also some spirituals.[6] Interestingly, none of the collections gives a composer's name, thus suggesting that all the music they contain is 'authentically' African-American, and what's more, from a folk tradition. (In fact, two of the minstrel songs are written by an African-American composer, James A. Bland, but these conform to the general genre conventions.)

Since Foster's songs influenced German notions of African-American music so deeply, a survey of the German response to the coon song fad should begin with an examination of them. Foster's minstrel style is well exemplified by his *De Camptown Races* from 1850. As is typical for American songs of the mid-19th century, it is written in a kind of double-function form which projects a binary verse-and-refrain structure onto a rounded binary or three-part song form: Within the pattern AA^1 AA^1 BA^2 the strain

5 Sam Dennison, 'Coon song', in H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan Press Ltd. & New York: Grove Dictionaries of Music Inc., 1986), 493f.

6 Hans Schmid-Kayser (ed.), *Amerikanische Negerlieder mit anglo-amerikanischem und deutschem Text zur Laute oder Gitarre* (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, [1916]); Max Pilippson (ed.), *Negerlieder-Album. 14 der bekanntesten Coon Songs mit englischem und deutschem Text für eine mittlere Singstimme mit Klavierbegleitung* (Hamburg: Verlag von Anton J. Benjamin, [ca. 1910]); *Negerlieder. Nigger Songs. Auswahl ernster und heiterer, alter und neuer Negerlieder (mit englischem und deutschem Text) für eine mittlere Singstimme mit Klavierbegleitung und ein- oder mehrstimmigem Chor ad lib.* (Leipzig: Max Brockhaus, [1898]).

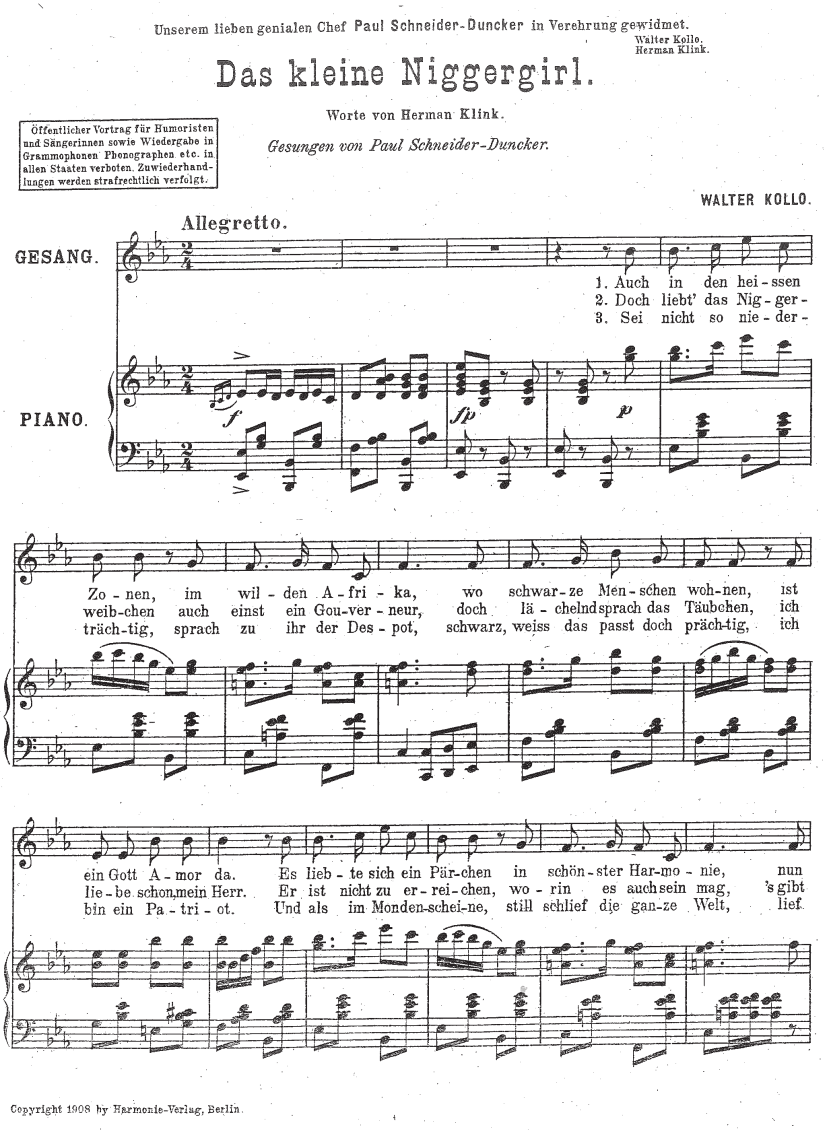
B and the recapitulation A^2 are defined as the chorus or refrain. Later American song composers would abandon this formal concept, but the rounded binary form survived in Broadway and Tin Pan Alley practice as the standard model for 32-bar refrains.[7] Other elements that contribute to the 'Americanness' of Foster's song include the call-and-response pattern in the verse, the polka-like bouncing quaver pulse, and, above all, pentatonicism. Foster's melody is almost completely pentatonic, while the harmony is confined to the tonic, dominant, and subdominant, the latter being reserved for strain B. The alternation of the tonic and the subdominant, or the 'plagal pendulum', as it could be called, is in fact a hallmark of the minstrel style, especially when combined with pentatonic and syncopated melody. It is exactly this combination which accounts for the national character in the 'American' works of Antonín Dvořák, although it is not an American invention but can be traced back to romantic settings of traditional Irish and Scottish melodies. Ironically, by the early 1890s, when Dvořák was in the United States, American composers had already modernized the style of popular songs, including coon songs, by introducing chromatic harmony and reducing pentatonicism.

German *Negerlieder* of the Wilhelmine era mixed elements of the minstrel song, the coon song, and the cakewalk with native traditions. For obvious reasons, they did not adopt the specific racist stereotypes that marked American minstrel and coon songs, e. g. the standard attributes of African-Americans on sheet music covers and in lyrics: watermelon, chicken, and razor. In a society where black people made relatively rare appearances, the genre would naturally lean toward exoticism. Against the backdrop of the young empire's colonialist ambitions, German composers and lyricists would often combine Americanist musical means with an African ambience of the text, which indicates that the former were indeed seen as black rather than American forms of expression.

More than once, *Negerlieder* dealt with interracial sexual relationships. For example, in the cabaret song *Das kleine Niggergirl* by Walter Kollo and Herman Klink, published in 1908 (see Example 1), a young African woman is tempted by a German colonial governor to cheat on her boyfriend. The text paints a cliché-ridden picture of Africans – the boy is a good dancer, singer, and banjo player – but it also mocks colonialist hypocrisy: 'Black and white match perfectly,' the governor argues, 'I am a patriot.' (Black and white were the national colours of Prussia.)

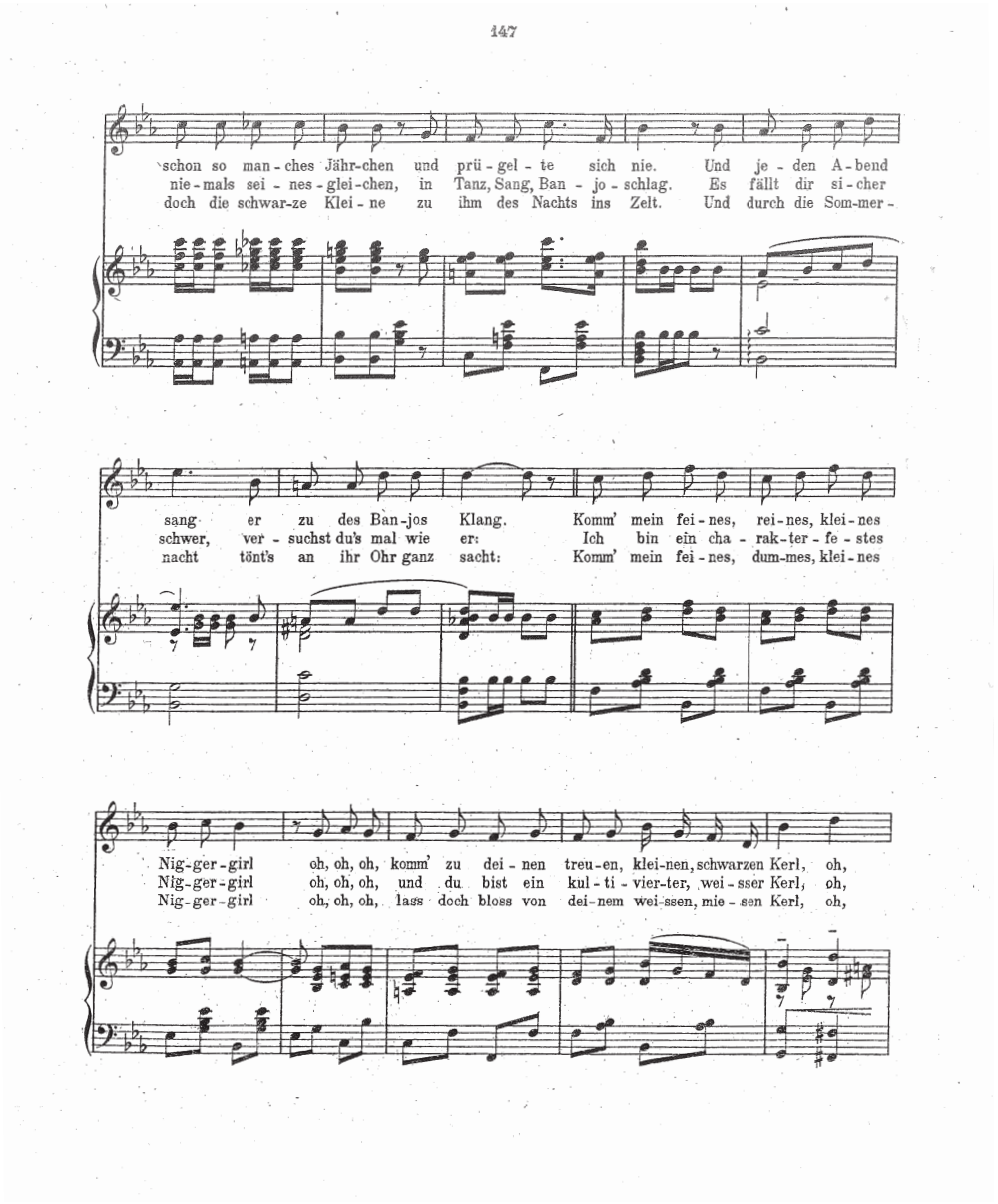
Kollo's polka-like setting may indicate that pentatonicism was considered a more important feature of African-American music in Germany than even syncopation, and in fact it is handled by the composer in a highly inventive manner. The motivic core of the song is the configuration which opens the vocal line of the verse, a palindrome consisting of a major second and a minor third and embedded in a pentatonic melodic

7 For the evolution of American popular song forms see Ralf von Appen and Markus Frei-Hauenschild, 'ABA, Refrain, Chorus, Bridge, Prechorus. Song Forms and Their Historical Development', *Samples. Online-Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Popularmusikforschung / German Society for Popular Music Research e. V.*, www.gfpm-samples.de/Samples13/appenfrei.pdf, accessed 3 July 2019.



Example 1. Walter Kollo, *Das kleine Niggergirl* (excerpt), taken from *Für frohe Kreise: Musikalisches Elite-Album der bekanntesten und beliebtesten Operetten-Schlager, Tänze, Cabaret-Lieder u. v. a.* (Berlin: Harmonie 1910), 146–48.

context. As the first six bars of the verse demonstrate, the pentatonic scale allows for two transpositions of this motive. When the melodic palindrome reappears in the refrain ('Komm' mein feines, reines, kleines'), the tonal reference point of its pentatonic material is shifted from E♭ to B♭, the dominant, and the order of its two transpositions



Example 1 continued.

is reversed. Interestingly, the first note of the first motive is now the emancipated ninth C of the underlying dominant chord.

The melodic pentatonicism of the song points back to Foster, but in harmony *Das kleine Niggergirl* is indeed close to the latest coon songs. Especially remarkable are the ragtime progression in bars 28–30 and the ending of the first and the third four-bar

double phrases of the verse on the double dominant (see bars 7–8 and 15–16). On its second occurrence this chord is surprisingly resolved into the sixth chord of the supertonic.

Without much musical development, the genre continued to flourish in Germany after the war, while in the USA it fell out of fashion. However, colonial exoticism was now replaced by what can be called the 'Jo(h)nny topos', the portrayal of the black man as a virile, seductive, and immoral musician. As Alan Lareau has observed, there was quite a chain of 'Johnnies' in the popular music culture of Weimar Germany, from Friedrich Hollaender's *Jonny! Wenn du Geburtstag hast* of 1920 to Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*.[8] (In fact, that topos had been anticipated in a few pre-war songs.[9]) As a critical response to this phenomenon, Eisler's two 'coon songs' were anticipated by the *Niggersong* that was launched in 1929 by the agitprop group 'Rote Raketen'. This song, which Albrecht Dümling included in his audio documentation of *Entartete Musik* ('degenerate' music),[10] places the performances of black entertainers before a white bourgeois audience within the context of exploitation and class struggle. According to Dümling, agitprop numbers like this one shed new light on the music called jazz by distinguishing between its producers and its recipients.[11] Musically, the *Niggersong* by the 'Rote Raketen' contains no African-American elements whatsoever but is a quite conventional cut-time quick march.

The situation of black performers to which this song refers is exactly that of one of the protagonists of the anti-war film *Niemandsland*, the variety artist Smile (!), played by American dancer Louis Douglas, who more or less plays himself. This character is introduced by showing him doing a step dance on the stage of a Paris cabaret.[12] The

8 Alan Lareau, 'Jonny's Jazz. From *Kabarett* to Krenek', in Michael J. Budds (ed.), *Jazz & the Germans. Essays on the Influence of "Hot" American Idioms on 20th-Century German Music* (Hillsdale: Pendragon, 2002), 19–60. For the Jonny topos also see Eckhard John, 'Jonny und Jazz: Die Rolle des schwarzen Musikers auf der Bühne der zwanziger Jahre', in Nils Grosch (ed.), *Aspekte des modernen Musiktheaters in der Weimarer Republik* (Münster etc.: Waxmann, 2004), 101–18.

9 See e. g. Arthur Steinke, *Bimbo! Der schwarze Musikant*, lyrics by F. W. Hardt (Berlin: Alfred Sommerfeld, [1912]) and Siegwart Ehrlich, *Cake Walk Bengel* (Leipzig: Pierrot Verlag, 1912); in the latter song the black man is a dancer. As early as 1913 a 'Johnny' – who also arouses erotic desires through his dancing – appears as the protagonist of a song by Osborne Roberts, *Johnny-Rag-Time*, lyrics by Lorand Degré (Braunschweig and Leipzig: Lieder-Verlag). However he is not clearly identified as a black man.

