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Articles

‘In the Land of Dreams’: Carl Nielsen’s Second Thoughts about Wagner

Nanna Staugaard Villagomez

‘*H*eard *Das Rheingold* this evening. Wonderful! Any musician who doesn’t find Wagner great is themself little.’¹ This passage from Carl Nielsen’s travel diary was written on an autumn day in Dresden 1890 and indicates the beginning of an intense fascination with Richard Wagner. At this point, Nielsen was away on a five-month trip to Germany and thus further from his hometown on Funen than ever before. He now found himself at the epicentre of the European music scene and his diary and letters from his time in Germany prove that Wagner’s music in particular seemed to have made quite an impression on the young, aspiring composer from Denmark. Nielsen watched the entire *Ring of the Nibelung* cycle over the course of a week, for instance, which he eagerly praised with animated adjectives. The immediate excitement did not last, however, and without apparent cause, Nielsen suddenly expressed a radical change of mind in his diary in 1894 about Wagner, whose music he now considered a representation of bad taste.² All words of praise were now replaced by a sharp critique, and Wagner was frequently brought up as the bad example when Nielsen in future publications expressed his general opinions on music.

During the same period, Nielsen wrote some of his earliest compositions, including two cycles of art songs set to poems by J.P. Jacobsen. The fact that Nielsen chose to turn his back on Wagner had immediate consequences for his own production as a composer. In a letter to William Behrend, Nielsen confessed that he had decided to discard one of his own songs prior to publication because he sensed ‘Wagner’s spirit’ in it.³ The song in question was ‘In the Land of Dreams’ (*I Drømmenes Land*), which was originally part of opus 4, *Music to Five Poems by J.P. Jacobsen* (*Musik til fem Digte af J.P. Jacobsen*), of 1892. This song thus becomes a key to understanding Nielsen’s perception of Wagner and must have contained features that Nielsen considered too Wagnerian compared to the other art songs from the Jacobsen cycles. The question I will discuss in the present article is how Nielsen’s own statements about music relate to specific musical traits in ‘In the Land of Dreams’ as well as possible reasons behind his change of heart.

¹ Carl Nielsen. *Selected Letters and Diaries*, ed. and transl. David Fanning and Michelle Assay (Copenhagen: The Royal Library / Museum Tusculanum Press, 2017), no. 23; John Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen Brevudgaven* (Copenhagen: Multivers, 2005–2015), I/54: ‘Hørte i aften *Rheingold*. Storartet! Den Musiker som ikke finder Wagner stor er selv meget lille’.

² Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 101; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, I/513.

³ Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 109; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, I/533: ‘Wagners Aand’.

Nielsen and Wagner's Legacy

Based on the statements from his diary, it is evident that what enthralled young Nielsen the most about Wagner's music during his time in Germany was its captivating energy and emotional impact. About *Siegfried* he wrote: 'I find the first act the most virile, energetic music ever written; it flashes like cold steel. The second act ... is delightfully poetic and atmospheric.'⁴ In teleological terms, Wagner has often been credited for following the steps of Beethoven by freeing music from its chains of formal, melodic and harmonic conventions and thereby paving the way for modern composers' chances of further exploring the true and unbound nature of music. The idea of Wagner representing a new, revolutionary wave in music was clearly shared by Nielsen at this point, who, in 1890, also spoke much less flatteringly of Mozart whom he later adored. After watching *The Magic Flute*, for instance, Nielsen wrote: 'however, he [i.e. Mozart] must be enjoyed "historically". Wagner!! Wagner!! What have you done!'⁵ The comment indicates that Nielsen, too, was convinced that music through Wagner had undergone a historic transformation which made earlier composers obsolete. One of the innovative compositional tools Nielsen was already quick to criticize, however, was Wagner's use of leitmotifs, about which he wrote: 'I admire Wagner and find him the greatest spirit of our century; but I can't stand the way he spoon-feeds his listeners. Every time a name is mentioned, even of someone who's been dead and buried many years ago, the respective leitmotif pokes its head out. I find it highly naïve, and it makes an almost comic impression on me.'⁶ Although this negative remark was an anomaly in an otherwise heavy stream of praise in 1890, the critique was soon elaborated.

