



Danish Yearbook of Musicology

43 • 2019

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*Danish Yearbook of Musicology* · Volume 43 · 2019

Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning

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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/>

# 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.<sup>1</sup> Gade apparently knew the poems from the satirical magazine *Fliegende Blätter*.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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'.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 Kurtág* (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 appearance 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.'<sup>10</sup> Central to the term 'draft', despite its varied level of completion, seems

<sup>8</sup> Sallis, *Music Sketches*, 165.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 239.

<sup>10</sup> 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’).<sup>11</sup>

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’.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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 kredse*, 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.<sup>16</sup> 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).<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup> 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 udført Skizze. Flere Udtryk ere ogsaa som Følgen af en uøvet Pen ikke de bedste, men jeg troer dog at kunne faa noget ud deraf; idetmindst 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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'.<sup>22</sup> 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'.<sup>23</sup> As it seems, he only later started drafting the composition in a score, which he dated 1 February 1840.<sup>24</sup> 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. Wie lag so schwer auf ihm die Last  
 der Sünder!  
 2. Wie lag ~~~~~  
 ~~~~~  
*O.*  
 { 1. Seht, welch ein Mensch! }  
 { 2. Wie lag so schwer auf ~~~~~ }  
 ~~~~~ Sünder!  
 1. Wie unaussprechlich duldet er  
 für euch, ihr Menschen Kinder!  
 ~~~~~  
*amoll.*  
*Tenore:* O du gerechter Gottessohn! (Imitat[ion]:)  
*Alt:* Du Tilger meiner Sünden! (Imitat[ion]:)  
*Bass:* Erhöhte auf des Vaters Thron! hv af Stn  
*e.t.c.* Ach, laß mich Gnade finden!  
 ~~~~~  
 1. Wie unaussprechlich duldet er  
 für euch, ihr Menschen Kinder!  
 ~~~~~  
 2. Ach, laß mich Gnade finden  
 O. Ach, laß mich Gnade finden  
 ~~~~~  
*C Dur.*

*C Dur.*  
*O Seht, welch ein Mensch!*  
 1. Wih lag so schwer auf ihm die Last  
 der Sünder!  
 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! (Imitat[ion]:)  
*Alt:* Du Tilger meiner Sünden! (Imitat[ion]:)  
*Bass:* Erhöhte auf des Vaters Thron! hv af Stn  
*e.t.c.* Ach, laß mich Gnade finden!

*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.

30

C major:  $S_p$   $T$   $S^6$   $4D$   $4D$   $D^7$   $T$

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

94

A minor:  $S_p$   $S^6$   $4D$   $D$   $D^7$   $4D$   $4D$   $D$

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 Münster'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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.’<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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).<sup>30</sup> 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.’<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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 Evangelisk-chrestelige Psalmebog* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Vaisenhusets 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 kredt*, 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 Organist-tjeneste’. 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 bearbejdet* (Copenhagen: Kongelig Vaisenhusets 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’).











Uf Adams Fald er plat fordærb't Eller: Med Beemods Graad &c.

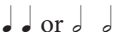

In many of his sketches, Gade adapted the notational appearance of Zinck's chorales, uniting his knowledge on music theory and experience with performance during the process of writing down compositional ideas. Despite having a sketchy appearance, such sources reflect a complete four-part setting existing 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.



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 |
|----------------------------------|------------------|---|--|--------------|
| <i>Paaske vi holde</i>           | — U U — U        |  | a                                      | A            |
| <i>Alle vide vegne;</i>          | — U — U — U      |  | b                                      | B            |
| <i>Varme og kolde,</i>           | — U U — U        |  | a                                      | A            |
| <i>Lune Himmel-Egne</i>          | — U — U — U      |  | b                                      | B            |
| <i>Samtlig berømme som bedst</i> | — U U — U U —    |  | c                                      | C            |
| <i>Opstandelses Fest!</i>        | U — U U —        |  | d                                      | C            |

Trochaic (— U):  or 


Dactylic (— U U): 

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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

### *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'.<sup>36</sup>

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.<sup>37</sup> 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<sup>v</sup>. '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<sup>r</sup>, 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).