10 Albrecht Dümling (ed.), *Entartete Musik. Eine Tondokumentation zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938*, CD 1, 'Säuberungen', track 8 (Berlin: POOL Musikproduktion GmbH, 1988).

11 Albrecht Dümling, 'Musikalische Verfahrensweise und gesellschaftliche Funktion: Hanns Eisler und der Jazz', in Helmut Rösing (ed.), *"Es liegt in der Luft was Idiotisches ...": Populäre Musik zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik* (Beiträge zur Popularmusikforschung, 15/16; Baden-Baden: CODA-Verlag, 1995), 118–38, at 123f.: 'Auch auf den Jazz fiel durch einzelne Agitprop-Szenen ein neues Licht, indem zwischen Produzenten und Rezipienten unterschieden wurde.'

12 For a detailed discussion of Louis Douglas' role in *Niemandsland* see Tobias Nagl, *Die unheimliche Maschine: Rasse und Repräsentation im Weimarer Kino* (München: edition text + kritik, 2009), 735–45.

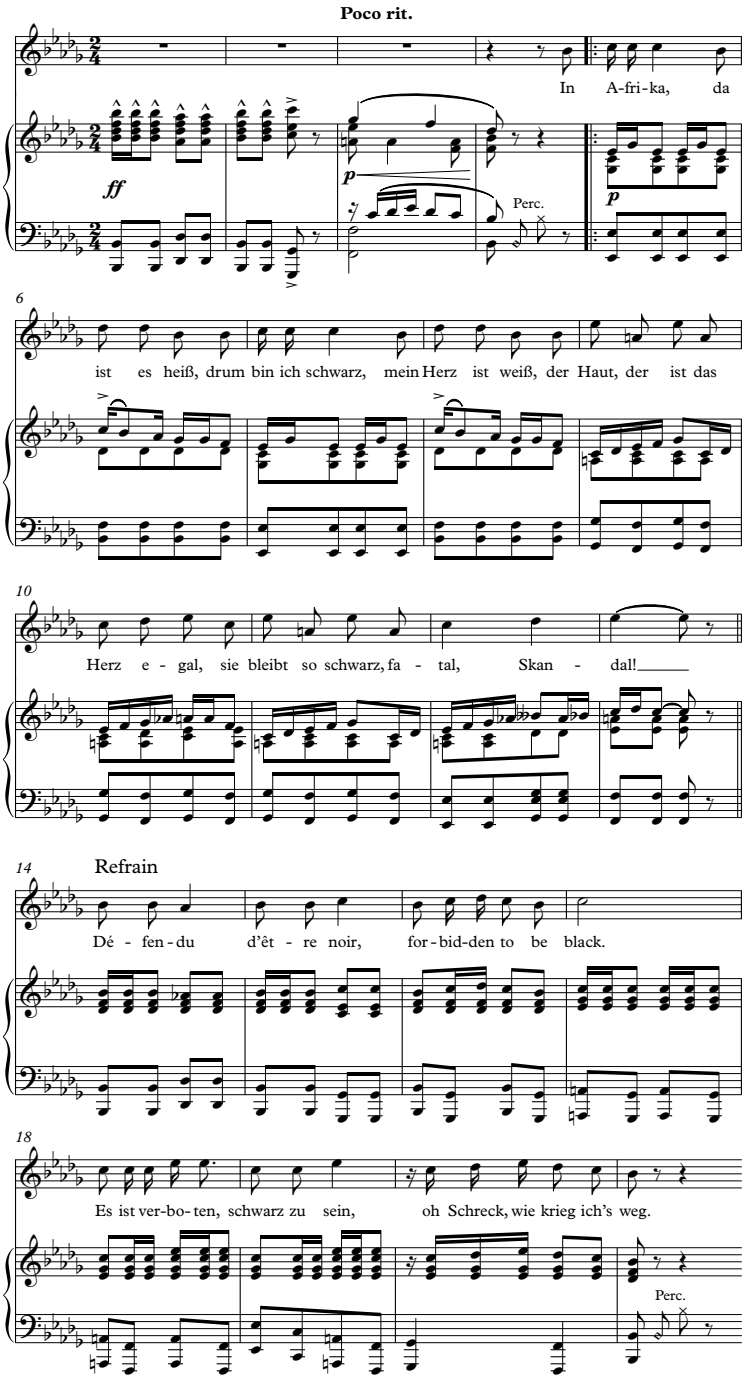
accompanying music is Eisler's *Niggerlied*, as performed by the Lewis Ruth Band in a purely instrumental version. A piano-vocal reduction of the introduction, first verse, and refrain is presented in Example 2.

Why the anti-racist lyrics by Leo Hirsch were eventually suppressed is not quite clear, at least it was not by external censorship. In a free translation, the first verse and refrain read:

It's hot down there in Africa,
Therefore I'm black, my heart is white,
The skin doesn't care for the heart,
It stays that black. Fatal! Scandal!
[Refrain:]
Défendu d'être noir,
Forbidden to be black.
My, how can I get rid of it?

Musically, the *Niggerlied* does not owe much to the coon song or *Negerlied* tradition, save for some cakewalk syncopation in the trumpet part (bars 6 and 8) and a ditty-like melody. However, the chordal pendulum in bars 5–8 (the subdominant with added sixth alternating with the tonic) could indeed recall the plagal progressions so common in minstrel songs if it did not appear in B♭ minor (the overall key of the song) but in a major key. The song's most striking harmonic feature conveys unspecific exoticism rather than Americanism: the Aeolian progression i-III-i in the introduction and the refrain.

In general, the *Niggerlied* bears the marks of a typical Eislerian ballad but is distinguished by the conciseness of its basic structure (note however the extension of the verse to nine bars) and shimmy characteristics displayed more blatantly than usual. Here, the driving rhythm and the neo-baroque semiquaver runs of the instrumental accompaniment may embody the social and economic conditions that force the black dancer to dance for a paying white audience, making him the partner in suffering of the 'handsome Gigolo' in the famous tango song (*Schöner Gigolo, armer Gigolo*). The pressure that the show business puts on those who have to make a living in it is cleverly visualized in *Niemandsland*: At the beginning of the respective sequence Smile is seen on the stage, bowing to an applauding audience. He then rushes to the side stage to change costumes for the next number, the aforementioned step dance. This change of clothes, in which he is assisted by a stage manager, is shown in time lapse and accompanied by a hectic first rendition of the *Niggerlied*. Finally, a cymbal crash makes him striking the pose for re-entering the stage and putting on the smile that is expected from him, as if at the push of a button. To emphasize the merciless tempo of the show two bars (corresponding to bars 17 and 21 in Example 2) are shortened by a crotchet in one occurrence of the refrain.



Example 2. Hanns Eisler, *Niggerlied* from the music to *Niemandsland.* Author's transcription of bars 1–21 for voice and piano, based on the autograph full score: Archiv der Akademie der Künste Berlin, Hanns-Eisler-Archiv 921, fol. 1^{r}–5^{v}.

Eisler's earlier and much better known *Ballade vom Nigger Jim* op. 18/6 with lyrics by Robert Gilbert alias David Weber is the more complex and interesting of his 'coon songs'.[13] Weber's text, which presents its title character as a victim of racial segregation and finally of lynching, pushes racist clichés to absurdity. Having come directly from the jungle, Jim buys a ticket for the tramway of New York where he is attacked by white passengers for entering the 'wrong' compartment. (Actually, there was at least no official segregation in New York City public transportation.)

In formal terms, *Nigger Jim* is a modern song. It consists of an introduction, a verse divided into two parts, as in a number of Weill songs, and a refrain in the rounded binary form typical for Broadway and Tin Pan Alley songs. With regard to musical content, however, one can distinguish between three different layers of style and historical allusion: first, the minstrel and coon song, second, the shimmy according to its contemporary German reading, and third, the blues, which is given a degree of prominence found in no other work by Eisler of that time.

The greater part of the melody, with its jaunty polka rhythm enriched by Scotch snaps, refers to the minstrel style. One melodic element, though, belongs to the late rather than the mid-19th century: the C accompanied by the tonic triad E♭ major, the so-called Viennese sixth, which is approached by the leading tone D as an appoggiatura. An even more modern stylistic level is suggested by the blues inflections of the melody which I will discuss below.

The A strains of the refrain contain the aforementioned minstrel-like combination of pentatonic and syncopated melody with a plagal pendulum, the subdominant being represented by its minor variant in bars 44–45 and 52–53 (both forms of the subdominant appear with the added sixth). On the one hand, the juxtaposition of the major and the minor subdominant within a plagal pattern can already be found in turn-of-the-century cakewalks (including Debussy's *Golliwogg's Cakewalk*),[14] on the other hand, Eisler seems to pay homage here to Kurt Weill's song style, where this device plays a crucial structural role. As in the first part of the verse, the Viennese sixth is integrated in the chordal accompaniment, which would have been virtually unthinkable in pre-war popular music. The repeated syncopated motive that carries the words 'weiße' and 'schwarze Gentle[men]' and is harmonized with the minor subdominant is slightly reminiscent of the 'doodah' exclamations in *De Camptown Races*, although it does not constitute a call-and-response structure.

The shimmy, as the epitome of German 'jazz', is represented by the same characteristics that mark the *Niggerlied* from *Niemandsland*: dance band instrumentation,

13 See Erwin Ratz' piano-vocal score, Vienna: Universal Edition, 1932 [U. E. 3742[f]], and the study score in: Hanns Eisler, *Balladenbuch. 4 Balladen für Gesang und kleines Orchester op. 18*, Vienna: Universal Edition, 1998 [PH 548].

14 See Tobias Faßhauer, 'Amerikanismus bei Weill: A French Connection?', in Andreas Eichhorn (ed.), *Kurt Weill und Frankreich* (Veröffentlichungen der Kurt-Weill-Gesellschaft Dessau, 9; Münster and New York: Waxmann, 2014), 39–62, at 45–48, 56, 58.

stomping quavers in the lower voices of the accompaniment, and the anapestic rhythm in the middle voices, which J. Bradford Robinson identified as an emblematic motive of Weimar 'jazz'.[15] These allegedly jazzy elements are typical for Eisler's works of that period in general, but are not primarily used for their racial or national but rather for their social connotations as stylistic means of international urban entertainment music. The anapestic pattern, by the way, already occurs at one point in Kollo's *Niggergirl* (see bar 17) and can be found in many other songs and dances of the Wilhelmine era.

The blues pervades the song in two ways. First, it infiltrates, so to speak, the minstrel-like melody with the minor third, G♭. Considering the harmonization of this note with the chord of the lowered submediant, C♭ major, one could debate whether the G♭ is actually a blue note, since the underlying sonority is firmly established in the harmonic vocabulary of late-19th-century popular music, as is the German sixth chord with which it is almost identical. (See for instance the inversion of the German sixth in *Das kleine Niggergirl*, bar 17). The question if the G♭ in Eisler's melody is a blue note or not is decided by the harmonic context: In conventional harmony the lowered submediant and German sixth chords almost inevitably lead to the cadential six-four chord. But in the verse of Eisler's song the lowered submediant is used in alternation with the ninth chord of the double dominant, while at the end of the refrain it is changed to a minor subdominant seventh chord by the substruction of a third, A♭, in the bass. Since the G♭ does not emerge from conventional romantic harmony, it may indeed be considered a blue note.

The second manifestation of the blues in the song is much more significant. It consists in the instrumental breaks between each of the first three vocal strains of the refrain and also at the very end of the song. These breaks do not only introduce another blue note, the lowered seventh degree D♭ as an addition to the tonic triad, but also establish in the leading part of the trumpet or respectively of the trombone a triolic 'feel' which contrasts with the otherwise dominant quaver pulse.

There is one verse which lends itself as a key to the interpretation of Eisler's compositional approach, although it was neither included in the printed editions of the song nor by Ernst Busch in his 1931 recording. However, it was published in a special issue of the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* (26/1931), titled 'Leben und Kampf der schwarzen Rasse' ('Life and Struggle of the Black Race'). Translated freely, it reads:

> When Nigger Jim played in the jazz band his bar was the nicest one
> Between Harlem and Manhattan.
> There the mighty men drank heavily and enjoyed the sentimental songs
> And vomited on their white cuffs.
> And they soaked like animals and they bawled like bulls

15 J. Bradford Robinson, 'Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure', in Bryan Gilliam (ed.), *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 107–34.

> The moonlight melody.
> All were bewitched by whisky and songs and they didn't listen to the new text
> That Jim had made for them.[16]

The 'new text' consists in a variant of the refrain. The statement 'Therefore there's a compartment for white gentlemen' is turned into a question: 'Why is there a compartment for white gentlemen?' ('Warum gibt es …') According to Albrecht Dümling, this verse 'criticizes the commercialization of jazz that is accomplished at the expense of the musicians'. For Dümling, this conflict is mirrored by the relation between text and music: 'Eisler consciously adopted the motor rhythm of dance music in his setting of the text in order to highlight the contrast between production and reception of jazz, its transformation from a mode of social expression into a commodity.'[17] It should be added that this criticism is not just indicated by a twist between text and music but is expressed within the music itself. Eisler remarked in 1931 that 'you have to distinguish between jazz as a technical matter and jazz as the disgusting commodity which the entertainment industry has made of it.'[18] However, in *Nigger Jim*, the object of his satire is less the latest dance music than the minstrel and coon song, old-fashioned but still effectual music *about* Blacks, which is commented on by music *by* Blacks, the blues. The blues in this song is the musical equivalent to the subversive unheard 'new text' which Jim has written for his white audience. By text *and* music, the coon song is turned against itself, or, as Eisler would have put it, is refunctioned (*umfunktioniert*). We may conclude that Eisler was well aware of both the backwardness and the 'whiteness' of the majority of German Americanist music, including his own, and that he deliberately exploited this deficiency for the purpose of social criticism. Eisler closes *Nigger Jim* with an emblematic blues chord, the tonic major triad with a minor seventh. By this effect, it seems, he wants to tell us that the oppressed classes will have the last word.

16 'Als Nigger Jim bei der Jazzband war, war seine Bar die schönste Bar / Zwischen Harlem und Manhattan, zwischen Harlem und Manhattan. / Da soffen sie mächtig, die mächtigen Herren und hörten die traurigen Lieder so gern / Und bekotzten die weißen Manschetten, und bekotzten die weißen Manschetten. / Und sie soffen wie die Tiere und gröhlten wie die Stiere die Moonlight-Melodie. / Alle waren von Whiskey und Songs wie behext und hörten nicht auf den neuen Text, / Den Jim gemacht für sie!' Quoted from Nagl, *Die unheimliche Maschine*, 750.