Several years later, in many of the essays that were eventually published as *Living Music* (*Levende Musik*) in 1925, Nielsen decided to put his thoughts on music into words. At this point, he defined good music as being organic as opposed to mechanic or constructed. In the essay 'Musical Problems' ('Musikalske Problemer'), he compared the laws of music to the laws of nature, indicating an understanding of music as a pre-existing phenomenon that the composer should aim to convey as truthfully as possible.⁷ Music, Nielsen believed, should be simple, clear, linear and contrapuntal

⁴ Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 26; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, I/57: 'Jeg finder at første Akt er den mandigste og mest energiske Musik der nogensinde er skrevet; det gnistrer af Staal og Sværd. Anden Akt ... er henrivende poetisk og stemningsfuld.'

⁵ Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, I/78: 'han skal dog nydes "historisk". Wagner!! Wagner!! hvad har Du gjort?' (transl. by the author).

⁶ Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 27; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, I/59: 'Jeg beundrer Wagner og finder, at han er den største Aand i vort Aarhundrede; men jeg kan ikke lide at han giver Tilhørerne ind med Skeer. Hvergang han nævner et Navn blot, selv om Indehaveren er død og begravet for mange Aar siden, faar man Vedkommendes Ledemotiv stukket ud. Jeg finder det højest naivt og det gjør nærmest et komisk Indtryk på mig.'

⁷ John Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1999), 262–72.

whereas bad music expressed itself through unnecessary complexity, exaggerated harmonies and misconstrued counterpoint. To exemplify the latter, Nielsen often turned to the Wagner school. In regard to needless complexity, Nielsen criticized Wagner's use of oversized orchestras⁸ and argued that Wagner's motifs (using Brünnhilde's leitmotif from the *Ring* as a favourite example) were 'überschwänglich'⁹ meaning full of large and unprovoked intervals. In both cases, Nielsen consistently highlighted Mozart's simplicity as the superior counterexample to Wagner. Nielsen also complained that true polyphony 'through Wagner and especially his copycats has slid into a characterless quasi-contrapuntalism that doesn't express anything other than sultry sentimentality or empty, storming passion'.¹⁰ Since music was supposed to represent all that is organic and universal, Nielsen strongly opposed a composer's active attempt to evoke emotions in the audience as their personal feelings would be anything but universal and therefore irrelevant.¹¹ In other words, the emotional and subjective attitude that was characteristic of late Romanticism, conflicted with the eternal, classical approach to music that Nielsen supported. Instead, he considered these passionate outbursts an expression of empty sentimentality which would eventually lead to musical decay.¹² According to Nielsen, this dreaded sentimentality was first and foremost to be found in programme music. He was of the conviction that music could never describe non-musical phenomena since a dependency on outer-musical circumstances would make music unnatural.¹³ The way Wagner let leitmotifs permeate his music dramas could of course be interpreted as clear examples of the opposite considering the fact that they generally function as concrete musical representations of specific situations, characters or feelings throughout the opera. That Wagner wrote his own librettos did not redeem him in Nielsen's eyes either, since he believed Wagner then merely subjugated language to music instead.¹⁴

From around the mid-1890s and throughout his life, these were some of the opinions on music, for which Nielsen famously became an advocate, and that later formed the foundation for his legacy as a composer and music critic. Hence, the conflicting statements from Nielsen's youth were quickly drowned by the many letters and essays which followed, confirming that, according to Nielsen, composers such as Mozart and Brahms represented the musical ideal while Wagner was the bogeyman.¹⁵

⁸ Ibid. 77.

⁹ Ibid. 265.

¹⁰ Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 223; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, III/218: 'gjennem Wagner og især hans Efterfølere er gledet ud i en karakterløs Quasi-Kontrapunktik som ikke udtrykker andet en lummer Sentimentalitet eller tom, stormende Lidenskabelighed.'