Amicus  
Thema Second: 1/4 Var. begins in Prin. Thema in Sec. 2/4 Var. Thema in Prin. begins in Sec. 2/4

3 Var. Cmaj. - Amis: 1/4

4 Var. 1/4 Major. 1/4 legato

5 Var. amicus: 1/4

1

2

3

16/6/61

2. Bp. 16/6/61

Ill. 4. Gade's sketch for 'Reiters Morgenlied', fol. 2<sup>v</sup>. 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:

Gade's sketch

$\frac{6}{5} \flat 3$

Harmonic implications

|          |                |                 |
|----------|----------------|-----------------|
| F major: | $\mathbb{D}$   | $T_p$           |
| C major: | $\mathbb{D}_7$ | $T_3 \quad S^6$ |
| D minor: | $\$$           | $T$             |

Ex. 5. Gade, 'Reiters Morgenlied', bb. 14–16, first attempt.  $\mathbb{D}$ : a dominant-seventh chord (second inversion) without its root, in major keys equivalent to  $\text{VII}_3^{\text{II}}$ ;  $\$$ : a subdominant function with a sixth replacing the fifth, in major keys equivalent to  $\text{II}_3^{\text{I}}$ . The deceptive cadence (from F major perspective) ends on  $T_p$  as a substitute for the tonic (often named  $T_s$ ). 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 ( $c'-c\sharp'-d'$  and  $c'-b-b\flat-a$ ) 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  $c\sharp'$  in bass 1, however, immediately forced the  $f'$  of tenor 2 to stabilize at  $e'$ , changing the F chord to an A chord:

C major: T      (D)<sup>[S]</sup> (D) 7

D minor:      (D)<sup>[Tp]</sup> D 7      T

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.<sup>38</sup> 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 mentioned 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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup>

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.<sup>41</sup> 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 extent 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.

*Con moto*  
 Moderato Takker Herren, den Højest, og lads os gøre, her og der hans Navn.  
 Stor- re Ting, har Herren gjort, og vore Hjerter fylde med hans Glæ- de.  
 Brødt er, brødt er min Fæl i Tak til Gud, med Løvsang, sang og til.

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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.<sup>42</sup> 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’.<sup>43</sup> 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’.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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 lukket* (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.

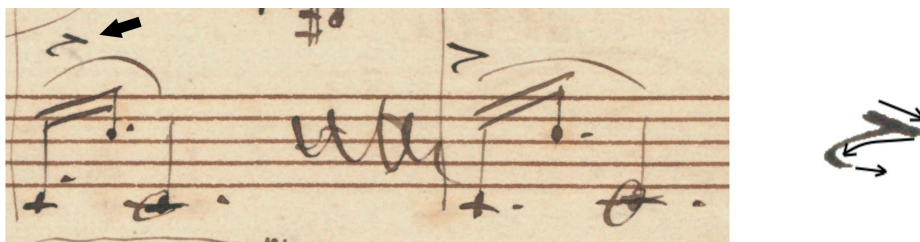
The following analysis of sources from the choral work *Aarstidsbilleder* (Seasonal Pictures; composed 1870–71) illustrates Gade's dependency on his copyist during phases of composing and writing.<sup>48</sup> During winter 1871–72, Gade worked on movements nos. 2 and 3 for vocal soloists and piano four 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.

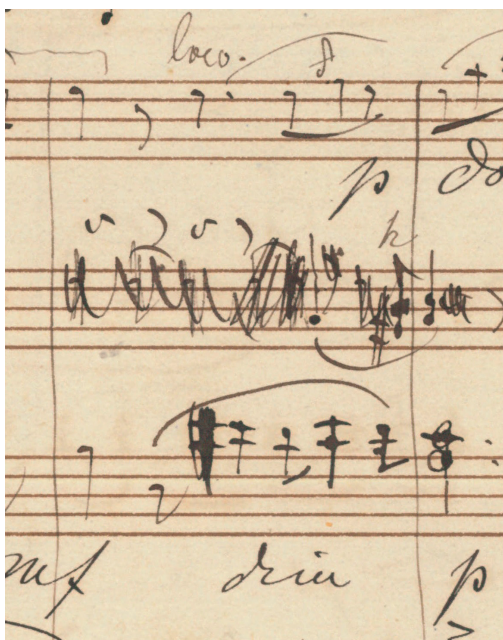
the musical meaning of the manuscript, rather than just the visual appearance of it. In other words, the copyist needed to relate the individual signs to their notational context in order to understand the exact connotation of them. The meaning of the sign ➤ is impossible to figure out from its immediate 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 misshapen 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). ...<sup>49</sup>

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'.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

### *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 gennem Sundet* (Choral Procession through the Sound; 1883) and *Nordens Folkeand* (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.<sup>53</sup> 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.'<sup>54</sup> 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 københavnske Sangforeninger af 1859 gennem 75 Aar 1859–1934* (Aarhus: Th. Thruers Bogtrykkeri, 1934).