17 Dümling, 'Musikalische Verfahrensweise und gesellschaftliche Funktion', 134: 'Die zweite Strophe kritisiert die Kommerzialisierung des Jazz, die auf dem Rücken der Musiker ausgetragen wird. Eisler übernahm in seiner Vertonung bewußt die Motorik flotter Tanzmusik, um den Kontrast zwischen Produktion und Rezeption, die Verwandlung des Jazz von einer sozialen Ausdrucksform in eine Ware hervortreten zu lassen.'

18 Bertolt Brecht, Slatan Dudow, and Hanns Eisler, 'Anmerkungen [zu *Die Maßnahme*]', in Eisler, *Gesammelte Schriften 1921–1935*, 115–19, at 118: 'Man muß nämlich unterscheiden können, zwischen dem Jazz als Technikum und der widerlichen Ware, welche die Vergnügungsindustrie aus ihm machte.'

Abstract

Americanism is generally regarded as an essential feature of New Objectivity, and, in the realm of music, it is usually equated with the reception of jazz. However, a closer look at the music of Krenek, Weill, and Eisler reveals that its 'Americanist' substance is more shaped by turn-of-the-century genres, such as the cakewalk and two-step, than by any type of American popular music of the 1920s. Thus, musical Americanism constitutes a moment of continuity that links New Objectivity to pre-war popular culture.

Eisler's *Ballade vom Nigger Jim* (1930) and his *Niggerlied* from the film *Niemandsland* (1931) refer in both content and music to the tradition of the minstrel song, and particularly the 'coon song'. The coon song, a vocal genre close to ragtime and essentially based on racist stereotypes, found reverberations in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century, e.g. in Walter Kollo's *Das kleine Niggergirl* (1908), and had an even longer life there than in the United States.

A comparative analysis demonstrates how Eisler's 'coon songs', and especially *Nigger Jim*, turn the genre and its racist implications against themselves. Through textual elements and compositional procedures, the coon song is 'refunctioned' (*umfunktioniert*), as Eisler would have put it. In the case of his coon songs, then, the idiomatic backwardness in relation to contemporaneous American music proves to be an instance of artistic calculus.

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Gebrauchsmusik as Wartime Exile Response: Hanns Eisler's *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*

Caleb T. Boyd

In the summer of 1941, Hanns Eisler spent three and a half months with Joachim and Sylvia Schumacher – and their young son Mark – in the rural village of Woodbury, Connecticut.[1] The Schumachers taught at the Westover School for young girls in nearby Middlebury. Through the course of his summer respite near the East Coast, Eisler penned his *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, a collection of twenty short a cappella choral songs for Westover's glee club. The *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* is a strange work of dual character that contrasts light children's verses with somber and highly personal contemplations that express Eisler's frustration with living in wartime exile. In order to appeal to younger voices, Eisler largely drew his texts from Anglo-American nursery rhymes, eventually setting fifteen to music. However, he also included four austere German-language ruminations on exilic reality, which he placed toward the end of the cycle. The final song, a new setting of the English Christmas carol 'I Saw Three Ships,' concludes the collection with a more festive character. Previous scholarship has addressed the contradictory character of the Woodbury songs, with particular interest directed more toward the German-language installments, while Eisler's original intention for the cycle as Gebrauchsmusik for amateur female choir has been overlooked.

Eisler had already heard several of his songs sung by amateur American voices before he set to work on the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* that summer. Prior to his arrival in the United States, Eisler had written numerous agitational *Kampflieder* for the European workers' movement. In the 1930s, many politically engaged American activists, amateurs, and performance groups sang his robust and strident songs, as well. Since 1938, Eisler lived and worked as an exiled composer in the United States, and he consequently tempered his agitational proclivities in order to avoid deportation. With the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, Eisler turned to writing pieces for amateur American voices. In his unpublished memoirs, Joachim Schumacher recalls Eisler working that summer of 1941 on an unidentified piece of chamber music as well as the score for the Joseph Losey

1 This article is a revised version of my paper at the conference *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-Garde? Hanns Eisler and his Contemporaries* (Copenhagen, 2015). My thanks to Todd Decker for his assistance in the completion of the article. Eisler had also spent the summer of 1938 with the Schumachers at their previous home in Valley Cottage, New York.

documentary film *A Child Went Forth* (1942).[2] He approached Eisler and proposed he write some new music for Westover's glee club:

> Of course, I had told [Eisler] all sorts of things about the Westover School. He wanted to know what music they performed there. Well, after all, Sylvia performed there, and there is no better piano teacher. Music history classes, choral performance and a group of gifted girl soloists were also there. They sang English madrigals, some Brahms, and also popular Broadway-kitsch. I may have casually suggested to Hanns, 'You could surely create something fun for these cute kids in a snap.' It is possible that Hanns spent his leisure time along these lines.[3]

According to Schumacher's account, the idea for the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* started with his suggestion, and Eisler followed through with the challenge.

Whereas Eisler intended his earlier mass songs for vocal activists earnestly seeking and demanding social change, he prepared his twenty Woodbury songs for amateur choirs, like those found in high schools and other academic or social institutions. Eisler's original objective for these songs as Gebrauchsmusik has not been explored at length. Since the score was not publicly available until 1973, the Westover Glee Club never performed the work.[4] Nevertheless, analysis of the published score confirms that Eisler constructed the collection of songs as educational pieces for amateur groups like the Westover Glee Club. He employed various choral styles and fashioned songs that recall historic forms, like the madrigal and the British part-song. However, Eisler also made the songs difficult enough to challenge amateur choirs and introduce them to modern sonorities unassociated with their traditional glee repertoire.

Gebrauchsmusik and the American Glee Tradition

In his *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik*, Stephen Hinton dispels the misconception that the term 'Gebrauchsmusik' began with Paul Hindemith.[5] Indeed, the word appears as early as the 1920s in Paul Nettl's musicological writings, wherein he distinguished two types

2 Joachim Schumacher, *Skizze meines Lebens und Portraits der Lebensfreunde Ernst Bloch, Hans* [sic] *Eisler, Max Raphael*, unpublished manuscript (Box 1, Schumacher Papers, Archives and Special Collections, University of Connecticut Libraries), 175–6. Three drafts of Schumacher's unpublished memoirs are available in the Schumacher Papers located at the University of Connecticut in Storrs. Most information from Schumacher's memoirs, unless otherwise noted, is pulled from this draft dated 'Nov. 1979–Februar 1980'.

3 Ibid., 179. English translation by the author.

4 Hanns Eisler, *Woodburry-Liederbüchlein für Frauen- oder Kinderchor* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1973). Throughout this article, when referring to the musical work, I will use the correct spelling of the town, 'Woodbury'.

5 Stephen Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik* (New York: Garland, 1989).

of seventeenth-century dance music – music for dancing, and music for listening.[6] Shortly thereafter, musicologist Heinrich Besseler connected the term to music used by amateur performers in ordinary social situations. Besseler contrasted Gebrauchsmusik with the 'so-called art music' associated with bourgeois culture, including the increasingly abstract, autonomous music of the Second Viennese School.[7] Ernst Krenek noted that Gebrauchsmusik ranged from recorder exercises for children, to Soviet socialist realist marching songs, to music found in the political theater of Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill.[8] In Weimar Berlin, many leftist artists viewed many modernist trends as isolationist and elitist. Yet, these two types of music – the modernist and the occasional – need not be mutually exclusive spheres. Hindemith believed that Gebrauchsmusik should incorporate contemporary musical aesthetics to carry messages with sociopolitical import.[9] Although Eisler considered his teacher Arnold Schoenberg a petit bourgeois figure, Eisler also argued that skilled composers could effectively ally revolutionary consciousness with modern musical techniques. Recognizing that the new media of radio and cinema had nurtured the listening habits of young audiences, Eisler called for composers to abandon their isolation from the masses, access the happening world, and choose texts and subjects relatable to the present-day needs of the broader public.[10]

Musicians in the United States monitored Weimar Germany's modern musical experiments. As the 1929 stock market crash had placed people out of work and fueled the popularity of unionism and American Communism, the left-leaning Composers Collective (based in New York City) sought to reconnect with struggling workers by writing new politically charged mass songs.[11] For compositional models, the Collective – which included classically trained composers like Marc Blitzstein, Alex North, and Charles Seeger – looked across the Atlantic to artists like Alexander Davidenko, Hanns Eisler, and Stephan Wolpe. The Collective's multifaceted proletarian efforts varied from the Jewish choruses of Lan Adomian to the socially aware concert songs of Ruth Crawford, to Aaron Copland's 'Into the Streets, May First' (1934), an agitational song inspired by American folk music with modernist embellishments.[12]

6 Paul Nettl, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tanzmusik im 17. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 4 (1921–22), 257–65.

7 Heinrich Besseler, 'Appendix: Fundamental Issues of Musical Listening (1925)', trans. Matthew Pritchard with Irene Auerbach, *Twentieth-Century Music*, 8/1 (2011), 59.

8 Ernst Krenek, 'A Composer's Influence', *Perspectives on New Music*, 3/1 (1964), 38.

9 Hinton, *The Idea of Gebrauchsmusik*, 212.

10 Hanns Eisler, 'On the Situation in Modern Music' (1928), in *Hanns Eisler: A Rebel in Music*, ed. Manfred Grabs (New York: International Publishers, 1978), 30–31; and Hanns Eisler, 'Some Remarks on the Situation of the Modern Composer' (1935), in ibid. 106–13.

11 Melissa J. De Graaf, *The New York Composers' Forum Concerts, 1935–1940* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 13.

12 Hans Gutman, 'Young Germany, 1930', *Modern Music*, 7/2 (1930), 6.

Eisler's choruses and agitational mass songs for the European workers' movement provided some American composers with a promising model, and for a short while his songs enjoyed moderate success in the United States, and he even wrote new songs for activist American audiences. Eisler believed his songs' malleable forms – coupled with a vitriolic, melodically simple, and instantly engaging style – resulted in performance pieces that could be adapted by any group for any immediate purpose or situation. Adomian's New York-based Freiheit Gesangs Verein performed several of his choruses. American composer Elie Siegmeister, a friend and enthusiastic supporter, imitated Eisler's compositional style in such works as *Strange Funeral in Braddock* (1936). During his 1935 tour of numerous cities across the United States with baritone Mordecai Bauman, some audiences sang Eisler's European agitational songs in English translations. Some of these songs appeared in English-language workers' songbooks, and Timely Records released five of Eisler's songs for the first American recordings of activist music.[13] In late January 1936, leftist American newspaper *The Daily Worker* published Eisler's new song 'Mother Bloor', written in honor of American women's rights activist and unionist leader Ella Reeve Bloor.[14] The same month, the International Workers Order Band and the Freiheit Gesangs Verein featured Eisler's European songs 'Comintern', 'Red Front', and 'United Front' at a Lenin Memorial held at Madison Square Garden on 20 January 1936. Furthermore, the capacity crowd sang Eisler's arrangement of the 'Internationale' at that event.[15]

In 1938, with a professorship at New York's New School for Social Research and amidst troubles acquiring a permanent visa, Eisler began to tone down his political activism. Since Eisler's 1935 American tour, *The Daily Worker* occasionally reported on his musical activities, even addressing him as 'comrade'. On 10 July 1938, the American government requested Eisler's appearance for an interrogation at Ellis Island. In order to have his visa extended, Eisler claimed that his music was anti-fascist, not communist, because under American law he could be deported for associating with the Communist Party. The following year, Eisler penned three songs for Hoffman R. Hays' red play *A Song about America*, staged at Madison Square Garden on 23 January 1939 as part of a Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of Lenin's death. In order to conceal his identity, Eisler used the pseudonym John Garden.[16]

13 For more information, see Jürgen Schebera, 'Red Decade: Hanns Eisler und die linke New Yorker Musikszene der 1930er Jahre', *Eisler-Mitteilungen*, 63 (2017), 28–32; and Caleb T. Boyd, 'From Proletarian Champion to Modernist Artist: Eisler in the American Concert Hall (1935–1938)', *Eisler-Mitteilungen*, 57 (2014), 24–27.

14 The song appeared in print on the same day as a banquet held in Bloor's honor at New York Hotel Linsmore. It is not known whether Eisler's new song was sung on that occasion. Kenneth Hunter and Hanns Eisler, 'Mother Bloor: A Song', *Daily Worker*, 28 Jan. 1936.

15 'Eisler Songs Will Feature Lenin Meeting', *Daily Worker*, 18 Jan. 1936.

16 For more on Eisler's early work with American leftist groups, see Schebera, 'Red Decade'; Boyd, 'From Proletarian Champion to Modernist Artist'. For more on *A Song about America*, see Caleb T. Boyd,

Furthermore, in March 1940 Eisler asked the politically engaged Theatre Arts Committee of New York City to remove his name from their advisory board.[17]

Although Eisler subsequently redirected his creative focus toward chamber music and film scores, he briefly returned to Gebrauchsmusik with his *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*. On 25 June 1938, Eisler addressed the Ladies' Garment Workers Union, a group with its own history of choral performance. He complained: 'Mostly [workers' choirs] sing cheap lyrical rubbish by fourth- or fifth-rate composers. Such music is not only boring to sing, but is intolerable to listen to'.[18] Eisler stressed the importance of writing new works for choir with a proper balance of classical and modern musical language but always in a fresh and witty manner to facilitate accessibility.

> Humor, pop and satire should be an important part of all your performances. People like jazz and swing, they can be used in your productions, but not in the corrupt manner of Hollywood and Broadway. Good modern music has rhythm, humor and vitality, and you must exploit it.[19]

Eisler followed these trajectories he had outlined to the Ladies' Garment Workers Union as he composed the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, with the intention that amateur female choirs like Westover Glee Club could use the cycle as an introduction to contemporary musical language combined with popular jazz and blues elements, as well as familiar and fun texts and subjects.

As a collection of songs for high school girls, the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* belongs to a healthy and thriving American amateur glee culture, which sprouted from the seventeenth-century British tradition of all-male clubs that sang homophonic, English-language part-songs with simple harmonization.[20] In his role as superintendent of music for Boston schools, composer and pedagogue Lowell Mason (1792–1872) introduced choral singing as part of the American curriculum.[21] The number of singing societies and glee clubs increased along with the growth of American public school programs.[22]

'H.R. Hays' Red Play "A Song about America": A Musical History Lesson and CPUSA Appeal to the African-American Community', *Eisler-Mitteilungen*, 65 (2018), 9–16.

17 Letter from Hanns Eisler to Theatre Arts Committee, New York City, 27 Mar. 1940, in Hanns Eisler, *Briefe 1907-1943*, ed. Jürgen Schebera and Maren Köster (Hanns Eisler Gesamtausgabe Ser. IX, Bd. 4.1; Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2010), 155–56.

18 Hanns Eisler, 'Labor, Labor Movement and Music: Speech to the Choir of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union' (1938), in *Rebel in Music*, 142–43.

19 Ibid., 146.

20 Lawrence J. Fried, 'Glee', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 4 Dec. 2019 <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002256658>.

21 H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (1969; repr. Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988), 67.

22 Iris S. Levine, 'Women's Choirs: Giving Women Voice', *The Choral Journal*, 51/7 (2011), 81.

Two prominent amateur American glee clubs, those at Harvard and Yale, were established in the mid-nineteenth century. According to J. Lloyd Winstead, the first joint concert of men's clubs at Harvard featured a variety of material, like unaccompanied 'Mendelssohn part songs, Latin choruses, drinking songs and college songs'.[23] The Harvard Club's earliest material also included marches, rondos, and Scotch and Irish airs.[24] In the early twentieth century, the Harvard Glee Club expanded its performance repertoire to include early sacred Italian music and English madrigals.[25] In *The Dilemma of American Music* (1928), composer Daniel Gregory Mason, grandson of Lowell Mason and instructor at Columbia University, lamented that the contemporary mechanization of music through modern apparati like the player piano, radio, and phonograph prompted an unfortunate drop in amateur musicmaking in the United States, while the growth of college vocal groups indicated a present and persistent desire for more amateur choral music.[26]

Although the glee was historically associated with male voices, the growing number of all-women choruses and high school glee clubs in the early twentieth century prompted an escalation in the composition and publication of songs for these groups.[27] In the late 1800s, amateur women's choral groups increased in number as more local female leaders organized their own music clubs.[28] American music publishers, like Oliver Ditson & Co. in Boston and G. Schirmer, Inc. in New York City, responded to present demand by publishing more sheet music and songbooks for women's choirs.[29] Many American composers responded to the increasing demand for performance material. Boston composer Amy Beach (1867–1944) wrote numerous sacred and secular works for female voices, including *An Indian Lullaby* (1895), *Three Shakespeare Choruses* (1897), and a setting of the 23rd Psalm (1923).[30] In the early 1900s, music publisher G. Ricordi & Co. released a

23 J. Lloyd Winstead, *When Colleges Sang: The Story of Singing in American College Life* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013), 65.

24 Ibid. 54.

25 Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936* (1936; repr. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 433.

26 Daniel Gregory Mason, *The Dilemma of American Music* (New York: MacMillan, 1928), 28–39.

27 Fried, 'Glee'.

28 Winstead, *When Colleges Sang*, 63–64 and 138–39.

29 For examples, S. [Selmar] Müller, *Part Songs, for Three and Four Female Voices: For the Use of Normal Schools, Young Ladies' Institutes, &c*, trans. Fanny Malone Raymond (Boston: O. Ditson, 1861); William S. Tilden (ed.), *Choice Trios for Female Voices: Intended for Seminaries, High and Normal Schools, and Vocal Classes* (Boston: O. Ditson, 1873); Max Spicker (ed.), *The Seminary Series: A Collection of Two and Three Part Songs for Women's Voices with Piano Accompaniment*, 4 vols. (New York: G. Schirmer, 1890); Carl F. Mueller (ed.), *Schirmer's Favorite A Cappella Selections for Women's Voices* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1945).

30 For more, see Adrienne Fried Block and E. Douglas Bomberger, 'Beach [Cheney], Amy Marcy', *Grove Music Online*, 16 Oct. 2013; accessed 28 Jan. 2020 < https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002248268.>

series of choral scores for women's groups ('G. Ricordi & Co.'s Collection of Part-Songs and Choruses for Women's Voices') that included numerous new arrangements by Harry Burleigh (1866–1949) of Negro stage spirituals such as 'Deep River' (1917), 'Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child' (1919), and 'Balm in Gilead' (1919).[31] Eisler's *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* belongs within this American tradition of new works or arrangements for amateur female choral groups.

Woodbury and the Westover School Glee Club

In the early 1940s, the Woodbury community inhabited a rural village with steep hills, dense forest, and scattered farmland with roaming cows. The town served as a small haven for artists like wood engraver Clare Leighton (1898–1989) and sculptor Alexander Calder (1898–1976), famous for his mobile sculptures. In the late 1800s, American composer Charles Ives had grown up in nearby Danbury (about 35 kilometers away). He later evoked his childhood hamlet's local musicmaking through several symphonic works, such as *Three Places in New England* (rev. 1929). The Woodbury that Eisler visited in 1941 encompassed the same rustic, idyllic environment that Ives sonically conveyed. Eisler's summer in Woodbury offered pastoral seclusion and a peaceful respite from city noise, not unlike Gustav Mahler's cabins in Toblach. In his memoirs, Schumacher says Eisler arrived from New York City in May 1941. He procured for Eisler a makeshift shack for daily uninterrupted composition. The small space had a piano but no telephone. While not composing in his hut, Eisler and the Schumachers would swim at Hammonasset Beach (about 85 kilometers southeast on the Connecticut side of Long Island Sound), bask in the sun, and eat hot dogs. Lou, Eisler's wife, occasionally visited on the weekends. In the evenings, this group of friends would gather back in Woodbury, talk, make music, sing, drink and play cards until very late. Schumacher proudly admits that despite Woodbury's four churches, he had the luxury to live on *Heidenallee* ('Heathen Avenue').[32]

The Schumachers both worked as instructors at the Westover School for girls in nearby Middlebury. Joachim taught art history and Sylvia worked as a part-time piano instructor. In Joachim's words: 'Westover School is a very well-known, rather strange institution for rich and gifted girls. ... Politically, Westover School is "Republican" and oriented toward and visited by the upper class. ... As an immigrant, I was not only toler-

31 Harry Burleigh, 'Deep River' (New York: G. Ricordi, 1917); Burleigh, 'Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child' (New York: G. Ricordi, 1919); Burleigh, 'Balm in Gilead' ([New York]: G. Ricordi, 1919).

32 Joachim Schumacher, *Dritte Kopie Rücksprache mit meinem Leben und dem Lebensfreunden Ernst Bloch, Hanns Eisler, Max Raphael*, Teil II, unpublished manuscript (Box 1, Schumacher Papers, Archives and Special Collections, University of Connecticut Libraries), 183. Schumacher marked this document as completed in May 1980.

ated but valued.'[33] According to Schumacher, in the early 1940s the students at Westover came from financially prosperous and politically conservative families. For local girls, their studies at Westover acted as a launching pad toward a continuing education at higher institutions. Established in 1909 by educators Mary Hillard, Helen LaMonte, and Lucy Pratt, Westover School in the 1940s was developing from a girls' finishing school into a college preparatory school.[34] Each member of the 150-student body encountered a rigorous curriculum of mathematics, science, art history, Roman history, literature and composition, French, German, and Latin.[35]

Westover also offered its students excellent music instruction and opportunities to hear some of the most talented contemporary professional musicians and composers. Musical electives available at the school in 1941 included music history, harmony, and instruction in voice and violin. Bruce Simonds, a professor of music at Yale University some 40 kilometers to the south, supervised piano instruction at the school. Due to Westover's proximity to several East-Coast metropolises, concert programs at the school's Red Hall often featured recitals by high-quality talent, like members of the New York Philharmonic and the Philadelphia Orchestra. In 1917, the Tuskegee Singers presented a concert of Negro spirituals; Wanda Landowska performed on the school's harpsichord in 1924; and Nadia Boulanger provided a lecture and organ recital in 1939.[36]

The Westover Glee Club functioned as the center of the school's musical culture. At the beginning of the academic year, the school required each student to undergo a voice placement test. From these vocal exams, the faculty determined each girl's proper voice parts for the school songs and hymns sung at the daily Episcopalian chapel services. Girls who exhibited the highest quality talent were selected to join the glee club, which led those services and performed a couple of recitals in the second half of the academic year.[37] At the end of each year, the graduating head of the choir would leave written instructions for the next year's leader concerning her expected responsibilities and detailing the club's repertoire. In her 1931 notebook – now located in the Westover archives – choir head Nancy Doyle explains to her successor that the glee trials are 'a perfect riot'. However, she warns: 'Don't laugh at the poor little new girls because they are scared to death anyway, and sometimes burst into tears. It is most difficult at times to keep from laughing!'[38]

33 'Westover School war eine sehr bekannte, eher strange Schule für reiche und begabte Mädchen. ... Politisch galt Westover School als "republikanisch", also grossbürgerlich orientiert und besucht. ... Als Immigrant wurde ich nicht nur toleriert sondern geschätzt', Schumacher, *Skizze meines Lebens*, 156. English translation by the author.

34 Laurie Lisle, *Westover: Giving Girls a Place of Their Own* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2009), 1 and 55–56.

35 *Westover School, 1940–1941*, course catalog, Westover School Archives, 1–3.

36 Lisle, *Westover*, 56; and *Yearbook of Westover School, 1938–1939*, Westover School Archives.

37 Lisle, *Westover*, 55 and 63.

38 Nancy M. Doyle, *N.M.D. 1930–1931 Glee Club*, personal notebook, Westover School Archives, 7–8.

1931, 1934, 1937	1932, 1935, 1938	1933, 1936, 1939
Hark, Hark the Lark	My Love is Like a Red, Red Rose	Who is Sylvia?
Loch Lamond	The Night Has a Thousand Eyes	Drink to Me Only
Meeting of the Waters	Ye Banks and Braes	Rock-a-Bye
Auld Robin Gray	Ah! Tis a Dream	O Wert Thou in the Could Blast
Cradle Song	Bells of Shandon	Merry Dance
Has Sorrow Thy Young Days Shaded	Brahms Lullaby	The Harp That Once
Last Night	Highland Lad	Come Back to Erin
Kathleen Mavourneen	Old Folks at Home	All Through the Night
Blue Bells of Scotland	Mary	Highland Lad
Turn Ye to Me	Hedge-Roses	Serenade [Schubert]
Bendemeer's Stream	How Gently	How Steep the Brave
In Yonder Glade	Annie Laurie	Oft in the Stilly Night
How Steep the Brave		Listen Yet Awhile
Keel Row		

Table 1. The Westover Glee Club's Three-Year Rotation of Repertoire.

Even if Eisler had published the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* immediately following his summer retreat in Connecticut, Kenyon Congdon, the choir director at Westover from 1936 to 1942, probably would never have selected it for performance at one of the school concerts. First, at the time the Westover Glee Club held joint programs with other young choirs (all-male or mixed voices) from nearby academic institutions – the Yale Freshmen Glee Club, for example. Thus, limited program space would have hindered a complete twenty-minute performance of Eisler's Woodbury songs. Furthermore, printed concert programs and sheet music in the Westover archives indicate that most of Westover's performance material for the period exemplifies the standard American glee repertoire. The Westover Glee Club usually practiced and presented arrangements of English, Scotch, or Irish folk tunes, like 'The Blue Bells of Scotland', arranged by composer Frederick Schilling (1836–1905). Moreover, Isaac Beecher Clark, the choir's director from 1910 to 1936, organized for the choir his own arrangements of folk tunes in a close, three- or four-part homophony similar to the choral style found in Protestant Episcopal hymnals.

Finally, the Westover choir not only stuck to an Anglican repertoire rooted in traditional glee performance, but they also programmed roughly the same sets of songs on a three-year rotation. In her 1931 notebook, Doyle explained this process to her successor and listed the expected repertoire for the coming years (see Table 1).[39] Concert programs printed in Westover yearbooks from the late 1930s and early 1940s indicate that the

39 Doyle, *N.M.D. 1930–1931 Glee Club*, 7–8.

choir loosely observed this rotation, while sometimes mixing or repeating items within the rotation and also including selections from outside their usual choices. For example, on 24 April 1937 the Westover Glee Club held a joint concert with singers from the Taft School, a boarding school located in nearby Watertown. Most of the music presented by Westover at this concert comes from songs listed in the first column of Table 1, which contains the selections Doyle indicated for the 1937 concerts. Exceptions listed on the concert program include a Dudley Buck arrangement of 'Annie Laurie' (found in the second column), the Schubert 'Serenade' (located in the third column), and Orlando di Lasso's 'Echo Song', not mentioned in Doyle's notebook.

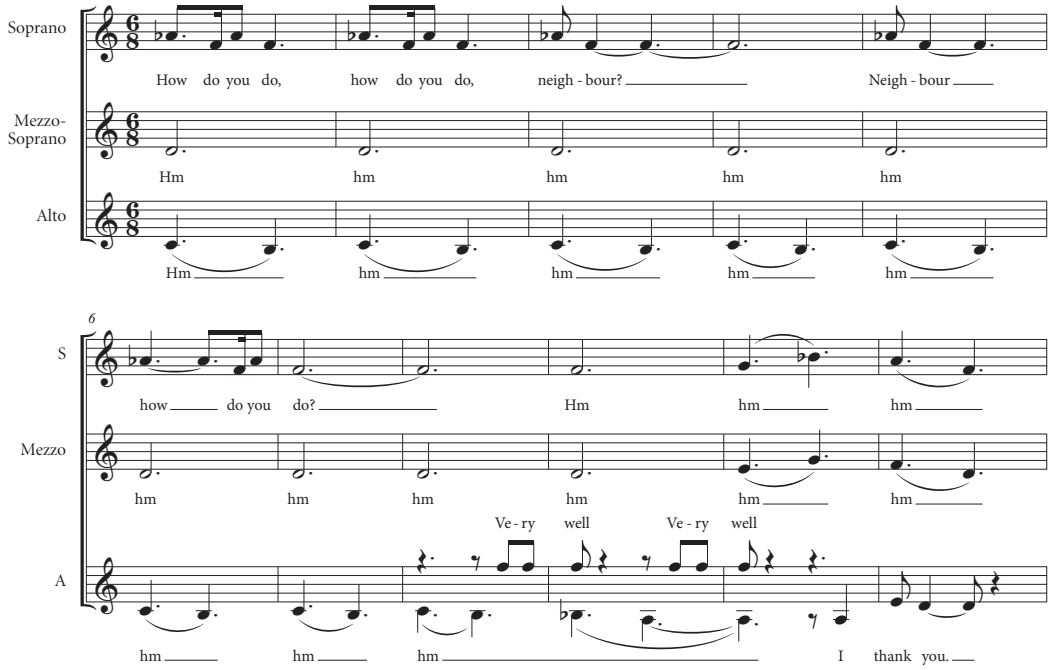
The Westover Glee Club generally adhered to the school's performance customs rooted in the American glee tradition and in Presbyterian hymnody. Due to the level of difficulty of Eisler's music and due to the recycled repertoire at the school, the Westover girls probably would never have attempted to perform a set of songs like the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*. Nevertheless, analysis of the score confirms that Eisler, by including popular musical elements and age-appropriate texts, intended his Woodbury songs as Gebrauchsmusik, accessible to amateur female choirs like the Westover Glee Club but difficult enough to challenge them and introduce them to modern sonorities unassociated with traditional glees.