54 Sørensen (ed.), *Niels W. Gade og hans europæiske kredse*, 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 jydsk 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.<sup>55</sup>

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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

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 *Aarhus 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.

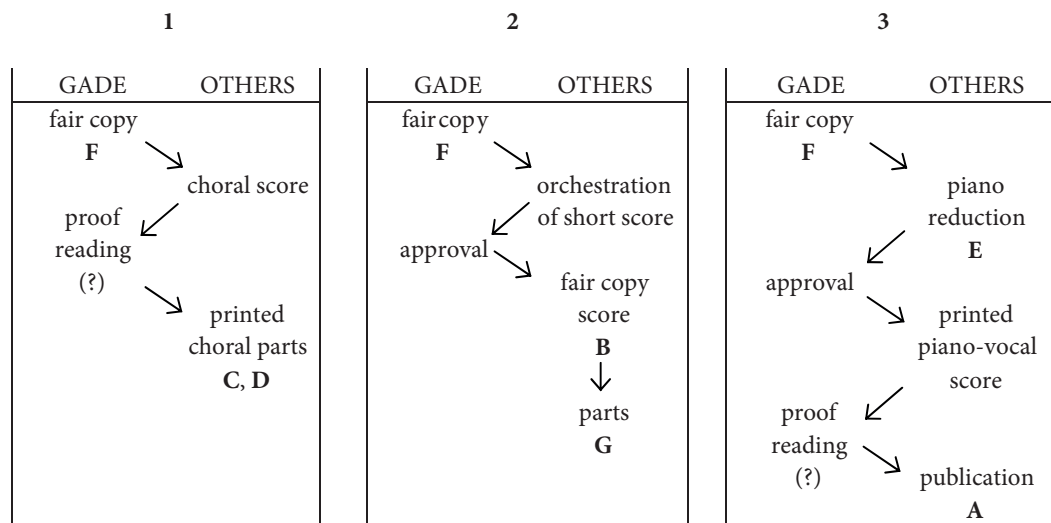


Fig. 2. Gade's fair copy, containing the entire choral parts and the instrumental accompaniment in short score only, served as the source for three further processes.

process during which the performance parts and a printed edition were prepared.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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 *Sanger-tog gennem 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.<sup>60</sup> 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.

Handwritten musical score for "Sangertog gennem Sundet, no. 5" by Gade. The score is on aged paper with multiple staves of music and Danish lyrics. It includes dynamic markings like "cresc" and "f", and a page number "17" in the top right corner. There are some corrections and annotations throughout the manuscript.

Lyrics (Danish):

Sol lere hvide træer om os glæde. Nu kan vi Kronborg østskifte! Her, her hvor kan vi  
 Nu kan vi Kronborg, nu kan vi Kronborg østskifte, her, her hvor kan vi  
 Nu kan vi Kronborg østskifte! Her, her hvor kan vi  
 dund, dund, her, her hvor kan vi dund, dund, min ven, det skal betyde  
 dund, dund, min ven, her, her, det skal betyde  
 dund, dund, her hvor kan vi dund, dund, min ven, her, her, det skal betyde  
 her, her hvor kan vi dund, dund, her hvor kan vi dund, dund, min ven, her, her, det skal betyde  
 de, Velkomst de bjerge, Velkomst de bjerge, de, Kongen og kong vil vi de  
 de, Velkomst de bjerge, Velkomst de bjerge, de, Kongen og kong vil vi de  
 de, Velkomst de bjerge, Velkomst de bjerge, de, Kongen og kong vil vi de

Handwritten notes and corrections are visible throughout the score, including "Kronborg" and "cresc".

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



the fair copy for *Sangertog gennem 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<sup>II</sup>). 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.<sup>61</sup> 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 gennem Sundet*, *Bundeslied* and *Nordens Folkeaaend*.

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.<sup>62</sup> Even as late as 1890, when Gade composed one of his last works, *Nordens Folkeand*, he was not aiming at a complete score when composing.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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).<sup>66</sup> The organ part has not survived in its entirety; only Gade's scattered sketches indicate the overall harmonic layout of the part.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> 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.



[illegible]

Ill. 9. Gadé'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.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

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.<sup>71</sup> *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).<sup>72</sup> 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 gennem 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 Arbejder'.

## 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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