Woodbury Liederbüchlein *as Gebrauchsmusik*

For the first fifteen of the twenty Woodbury songs, Eisler chose children's rhymes as English texts. Whether Eisler had a singular source from which he selected the rhymes is unknown. Perhaps he used one of Mark Schumacher's children's books or a collection of rhymes available at the Westover School or at the Middlebury Public Library. In any case, in addition to the English-language rhymes, Eisler also included four German texts, which he positioned at the end of the collection: 'An den Schlaf', 'Für Lou', 'Ode an die Langeweile', and 'Sommer adieu'. These more serious and introspective songs, which repurpose artistic artifacts of German Classicism and Romanticism for contemporary use, relate to other more subjective vocal works that Eisler also wrote while in exile, like the *Hollywood Songbook*. While the nursery rhymes exude a child-like innocence with no real binding elements besides the frequent appearance of animals, the German song texts are more serious and melancholic.

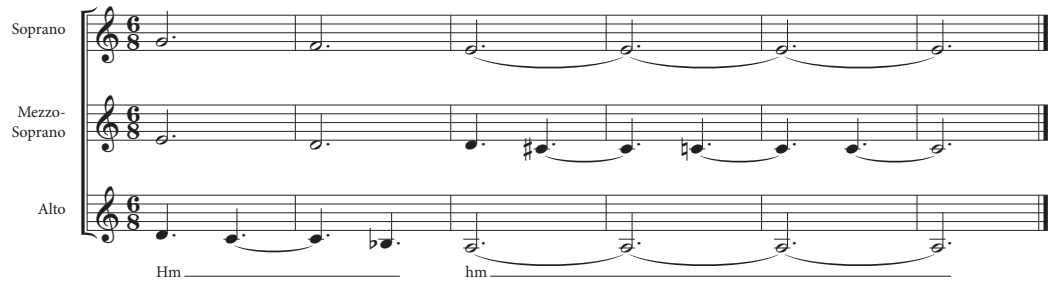
Within the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, Eisler supplied a variety of pieces, written in styles from the Renaissance to the modern, and for several contrasting vocal textures. He scored most of the numbers for three vocal parts (soprano, mezzo-soprano, and alto), and each song possesses its own unique instructional qualities. Eisler included short pieces in both duple and triple meter, and some songs contain alternating time signatures. Textures vary from the homophonic to the contrapuntal. 'The Five Toes', which features a call and response pattern, divides the girls into two choirs. In general,

harmony is usually not functional. Most of the songs are highly chromatic and many do not have a key signature. The predominance of modern sonorities sets *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* apart from typical music for American choral groups at that time. However, some songs, while containing chromatic moments, are clearly tonal, like 'Pussy Cat' and 'The Old Woman from France', both in B-flat major.



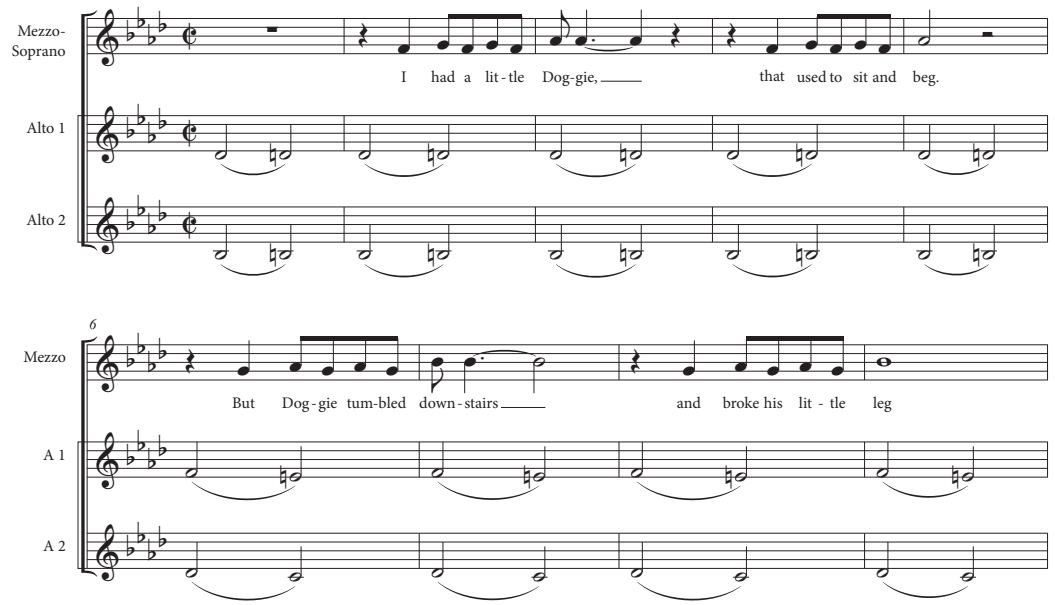
Example 1. Hanns Eisler, *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, 'Evening Talk', mm. 1–11.

The first Woodbury song, 'Evening talk', demonstrates the cycle's instructional purpose. 'Evening talk' comprises a musical ternary form (ABA'), forty-two measures in length with a truncated return of the A material plus codetta. Eisler sets the text – more widely known as the nursery rhyme 'How do you do, neighbour?' – as a vocal exercise in the proper execution of major and minor thirds. With the opening measures (see Example 1), the fluctuation between F and A♭ in the sopranos not only signals the third as an important element in the song's construction, but also evokes the minor third often heard in American folk and blues music. The moments of wordless humming present in all the voice parts in rising and falling thirds recall African-American folk music. For the B-section (mm. 21–28), the altos carry the text while the sopranos and mezzo-sopranos continue to hum in falling thirds. Here, Eisler organizes tonal triads in a descending and tonally nonfunctional harmonic progression: C minor → B-flat major → A major → G minor.



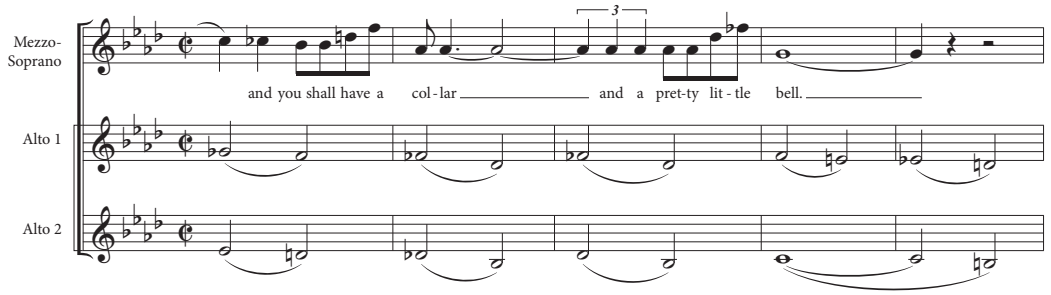
Example 2. Hanns Eisler, *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, 'Evening Talk', mm. 37–42.

After the truncated return of the A-material, Eisler includes a six-measure humming codetta (see Example 2) that emphasizes the major/minor dichotomy one last time. In the final four measures, as the altos and sopranos hold the pitches A and E, the mezzo-sopranos slowly descend from a suspended D, to a C♯, and finally to a C . Although the style and sound is unusual for a traditional glee, the song's good-humored text, and playful, bluesy character would appeal to a choir of young girls while also instructing them on the sonic difference between major and minor thirds.



Example 3. Hanns Eisler, *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, 'I Had a Little Doggie', mm. 1–9.

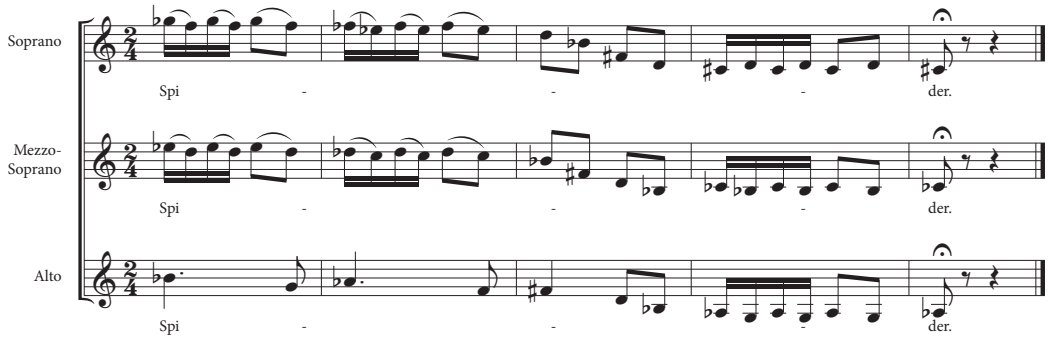
Like 'Evening Talk', several other Woodbury songs feature sonic and rhythmic elements borrowed from contemporary popular music. For example, with 'I Had a Little Doggie' in F minor, Eisler organizes the text into a musical AA' structure (with short codetta) and designates a 'blues tempo'. He includes textless humming, melodic syncopation and minor thirds, and a predominance of both minor seventh and dominant seventh chords, all elements commonly found in vocal blues and jazz. As the song opens (see Example 3), the altos hum half notes in parallel thirds. Above the altos, the mezzo-sopranos sing the text in melodic segments that encompass the interval of a minor third. Resulting harmonies include fully diminished, minor, or dominant seventh chords (fifths omitted). Eisler rounds out the first A section on a half cadence (see Example 4) with a contemporary chromatic embellishment. For the subdominant harmony, he uses a half-diminished seventh chord, with the flattened fifth in the mezzo-sopranos (m. 16). Although written in F minor, the song concludes with the altos humming a B-flat dominant seventh chord. With 'I Had a Little Doggie', Eisler constructed another fun song, like 'Evening Talk', with fun and challenging musical elements borrowed from popular music.



Example 4. Hanns Eisler, *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, 'I Had a Little Doggie', mm. 14–18.

Some of Eisler's songs feature word painting like one would find in many English or Italian madrigals, which are part of the common repertoire for academic choral groups in the United States. In 'The Sick Kitten', mezzo-sopranos and altos use onomatopoeia ('kling, kling, kling…') to imitate the sound of a tinkling bell on a cat's collar while the sopranos 'meow'. The homophonic 'Pussy Cat', twenty measures in length, features a sudden but short skipping melisma on the word 'play'. A particularly challenging madrigalism occurs in Eisler's setting of 'Little Miss Muffat', a short rhyme about a girl frightened by a spider. Eisler sets the first line of the rhyme (mm. 1–7) in quiet homophony. Suddenly, on the word 'spider', the sopranos and mezzo-sopranos burst into melismas that musically depict the bouncing descent of the creature on his thread (see Example 5). At the end of the song, the voices slide upward an octave on the word 'away'. The effect is a shriek that also sonically portrays Miss Muffat's flight. The inclusion of madrigalisms in

the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* is both entertaining and instructional. Although the vocal lines are sometimes difficult to execute, the effect is always humorous.



Example 5. Hanns Eisler, *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, 'Little Miss Muffat', mm. 8–14.

In another children's rhyme setting, Eisler demonstrates his penchant for anti-authoritarianism, although his musical choices are not militant and persistent as with his European *Kampflieder*. With 'Hector Protector', he sets the quatrain in E-flat major and for three voices. While Eisler colors the green-clad Hector Protector with tonal harmony in the first, second, and fourth lines, the third line (which introduces the king and queen) features several pitches from outside the scale, resulting with fully diminished seventh chords (fifths omitted) on the words 'queen' and 'king'.

Woodbury Liederbüchlein *as Wartime Response*

In addition to the children's rhymes, Eisler also includes in this cycle introspective settings of four texts in his native language. At the time of the composition of *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, Eisler had been living in American exile for three years. It had been eight years since Hitler had been appointed Chancellor of Germany. Although spending his summer in a pastoral locale, Eisler worried about the war overseas, his present finances, and the well-being of his family. Concurrently, his brother Gerhart, a Communist functionary, anxiously awaited a visa approval.[40] Moreover, in letters to his sister, Ruth Fischer, who had just recently immigrated to the United States, Eisler lamented he could not send financial aid, as he had outstanding debts and commitments, which included his son's welfare in England.[41] Lou, who handled their budget, explained to

40 Letter from Lou and Hanns Eisler to Ruth Fischer, end of June 1941, in Eisler, *Briefe 1907-1943*, 174–75. During the summer of 1941, Schumacher explains that Eisler once came to his home with an unidentified man, who spoke privately with Hanns and remained only briefly. Schumacher believes that man was Gerhart Eisler. Schumacher, *Skizze meines Lebens*, 179.

41 Letter from Hanns Eisler to Ruth Fischer, 10 June 1941, in Eisler, *Briefe 1907-1943*, 173.

Fischer: 'You can still shake it and not a penny drops out.'[42] The cumulative weight of such depressing circumstances prompted a melancholic and highly introspective artistic response. Thus, the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* possesses dual characters, comprising a collection of short and lighthearted pieces contrasted with highly serious and subjective reflections on war and exile. For Eisler, as Jürgen Schebera explains, 'A carefree fantasy about American children's songs was not possible in 1941.'[43]

At the end of the music for 'Für Lou', set for three voices, Eisler placed a note that reads: 'Written after a newspaper article, which was not good.'[44] Schebera believes this remark a reference to the German invasion of the Soviet Union in late June 1941.[45] 'Für Lou' comprises two short pieces labelled *Zwei Sprüche*. Schebera writes, 'The two choruses decipher as eminently political works, embedded with the cheerful insouciance of the children's verses.'[46] The first *Spruch* asks whether the present situation could get any worse, but concludes that anything is possible 'when stupidity reigns' ('wenn die Dummheit regiert'). Concerning the second *Spruch*, Albrecht Dümling has noted, 'Rain emerges as a political metaphor, as the epitome of a threatening situation.'[47] Eisler sets both *Sprüche* homophonically and syllabically, however, in the concluding measures, he musically depicts the idea of 'endless rain' through a three-measure quivering figure in the first sopranos. The song concludes with a biting augmented triad.

In his oeuvre, Eisler often re-employed poetic and musical selections from the German Classic and Romantic traditions as reflective statements on contemporary exile experience – the *Hölderlin Fragmente* from his *Hollywood Songbook*, for example.[48] Heidi Hart explains that Eisler's intentions with such vocal works were to reclaim 'an aesthetic tradition usurped by Nazi propaganda.'[49] A few of the German-language Woodbury songs, particularly 'An den Schlaf' and 'Ode an die Langeweile', also exemplify such reclamations. With 'An den Schlaf', Eisler returned to a poem by Eduard Mörike he had previously set as a twelve-tone piece in 1940. Mörike's text praises sleep for making life easier and equates the quietude of slumber with the stillness of death. Perhaps for the despondent Eisler, sleep's deathlike state offered respite from worry. Eisler's Woodbury setting of 'An den Schlaf', although not dodecaphonic, is highly chromatic, because Eisler

42 Letter from Lou and Hanns Eisler to Ruth Fischer, end of June 1941, in Eisler, *Briefe 1907-1943*, 174–75. English translation by the author.

43 Jürgen Schebera, *Hanns Eisler: Eine Bildbiografie* (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1981), 121. English translation by the author.

44 Eisler, 'Für Lou', *Woodburry-Liederbüchlein*, 27.

45 Schebera, *Hanns Eisler: Eine Bildbiografie*, 121.

46 Ibid. English translation by the author.

47 Albrecht Dümling, *Laßt euch nicht verführen: Brecht und die Musik* (Munich: Kindler, 1985), 467. English translation by the author.

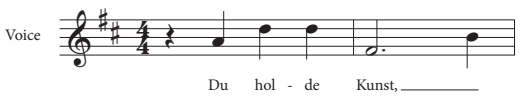
48 For more, see Heidi Hart, *Hanns Eisler's Art Songs: Arguing with Beauty* (Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture; Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2018).

49 Ibid. 8.

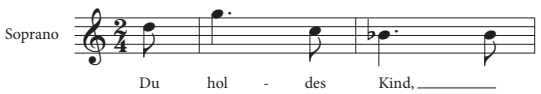
uses all twelve notes of the chromatic scale by the sixth measure. However, the soft F-major triad at the song's end sonically depicts the peace that finally comes with sleep or death. Additionally, Eisler's 1941 setting bears some similarities to Hugo Wolf's 1888 setting of Mörike's poem for voice and piano. Like Eisler's later setting, Wolf's song also features heavy chromaticism and concludes with a quiet major triad.

Eisler continued to repurpose German cultural extracts in his setting of 'Ode an die Langeweile', wherein he combines a text drawn from Goethe's *Venezianische Epigramme* with a musical allusion to Schubert's Lied 'An die Musik' (1817). Whereas the voice in Schubert's song intones a D-major triad on the words 'Du holde Kunst' (see Example 6), the sopranos in Eisler's song outline a G-minor triad on an approximate text, 'Du holdes Kind' (see Example 7).[50] In his epigram, Goethe expresses gratitude to boredom for leading him through cheerless hours. In his conversations with Hans Bunge, recorded years after he had crossed back over the Atlantic to live in the German Democratic Republic, Eisler explained that he and Brecht through the extent of their exile continuously found inspiration through boredom, which Goethe describes as the tenth muse. Eisler says:

> For émigrés who had nothing better to do than look at themselves for twelve hours a day, the greatest inspiration during the emigration wasn't our understanding of the circumstances of class, nor our true and, I hope, decent fight for socialism against fascism, but just ... this tormenting boredom. This is the origin of productive power.[51]



Example 6. Franz Schubert, 'An die Musik', D. 547, mm. 3–4, voice only.



Example 7. Hanns Eisler, *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, 'Ode an die Langeweile,' mm. 1–3, soprano only.

In 1941, confronted with incessant bad news from overseas, Eisler wanted to write music that progressed the Socialist cause and directly attacked fascist oppression, but he could not do so without risking deportation from his American haven. With 'An den Schlaf' and 'Ode an die Langeweile', Eisler takes back artifacts from his German heritage that Nazi fascists had appropriated and disturbed. He fashions them within a contemporary

50 Dümling, *Laßt euch nicht verführen*, 467.

51 Quoted in Hans Bunge, *Brecht, Music and Culture: Hanns Eisler in Conversation with Hans Bunge*, ed. and transl. Sabine Berendse and Paul Clements (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 58.

context as weapons of resistance, using the sort of modernist progressive language that Nazi cultural czars abhorred.

The angst and stress of exilic isolation prompted Eisler to turn from naive children's rhymes to subjective monologues in his own German language.[52] He sought solace in the voice and art of his homeland, resulting in very introspective and highly challenging pieces for amateur choir. With the last German song, 'Sommer adieu', which Eisler noted should be sung 'with mournful and regretful expression', he bittersweetly bid farewell to his Woodbury holiday, lamenting that 'die liebe Zeit' has passed.

Conclusion

Inspired by Middlebury, Connecticut's Westover School Glee Club, Eisler devised the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* as Gebrauchsmusik for amateur American women's vocal groups. He included pieces designed in the style of song types associated with traditional American glee repertoire, like English part-songs, Italian madrigals, spirituals, and canons. In order to make the work more interesting to contemporary amateur groups, Eisler infused some of the songs with elements from popular music, like melodic syncopation, jazz harmonies, and blue notes. Although some of the numbers are highly chromatic and challenging to execute, especially the German-language pieces toward the end of the collection, each of the songs contains instructional elements for maturing amateur performers.

Eisler did not publish the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* during his American sojourn, which ended in 1948 with his departure for Europe in order to avoid deportation. However, in early 1942, he wrote to Charles Seeger with the news that he had applied for a teaching position at Vassar College, which at the time was a school for women in Poughkeepsie, New York. George Sherman Dickinson, the head of Vassar's music department, sought to replace Ernst Krenek, who had been teaching there since 1939.[53] Eisler asked Seeger to help him secure a meeting with Dickinson and informed him that he had 'already composed 24 pieces for girls chorusses [sic] quite brilliant and easy to perform.'[54] Thus, in addition to designing the Woodbury songs as instructional pieces, Eisler hoped that his new composition would demonstrate his interest in writing appropriate works for college groups – like the women's chorus at Vassar – and cinch him a job. Had Eisler landed that appointment, the school's chorus (in operation since 1876) in all probability would have sung the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*. Ironically, although Eisler intended the Woodbury songs for immediate use, his Gebrauchsmusik for girls remained unperformed by American voices for many years.

52 According to Schumacher's memoirs, although Eisler began the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* as a project for the local choir, the order in which he composed each song is not known.

53 John L. Stewart, *Ernst Krenek: The Man and His Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 221–31.

54 Letter from Hanns Eisler to Charles Seeger, 2 March 1942, in Eisler, *Briefe 1907–1943*, 196.

Abstract

Hanns Eisler spent summer 1941 in Woodbury, Connecticut at the home of philosopher Joachim Schumacher, a lecturer at the nearby Westover School, an academic institution for young girls. That summer, Eisler wrote his *Woodbury Liederbüchlein*, a collection of twenty short a cappella songs for the Westover glee club. He used familiar children's rhymes to teach young singers various choral styles associated with American amateur glee performance, while also introducing young voices to contemporary musical language. However, news of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union that summer darkened Eisler's spirit, prompting him to include four austere German-language reactions. Therefore, the *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* serves a dual purpose as *Gebrauchsmusik* for maturing singers and as an exile's artistic reaction to the existential horrors of war. Eisler scholars such as Jürgen Schebera and Albrecht Dümling have addressed the collection's contradictory character, with particular interest directed toward the German songs. Eisler's original intention for these songs as instructional pieces for amateur female choir has been overlooked. This article draws upon research at the Hanns Eisler Papers at the University of Southern California, the Joachim Schumacher Papers at the University of Connecticut, and the archives at the Westover School in Middlebury, Connecticut.

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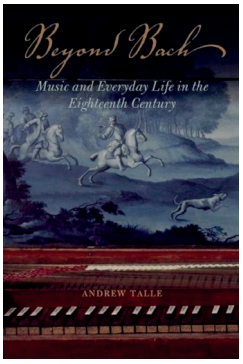
3

Reviews

The Dialectic of the Clavichord
Review essay

Henrik Palsmar



Andrew Talle
Beyond Bach. Music and Everyday Life in the Eighteenth Century
Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017
xiv + 343 pp., illus., music exx.
ISBN 978-0-252-08389-1 (pb.), 978-0-252-09934-2 (e-book)
USD 29.95, e-book USD 14.95

This is an inquiry into the role that music played in the lives of some of J. S. Bach's lesser or unknown contemporaries. As a supplement to the traditional portrayal of the great artist, it aims to explore 'the musical lives of ordinary people' around him (p. 2) and to offer 'a sense for his contemporaries as human beings' (p. 9). The author does not state his historical method, but the focus on the lives of common people and the title of the book places it in the tradition of Micro History and the History of Everyday Life. The book provides such a rich and basically different approach to Eighteenth's century music that a planned review turned into a somewhat longer discussion of the social and gender structures delineated in the text.

Andrew Talle investigates the musical experiences of a number of amateur and professional musicians in the context of their wider social world. As the source material on most of these ordinary persons is fragmented, Talle uses his imagination to construct the lives of his protagonists from an exploration of other sources, private letters, diaries, inventories, scientific treatises on many subjects, poems, novels, paintings, and, of course, music, stemming from similar people from the time. The scope is remarkably wide, and the author has an impressive knowledge of his materials.

The book centres on the role of keyboard music, playing, and players, not as high art but as a social practice. Talle explains his choice of the keyboard and its solo repertoire by its central position in Bach's work both as a composer and as a performer, and by its importance and omnipresence in the music culture of the day.

The dialectics of taming Nature at the keyboard

The first chapter 'Civilizing Instruments' gives a general characterization of the culture of 'Bachs Germany'. Talle's time scope is a period he calls the galant era. Whereas traditional musicology places the galant style in music from 1720 to 1780, Talle operates with a longer and broader galant era beginning around 1680 and lasting into the middle of the eighteenth century, thus spanning Bach's lifetime. He traces the idea of the galant back to the court of Louis XIV of France where it emerged as a new ideal of social and moral deportment for the nobility. After the economic crises caused by the Thirty Years' War the German bourgeoisie in the last third of the seventeenth century gained a new affluence allowing it to adopt this gentleman ideal. It quickly became a pervasive trend, and the word galant was attached to everything from clothes, accessories, and food (the literary critic Johann Christoph Gottsched famously claimed that he had been presented to a galant Westphalian ham), to the patronage of prostitutes and venereal diseases. The misuse of the word and the fashion it gave name to was criticized and ridiculed by intellectuals like Gottsched throughout the entire era. Talle gives many examples of the galant as an empty, silly, and somehow immoral, luxury fashion that was 'clearly defined by its opposite: the unadorned and functional. …The patronage of prostitutes was a galanterie because it amounted to the seeking of indulgences beyond the procreative pleasures of the marital bed' (p. 12).

The galant as an ideal of deportment, however, had more serious implications. It was a way for the bourgeoisie to emulate the nobility and distance itself from the lower classes and their physical work. As the German musicologist, Martin Geck, has argued it was part of a larger Western cultural process which had begun in the fourteenth century in which sensual, bodily pleasure was gradually tamed and exchanged for instinctual self-control and order. This called for a still stricter domination of man's own and the outer nature.[1]

Bach's contemporaries could learn self-control and galant comportment from a torrent of handbooks that were published at the time. Talle cites *Die Kunst complaissant und galant zu conversieren, oder in kurtzen sich zu einen Menschen von guter Conduite zu machen* by Friedrich Wilhelm Scharfenberg, 1713. This treatise provides instructions on how to achieve a sort of stoic countenance where all emotions and passions were hidden away, just like the female body was hidden under crinolines and the heads of men under a wig.

The outer surrounding nature was symbolically tamed in the symmetrical patterns of the Baroque garden and practically through still more refined, rational, mechanical technology.

1 See Martin Geck, *Bach's Inventionen und Sinfonien im galanten Diskurs*, in Martin Geck: *B-A-C-H Essays zu Werk und Wirkung*, Hildesheim 2016, 155.

If the galant in essence was an idea about controlling outer and inner nature, then keyboard instruments were, in Talle's view, the most galant instruments. Whereas on all other instruments the human body is in some way directly involved in the production of notes by blowing, pressing, or striking, the keyboard is an interface between the body and the resonating strings. Especially on the harpsichord and organ, this means that the player cedes direct control over the quality of the notes produced: in contrast to the violin these instruments are not sensitive to the force of the player's touch and therefore not capable of variety of dynamics or intonation, or of vibrato. However, their ability to produce many notes at the same time made them universal instruments on which a single player could reproduce almost the entire gamut of music, making them versatile in almost all musical contexts.

According to Talle, keyboard instruments 'appealed to galant-era customers … because of their mechanical nature … Only keyboard instruments enabled players to control sound indirectly … one could produce a tone with a single finger … Engineering genius brought keyboard players closest to the galant ideal of physical transcendence: simply thinking of music and hearing it resound in the air' (p. 25). Yet, the attaining of the ideal came at the price of direct control and resulted in a somewhat mechanical musical expression.

The intimate sphere of the bourgeois family was under construction during the galant era. The family produced emotions that called for outlet, and here music, especially when performed on the clavichord, was a popular vehicle. The clavichord is an older and less technically advanced keyboard instrument, but its hammer technique is touch-sensitive and gives the player more influence on the sound production. It can make a crescendo/decrescendo and sustain notes in a singing legato, and it is capable of producing fluctuations in intonation and thereby vibrato. In addition, it is small and was, at that time, relatively cheap. Although it comes without some of the disadvantages of the harpsichord, it has, however, other limitations: its dynamic range is very limited, from *p* to *ppp*, demanding an intimate audience. This means that it was an ideal household instrument but unfit in larger contexts. In some ways, this corresponds well with the galant ideals of control: clavichord playing can hardly excite anybody to tap their toes or any stronger physical reactions.

Talle repeatedly returns to the apparent paradox of the expression of human emotions through inward and outward domination of nature. '…the clavichord both celebrated civilization's triumph and probed its limits … The instruments … were engineered for compliance with galant social norms … the clavichord challenged listeners to express themselves creatively and thereby explore the mysterious power of natural forces that could never be fully subject to human control … the clavichord offered a fleeting respite from the disorder of the real world. Music brought all ambient sounds into its tow, presenting the sonic equivalent of a forest clearing. By some mysterious means, finite engineering yielded infinite expression. From the hands of a mechanic, inspiration' (p. 42).

Behind Talle's readings of the complexities of emotion, expression, liberation, repression, and technical rationality stands the thought figure of the Dialectic of Enlightenment. Nowhere does he directly refer to Adorno and Horkheimer, but when describing how the galant ideals called for self-control and abstention from any physical reaction when playing or listening to music, he brings up Adorno's famous interpretation of Odysseus as the original bourgeois concert attender from *Dialektik der Aufklärung*[2]: '… Like … Odysseus, the Galant music lover metaphorically bound himself to the mast in order to experience the sirens' thrilling song without risking physical ruin' (p. 19). He pursues this figure further in the following chapters that dive into the lives of single individuals in bold and productive ways.

One should, however, keep in mind that acknowledging the dialectics of progressing rationality should not mislead us to posit a golden age of expressivity in music which has been lost to technological development. Both the idea of individual emotional expression in Western art music *and* the technological advancements, which at the same time made it possible and to some extent curtailed it, were products of modern rationality and enlightenment. The propagator of galant musical ideals, Johann Mattheson, attested the limitations of keyboard instruments (as cited on p. 26), but he and his contemporaries experienced not so much a loss of habitual expressivity as a need for finding means to realize new emotional ideals in music. And here, as Talle points out, we meet the interesting paradox that the least developed keyboard instrument, the clavichord, proved to be best suited to promote this new development.

Disciplining the female keyboardists

The book is highly gender conscious. It contains chapters on both female and male keyboardists, and in both categories, it has a special focus on keyboard music as a vehicle for emotional and social negotiations between the sexes.

The technique and style of Talle's presentation is taken from journalistic documentary drama, most chapters beginning with a *hic et nunc* such as: 'Sometime in 1750, a fifty-three-year-old tax collector … approached the door to Braunschweig's Marstall 12' (p. 32), or 'One evening in the spring of 1729, the hands of a sixteen-year-old girl flitted across a harpsichord…' (p. 111). Whether one finds that these actualizations work in bringing one closer to Bach's world, is a matter of temperament.

One chapter explores the life Christiane Bose, a neighbour of Bach, who as daughter to a silver merchant belonged to one of the wealthiest bourgeois families in Leipzig. She was a friend of Anna Magdalena Bach and godmother of Johann Christian Bach and took keyboard lessons with Bach's colleague, the St Thomas organist Johann Gottlieb Görner. As the source material related to her is scant, Talle for the greater part must base

2 See Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, in Theodor W. Adorno: *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 3, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1998, 49ff. and 76ff.

his reconstruction on sources connected to women in parallel situations. From these he then tries to imagine his protagonist Christiane on a day when she took keyboard lessons. The settings are painted with an abundance of evocative details: after getting up and dressing 'she received a chunk of heavy bread – mostly rye or bran with a few stray pieces of straw or hair from the threshing-room floor – which she probably washed down with a shot of brandy' (p. 58).

Talle looks at how girls were brought up in general. It was believed that a girl's goal in life was to become a good mother and wife, and all instruction was directed towards this end. They barely received any tuition in other subjects than household skills, reading, writing, and catechism. The development of their moral character was considered of great importance. Here the acquisition of self-control was, according to the galant ideals, essential. Discipline was hard and often included corporeal chastisement. Talle illustrates how '[m]omentary losses of composure could lead to draconian physical punishments' (p. 48) by way of a long quotation from the author Elisa von der Recke's (1754–1833) recollections of her childhood. She describes how her grandmother gave her and her maid a severe beating with a birch rod because she cried out when the maid accidentally hurt her with a hair pin.

In a later chapter, Talle describes how society installed the ban on premarital sex in women through the fear of physical and indeed capital punishment. Extra-marital sex could lead to unwanted pregnancies, and desperate single mothers were known to have killed their unwanted offspring for which crime they were then executed. 'Detailed reports on public beheadings … served as cautionary tales for women of all social classes' (p. 70). Talle even indulges in a bit of splatter when based on a contemporary chronicle he relates how the 'neighbors jeered as executioners swung their broadswords and sent shards of bone and sprays of blood into angry crowds' (p. 70).

The education of boys was also often of poor quality, and they too suffered physical abuse ranging from corporeal punishment by parents and school masters to hazing and sexual assault by fellow pupils, as described in the chapter on male amateur keyboardists (pp. 144–46).

Physical abuse takes up a surprising amount of space in Talle's presentation. This is logical, though, when seen in the light of how much store the galant era set by the domination of human nature. It would take many years before the bourgeois society learnt to do without corporeal punishment and achieve its disciplining goals entirely through internalised repression.

Religion furthered this agenda. For her birthday Anna Magdalena Bach once gave Christiane a sizeable book of devotion, the pietist theologian professor Johann Jacob Rambach's *Betrachtungen über das ganze Leiden Christi,* in whose more than 1,200 pages Talle finds the following observation: 'God often spares his children the suffering for which they are destined by granting them an early death, just as God spared Christ the pain of his legs being broken on the cross. Through early death God often brings His Children into safety

and puts them at peace before the floodgates of His justice break open and overwhelm everything, or before the world's evil intentions for the child can be realized' (p. 47). Talle surmises that this would be a passage of special pertinence to Anna Magdalena Bach who experienced the death of more than half of her nine children and to the younger Christiane who only had one child that died in infancy. Religion comforted people but also taught them to accept the world as a valley of tears and not question their role and place in it.

Music and music making could serve as a way for the individuals to escape this threatening world of discipline, violence, and death. But, as Talle demonstrates in most of the chapters, it was not just the emotional refuge and harmless pastime it was made out to be. On the contrary, it was a tool in the hands of (male) society to mould women into their destined roles as homemakers.

Dancing and music making were valued social skills that increased a woman's value on the marriage market. Moreover, a skilful female musician reflected well on her husband and could be regarded as a sign of his importance and wealth, – a household good. Talle cites an account of two brothers visiting the Prussian ambassador in Venice in 1715. After admiring his many paintings, they sat down to listen to his wife performing on the harpsichord as 'a real virtuosa', and they concluded: 'His best, though not his most beautiful piece of furniture was his wife' (p. 57).

Dancing, by nature, involved physical movement and awareness of bodily sensations and thus carried a stigma of possible immorality. It had to be strictly disciplined, and even then, very pious women, who were obliged by convention to take part in dancing, did so 'with tears streaming down their cheeks' (p. 51). Music, on the other hand, was generally considered morally edifying; and especially when performed in the home on a keyboard instrument like the quiet and physically unexciting clavichord, it was viewed as an ideal occupation for a woman. The repertory that women were given to play ordinarily consisted of easily performable stylized dance pieces, minuets, allemandes, courantes, so-called *Galanterien*, which could entertain but not excite players or listeners. Instruments like the flute that called for a more direct bodily involvement were considered unsuitable for women.

Talle quotes a song from the famous collection *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* in which an unmarried woman extolls the joys of being at home with her keyboard (p. 53). For this she will give up all other diversions such as looking in the mirror or playing cards. She would rather stay at home and play than take a walk in the garden. A song like this about the innocent leisure time at the keyboard helped to internalize the ideology that the woman's place is in the home. The thoroughness of Talle's effort to penetrate and present the thoughts and ideas on music of ordinary people is emphasized by the fact that he not only has translated this poem and many others but also has recreated the verses in metrical, rhymed form.

Music did, of course, also give pleasure to performers and listeners and offered an outlet for disciplined emotions. However, the very intimate sound of the clavichord

(which would often be placed in a bedchamber or dressing room) could suggest intimacies of another sort. Talle cites comedies by Marpurg and Picander (librettist of Bach's St Matthew Passion) which poke fun at keyboard teachers making licentious advances to their female pupils whenever the chaperone leaves the room. He also offers an interesting reading of a painting by Johannes Tischbein (famous for his portrayal of Goethe in the Roman Campagna), a self-portrait with his wife seated at a clavichord that clearly illustrates the 'tension between virtue and seduction at the keyboard' (p. 76).[3] For both men and women playing music offered an innocent way to impress members of the other sex. As Talle puts it, 'Music's galant image – its status as an idle pastime completely without practical application – served to both mask and enhance its utility in courtship' (p. 71).

So here again the dialectics played out. The intimate sphere of the modern family created or set free emotion and sentiment. Private music making was one way of channelling these emotions and thus was part of the emancipation of the bourgeois individual and of the bourgeois struggle for social liberation. However, the emotional dynamics in the family also had to be restricted so as to not destroy the social structures they were part of.

Talle relates several stories about hopeful suitors who gave gifts of sheet music to the women they were courting, and he points out how conversation on if and how they played the music served as substitute for the forbidden conversation on their emotions. The free music was instrumentalized and served as a tool in keeping both men and women in their place.

Some women managed to go beyond the social restrictions and engage with serious music and having intellectual careers. One was Louise Kulmus who married the philosopher and literary critic Johann Christoph Gottsched. From childhood she showed great talent for poetry and music, she composed and played both the keyboard and the lute. With her translations of historical and philosophical works, and with her comedies and dramas she was renowned as one of the most learned women in Germany.

For Louise, the marriage to Johann Christoph seems to have been first and foremost a frame where she could realize her intellectual aspirations. He, one the other hand, saw her as someone who could be modelled to fit his ideal of an enlightened woman and could serve as his assistant and by her intellectual and musical capabilities enhance him in the eyes of the world. Apparently, none of them was particularly emotionally attached to one another.

Besides her own literary production, Louise served as a collaborator and as editor of her husband's works. He left it to her to participate in the debate that followed Johann Adolph Scheibe's critique of Bach in the journal *Der Critische Musicus*. This publication was modelled on Gottsched's *Critische Dichtkunst* and presented an aesthetic of music

3 The image may be viewed at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1756_Tischbein_Selbstbildnis_mit_seiner_ersten_Frau_am_Klavichord_anagoria.JPG

in line with Gottsched's ideas of literature, including the attack on the *Schwülstigkeit* of Bach's music. Louise was critical of Bach both from aesthetic reasons and because she found that the difficulty of performing his music could entail that she was seen as showing off intellectually, something that she did not think was suitable for women. And this is where her life becomes tragic. Even though the marriage to Johann Christoph did not reduce her to the traditional role of a housewife but allowed her to pursue her intellectual interests, she felt that it was wrong for women to directly subvert the traditional gender roles and strive for public recognition. She critizised a female contemporary, Laura Bassi, who obtained a doctorate from the university of Bologna, and she declined membership of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft*: 'I will permit my sex to take a little detour; only where we lose sight of our limitations we … lose the guiding light of our weak reason…' (p. 119).

Louise was caught in the traditional view of women as the weaker sex that should not strive for full equality with men but remain in the background, even when engaging with art and philosophy on the highest level (most of her literary work was published anonymously).

Later the spouses became estranged, partly as consequence of Johann Christoph falling out of favour with advanced literary and philosophical circles and consoling himself with numerous and scandalous erotic affairs. Louise found it increasingly difficult to share and defend his rationalistic, rule-based poetics (which included condemnation of both Shakespeare and the emerging *Empfindsamer Stil).* She fell ill and explained it as the consequence of too much indoor intellectual labour in her husband's interest (she had no children, partly because she wanted to devote herself to his work) and of misgivings about the rationalistic philosophical project that had been the core of their relationship. She gave up music and died depressed and disappointed at the age of forty-nine.

One cannot help thinking that if she had chosen to defy the gender conventions to a larger degree (as did contemporaries like Dr Bassi, the author Christiane von Ziegler, or the actress and theatre manager Caroline Neuber, with whom both of the Gottscheds collaborated), she might have led a more fulfilled life.

Religious aspects of music

The chapters on male keyboardists have fewer moving stories (although the account of pastor J.C. Müller's musical youth and courtship based on his autobiography certainly is one), but it has many interesting observations on the material conditions of both amateurs and professionals. However, in some instances, there seem to be too many details and speculations.

We read about a bureaucrat from Fulda, Johann Heinrich Fischer, who was a keen music lover and a collector of music prints and books on music theory. It is interesting

to learn about his collection which he made available to others by lending out and later by handing it over to a public library; but it seems unnecessary to know that he died of a catarrhal inflammation in his chest. Likewise, it does not add much to our understanding of Bach's environment that one of Fischer's borrowers, the Benedictine monk, composer, and cathedral organist in Fulda, Fructuosus Röder, suffered from haemorrhoids. Even allowing for the fundamental function of normally disregarded elements of human existence for the History of Everyday Life, this really has no bearing on the matter under discussion. It is just a curious fun fact like many others in the book.

Röder borrowed a print of Bach's keyboards partitas from Fischer, and to Talle it is noteworthy that a monk and a civil servant from a Catholic city could appreciate music by the 'quintessentially Lutheran composer' (p. 168). The idea that Catholic music lovers on religious grounds should have objected to secular keyboard music is, however, somewhat strange, given the enormous contributions to secular instrumental genres by Catholic composers like Corelli, Vivaldi, and Scarlatti.

As Talle points out in his introduction, outside of Saxony Bach was mainly know as a composer of secular keyboard music. One might add that the idea of Bach as first and foremost the Lutheran 'arch cantor' belongs to the nineteenth century after the rediscovery of the St Matthew Passion. Bach was apparently a devout Lutheran, but he probably saw both sacred and secular music as emblems of the order of the divine cosmos in line with the medieval view of music inherited from Antiquity. He was pragmatic in his relationship with the different Christian denominations. He composed most of his instrumental music, the Brandenburg Concertos, Das Wohltemperierte Clavier, the chamber music, while in the service of the reformed court in Köthen (where church music was not wanted). The London keyboard suites, in which we detect his reception of Vivaldi's concerto form, were probably composed while he was organist in Lutheran Weimar. And late in life he produced the B Minor Mass as part of his efforts to obtain a position with the Catholic king in Dresden. Bach drew on inspiration from both German, French, and Italian music; especially his instrumental music is cosmopolitan in nature and above nationalities and denominations, and it was, by all appearances, received as such.

Talle's speculations on why an unknown hand later deliberately ripped out most pages from Fischer's print of Bach's partitas – whether out of objection to 'Bach's religious orientation, by the perceived secular nature of the collection or by the musical style' (p. 169) – seem therefore idle.

Generally, Talle's ideas about the functions of religion are somewhat simplistic. In a chapter on the inauguration of a Silbermann organ, he again expounds on the dialectic of the organ as on the one hand being the king of musical instruments, a mythical object ordained by God and made to sing his praise, and on the other hand being 'among the most complicated pieces of technology in existence' (p. 200), a product of rationality.

The organ played a large role as a metaphor in philosophical discussions of the day. When materialist philosophers in the tradition of Spinoza claimed that man was just a ghost in a machine, some of their opponents used the organ's need of an organist as a picture of the body's need of a soul and ultimately of God. Talle offers a lengthy quote from Ludvig Holberg who refuted this as unsound argumentation though without condoning the materialist view (p. 201).

Yet, Talle concedes that ordinary people had 'little interest in this philosophical debate'. Instead, he says, their fragile existence gave them a need for the comfort of religion and therefore they 'devoted their resources to building organs in the hopes of inspiring God's mercy. … The church organ – the most complex machine in the world, the product of the best and brightest minds – was a prayer machine. Church organists were … employed to appeal to God on behalf of their congregations' (p. 202).

It is highly unlikely that any individual of Bach's time would have thought of the organ as a 'prayer machine'. Though from some Catholic viewpoints it was meaningful to cultivate God's favour by adorning the church with gold, organs, and music, such a view was in direct violation of Protestant, Lutheran, and Reformed dogma. It is a central contention of all Protestant theology that humans cannot do anything to incur God's mercy. They must pray for it and praise Him; but no act on their side, only the grace of God, can lead to salvation. Many people were undoubtedly steeped in heathen ideas of influencing the deity through material sacrifices, but their preachers in their sermons and the texts of their hymns and church music would constantly pronounce to them the impossibility of justification through merits. The function of the organ was much more complicated than being just a 'prayer machine'. It involved a complicated and contradictory set of religious and social notions among which the wish of the bourgeois class to display its economic and cultural capital played a large part.

Bach and the galant

Beyond Bach is not a feel-good book. It portrays a hard and threatening world: 'The relative prosperity of the galant era notwithstanding, the vast majority of Bach's contemporaries remained deeply concerned about survival. Half of all children – the offspring of the peasantry, the bourgeoisie, and nobility alike – died of mysterious ailments during their first few years. Fires, floods, and epidemic diseases decimated entire communities' (p. 201).

The official religion laid the reality of human suffering on the individuals as guilt and as punishment for original sin. And, as Talle demonstrates, the asylum of music making was seized upon by society and made into a tool for upholding a stable social order and keeping especially women in their proper place.

Most of the book deals with the repressive sides of how the German bourgeoisie in its struggle for social liberation strove to amass cultural capital through the galant

culture of intimate household music. It is a fascinating investigation; but in order to offer a fuller understanding of Bach's 'cultural context' and to give more weight to his dialectics Talle might have given more space to the progressive sides of the galant culture.

The galant was more than just ideology, a silly fashion, or a repressive moral code. The title of Johann Mattheson's *Das Neu=Eröffnete Orchestre, oder Universelle und gründliche Anleitung wie ein Galant Homme einen vollkommenen Begriff von der Hoheit und Würde der edlen Music erlangen / seinen Gout darnach formiren / die Terminos technicos verstehen und geschicklich von dieser vortrefflichen Wissenschafft raisonniren möge* (1713) reads like a manifesto for a progressive attempt of liberating music and musicians. The aim is not only to acquire a modern taste in music but through knowledge to be able to think rationally about it. In his music criticism some thirty years later, Rousseau discarded the medieval metaphysical view of music as a mirror of cosmic order; instead, he claimed music for humanity as a product of human culture and as a means of human emotional expression. Mattheson, without sharing Rousseau's critique of the arts and sciences, was in line with his idea of a break with medieval metaphysics, compositional rules, and traditions. He tried to understand music on a rational, empirical basis. He also shared with Rousseau the galant idea of the supremacy of melody in music. In German bourgeois tradition, however, he still greatly valued good craftsmanship. He did not discard, as his conservative critics would have it, counterpoint and other learned aspects of music, but he insisted that they be put in the service of human expression. To him the true galant was a modern sensibility that included knowledge and understanding of all sides of music.

This was also Bach's position, although many of his contemporaries heard it differently. To Scheibe and others he was a learned dinosaur whose style, in Talle's words, 'was at odds with the prevailing aesthetic of his era which celebrated lightness and ease' (p. 7). Certainly, his music did not fit smoothly into the system of music making of his time. With its radical mixture of construction and expression it could not serve as an easy pastime or a vehicle for marital negotiations, it did not really fit the divine service nor the market, and to an intellectual music lover like Louise Gottsched it was too emphatically artistic.

Yet, Bach's music rises above the dichotomy of gelehrt/galant. Martin Geck claims that Bach's *Inventions and Sinfonias* (BWV 772–801), which are generally seen as first and foremost learned music, are, in fact, emblems of galant composition in that they expressly combine learned construction with the galant ideal of a 'cantabile', singing, expression.[4] And as Bach in these pieces reflected the galant discourse, so his entire oeuvre engaged dialectically on the highest artistic and philosophical level with the aesthetic maxims of his day and with the tension between the medieval theological worldview and modern individual expression.

4 Geck, *Bachs Inventionen und Sinfonien,* 137ff.

Talle's book succeeds in its aim of providing 'a rich cultural context for J. S. Bach's life and music' (p. 9). To this reviewer, though, it has always been difficult to understand how Bach found the artistic freedom to realize his radical oeuvre. After reading Andrew Talle's fascinating account of the constricting social structures of his time and of the frustrated musical lives of some of his contemporaries, it seems an even bigger riddle.

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Bibliography of Danish musicology 2018

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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 years 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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5

Reports

Editorial

Conference

Southampton Music Analysis Conference (SotonMAC), Southampton, 29–31 July 2019

The British Society for Music Analysis (SMA) held its annual international conference 29–31 July, 2019. This year's conference venue was the University of Southampton, giving the conference the shorthand name 'SotonMAC'. The conference was extremely well organized and executed: From the earliest stages of the conference – the call for papers, the proposal answer, the registration – to the last day of the conference, everything went smooth and on schedule. There were between two and four parallel sessions, and the conference rooms were conveniently located next to each other, making the alternation between sessions swift and easy. Preceding the conference was also a two-day summer school for masters and doctoral students as well as early-career scholars with tutors Michael Clarke (University of Huddersfield), Andrew Hicks (Cornell University), Kenneth Smith (University of Liverpool), and Eric Wen (Curtis Institute of Music); this report focuses only on the conference.

This year's conference was unthemed and as such, the eighty-seven papers that were given during the three days showed a great variety of topics and research areas. Many of the usual suspects – Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, Liszt, to name but a few – received the attention that they very often do at music analysis conferences; luckily so, for there is still much to say about the music of these composers: Reuben Phillips' (Princeton University) intriguing analyses of harmony in Brahms' deceivingly simple Waltzes Op. 39 showed as much, as did Eric Wen's (Curtis Institute of Music) Schenkerian dissection of Bach's Fugue in B minor, BWV 869. But there was also a refreshingly large amount of research focused on composers with a (thus far) more peripheral position in the analytical literature – Carl Nielsen (1865–1931), Franz Schreker (1878–1934), Bohuslav Martinů (1890–1959), Witold Lutosławski (1913–1994). Nielsen's third symphony was at the centre of Christopher Tarrant's (Newcastle University) discussion of new approaches to sonata form, a paper which – to the surprise of the only Danish musicologist in the audience – drew on Torben Schousboe's thesis (*magisterkonferensspeciale*) of 1968 (more can be read in Tarrant's recent article 'Structural Acceleration in Nielsen's *Sinfonia Espansiva*' in *Music Analysis*, 38/3 (2019), 358–86). Furthermore, there were quite a few papers on more recent composers and composers whose name has not become part of the established canon: Joseph Mayseder (1789–1863), Josef Suk (1874–1935), Roberto Gerhard (1896–1970), Paavo Heininen (1938–), Toshio Hosokawa (1955–), and many more. Despite the great variety of topics and composers,

a few areas seemed to achieve particular attention. Among these were the broad concept of 'tonal space' and the global history of music theory.

The focus on 'tonal space' could be seen in no less than three interconnected sessions bearing this title, as well as in Suzannah Clark's (Harvard University) brilliant keynote lecture 'Two Lessons in the Hermeneutics of Tonal Spaces'. In the said sessions it became clear that the idea of tonal space could be utilized in many different ways and on different repertoires: from neo-Riemannian analyses of harmony in John Coltrane's '26-2' (Jamie Howell, University of Southampton) to analyses of contour networks in the first movement of Bartók's String Quartet No. 4 (Daniel Wu, Soochow University School of Music). The common denominator of 'tonal space' was the conceptualization of music and musical structure as extending in some kind of space, often visualized in two or more dimensions. The most well-known tonal space is perhaps the *Tonnetz* of Hugo Riemann that has received prolonged attention in neo-Riemannian research, but alternative *Tonnetze* existed in theoretical literature well before Riemann, and new *Tonnetz* representations are still constructed, as the conference aptly demonstrated. Stephen Brown (University of Arizona), for example, showed that the music of Lutosławski moved through a *Tonnetz* not ordered by the usual thirds and fifths, but other intervals such as interval-class 2 on one axis and interval-class 5 on another (that is, whole tones and fourths/fifths) with convincing and interesting analytical results.

Personally, I found J.P.E. Harper-Scott's paper to be a highlight in the 'tonal space' sessions, as well as in the conference at large. Harper-Scott took on the difficult but interesting task of bridging the gap between neo-Riemannian theory and 'proper' Riemannian theory – what Steven Rings has dubbed 'paleo-Riemannian theory' (see *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Riemannian Theories*, Oxford University Press, 2011). Specifically, Harper-Scott argued that Riemann's theory of functions can be modelled onto Richard Cohn's well-known hexatonic cycles (Cohn, 'Maximally Smooth Cycles, Hexatonic Systems, and the Analysis of Late-Romantic Triadic Progressions', *Music Analysis*, 15/1 (1996), 17): Cohn's 'northern' cycle, then, would represent the tonic and different transformations of it (the tonic *leittonwechsel*, the *variant* of that and so on around the cycle); Cohn's 'western' cycle would represent the dominant and similar transformations of it; the 'eastern' would represent the subdominant and its transformations; and the 'southern' would represent what Harper-Scott called 'mixed functions', manifested by the pair Sp and DD and their transformations. Even though Harper-Scott's figure in some way implies a conglomerate of *four* and not *three* main functions (as per the four cycles), Harper-Scott made a strong case when he applied his analysis to excerpts of Waltraute's part in Act One of Richard Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*. With a smaller gap between paleo- and neo-Riemannian theory thus achieved, one cannot help but wonder about the still gaping gap between these two 'Riemannians' on the one hand and the numerous *post*-Riemannian adaptations of Riemann's function theory in countries all over Europe on the other hand, many of which immediately disposed of Riemann's harmonic

dualism. A monistic representation of a similar tonal space would be interesting – if possible, at all.

Suzannah Clark's keynote lecture was a thought-provoking investigation of the idea of directionality in tonal space and the metaphors we rely on when we speak of such directionality: tones that go up and down, right and left (that is, typically, in sharp and flat directions). Amongst other things, she argued that much is won in keeping such directional metaphors in congruence with conventional intuitions about direction in music. Demonstrating the dangers of incongruence, she discussed how a subtle reconstruction of the *Tonnetze* used in the analyses of key relations in Robert Schumann's *Dichterliebe* in Fred Lerdahl's *Tonal Pitch Space* (Oxford University Press, 2001) and in Berthold Hoeckner's 'Paths through *Dichterliebe*' (*19th Century Music*, 30/1 (2006), 65–80) radically changed their analytical results and thus challenged the meaning – the text-music relationship – that Lerdahl and Hoeckner derived from their respective *Tonnetz* paths. With tonal space as such a hot topic at the conference, this reminder was appropriate.

Another hot topic was the global history of music theory. Thomas Irvine (University of Southampton) had pre-organized a panel on this topic running across two consecutive sessions, and a third, independent session entitled 'Beyond Europe and North America' contributed with even more perspectives. At issue were both general discussions and concerns about Eurocentrism in music theory's historiography, questions about the difficulties of implementing a more global view in curricula, as well as concrete dives into music theory from China, Persian and Ottoman Empires, and elsewhere. The sessions echoed, at least in my mind, a recent call for global perspectives in music theory published in *IMS Musicological Brainfood* (vol. 3/1, 2019), and as such it seems that this research area experiences a surge of interest that will be exciting to follow in the future.

It was announced that next year's SMA conference will be held 23–25 July at the University of Birmingham under the nickname 'BrumMAC'. Keynote speakers will be Dmitri Tymoczko (Princeton University) and Anna Zayaruznaya (Yale University).

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Editorial

The 2019 issue of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* has two overall themes, as the two articles in Section 1 follow up on the celebration of Gade's 200th anniversary and Section 2 presents contributions based on papers read at the conference, *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-Garde? Hanns Eisler and his Contemporaries* that took place at the University of Copenhagen in 2015. The conference's focus is introduced by Michael Fjeldsøe and Peter Schweinhardt, who joined us as guest editor for this section.

The contribution by Bjarke Moe looks into Gade's different compositional processes regarding the choral works by an astute investigation of the manuscript sources. Siegfried Oechsle's article, 'N.W. Gade: "Gegenwartsmusiker". On Progressive Epigonality in Nineteenth-Century Music History', deals especially with Gade and the Nordic tone – not interpreted as part of nationality but rather seen as consisting of a wide array of different characteristics in terms of orchestral writing.

In Section 2, Stephen Hinton's article reconsiders the concept of 'Gebrauchsmusik' and how it since the 1920s has been employed in musicological discourse. He delivered the keynote paper at the conference, looking back at his own occupation with the theme since his ground-breaking Ph.D. thesis. Andrew Wilson discusses two examples of Schulhoff's transcribed improvisations relating them to the idea of 'Neue Sachlichkeit'. The third article is by Tobias Faßhauer dealing with Eisler's use of the Afro-American genre known as coon songs. The final article in this section by Caleb Boyd discusses Eisler's *Woodbury Liederbüchlein* as a specific case of 'Gebrauchsmusik' meant for use in American high schools. Further articles from the conference will be published in vol. 44.

The review section includes a review essay by Henrik Palsmar on Andrew Talle's *Beyond Bach*. Talle's different approach to understanding J.S. Bach in broader societal contexts provokes Palsmar to reflect in particular on the gender and social framework as it is treated in *Beyond Bach*. The two final contributions are Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen's conference report and the Bibliography on Danish Musicology listing both the academic publications by Danish researchers as well as international scholars dealing with Danish music. The bibliography is compiled by Anne Ørbæk Jensen to whom the editors are as ever grateful. In addition, the editors would like to express their gratitude to all the contributors who have made this volume of DYM possible.

Michael Fjeldsøe & Peter Hauge

Publications received

Books

Hansen, Finn Egeland, *Harbingers of Twentieth-Century Neo-classicism* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2019, 109 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-87-7184-711-6.

Hvidt, Eva (ed.), *En musiker oplever den europæiske kultur 1900-1939. Paul von Klenaus efterladte erindringer* (København: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2019), 364 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-635-4509-9.

Jensen, Anne Ørbæk, *Musiksamlingerne på Det Kgl. Bibliotek. En guide* (Guides to the Collections of The Royal Library, 3; Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 2018), 674 pp., illus., ISBN 978-87-7023-151-0, ISSN 2445-7825.

Ramsten, Märta, *De osynliga melodierna. Musikvärlder i 1800-talets skillingtryck* (Skrifter utgivna af Svenskt visarkiv, 48; Stockholm: Svenskt visarkiv / Statens musikverk, 2019), 216 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-91-88957-34-4, ISSN 0081-9840.

Ramsten, Märta, Mathias Boström, Karin L. Erichsson and Magnus Gustafsson (eds.), *Spelmansböcker i Norden. Perspektiv på handskrivna notböcker* (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 159; Uppsala / Vexjö: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur i samarbete med Smålands Musikarkiv/Musik i Syd, 2019), 233 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-91-87403-35-4, ISSN 0065-0897.

Talle, Andrew, *Beyond Bach. Music and Everyday Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 343 pp., illus., music exx., ISBN 978-0-252-08389-1, also available as e-book.

Danish Musicological Society

Danish Yearbook of Musicology is published by Danish Musicological Society. Information on the society, membership and activities is found on www.musikforskning.dk.