¹¹ Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid*, 164.

¹² Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 655; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, X/265.

¹³ Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid*, 614.

¹⁴ Ibid. 133.

¹⁵ Jan Maegaard, 'Når boet skal gøres op efter Carl Nielsen...', *Dansk Musiktidsskrift*, 40 (1965), 101.

'In the Land of Dreams'

Being aware that an unwanted resemblance to Wagner was what made Nielsen drop '*In the Land of Dreams*', it is interesting to investigate which Wagnerian traits he might have found in his own song by measuring it up to comparable works which Nielsen composed around the same time, namely his other art songs set to poems by J.P. Jacobsen: opus 4 and opus 6.

First of all, '*In the Land of Dreams*' sets itself apart by being much longer than any of the other songs and, unsurprisingly, so is the poem with twenty-six lines upon which the song is based. The song is marked by variation and contains little to no repetition except for the final sixteen bars that imitate the opening of the song, thus making it hard to establish a form in the traditional sense of the word. Nielsen has instead divided the song into stylistically distinct sections each attached to two lines in general. Apart from the fact that he thus follows the rhyme pattern that dominates most of the poem, AABB, the divisions could also be interpreted as individual musical reflections on each of the dreamlike impressions described in the poem. The story of the poem follows a cyclical structure where the introductory and concluding statements are identical, namely that the Land of Dreams is a wonderful place to be, while everything in between is a row of separate examples to back up the claim. Consequently, Nielsen chose to repeat the music of the initial bars at the end while letting each of the examples of imagery be represented in an individual stylistic manner in order to musically imitate the type of open narrative established by Jacobsen.

Compared to a more traditional functional harmonic approach, Nielsen's approach was generally rather advanced and experimental. In order for music to move freely and naturally, as Nielsen believed good music should, he wished to obtain freedom to experiment with harmonic progressions unbound by the limitations of tonal norms. This included an insistence on moving music forward through other means of progression than the dominant seventh chord.¹⁶ This also multiplied the ways in which he could modulate, which is expressed no better than in '*In the Land of Dreams*', containing more changes of key than any of the other Jacobsen-songs.

Modality has often been used as a keyword to describe much of Nielsen's music in general – including his art songs in which the use of a low seventh and an increased focus on the subdominant have often been emphasized as common compositional choices of his.¹⁷ '*In the Land of Dreams*' is similarly affected by plagal tendencies. In several instances, it alternates between chords a fourth apart such as F sharp major and B major in the beginning and ending of the song as well as C and F major (bars 29–36) or E and A major (bars 42–45), leaving the interpretation of the tonic out in the open, depending on whether the relationship of the chords is to be understood as IV–I or

¹⁶ Anne-Marie Reynolds, *Carl Nielsen's Voice* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2010), 42–43.

¹⁷ Ibid. 87–90.

V–I. Apart from the use of plagal cadences, Nielsen also emphasizes how the fifth step of the scale comprises other functions than that of the dominant. He goes so far as to include a full sequence of fifths of the kind one would find in any modern-day textbook on popular music to prove his point (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1. Carl Nielsen, 'In the Land of Dreams', bb. 37–39. This and the following examples © Carl Nielsen Edition, 2009. Reproduced by kind permission of the Carl Nielsen Edition.

Nielsen also challenges harmonic traditions by creating alternative leading notes through chromaticism as a way of establishing a connection between two chords by other means than the driving force of the third and the seventh of a dominant. Mediants can be examples of this where a shared note between two chords can connect them while the chromatically foreign notes create impetus. This effect can pave the way for modulation as in bars 46–48.¹⁸ It may also be used as harmonic ornamentation as in bar 6, where Nielsen does not avoid the tonal cadence but rather prolongs it by postponing the tonic F sharp major with a minor subdominant and its major parallel that all share the note F sharp (Ex. 2).

It should be pointed out that these more alternative harmonic approaches are also found in other art songs of Nielsen's and are therefore by no means unique to this one.

¹⁸ For the complete edition of the song, see *Carl Nielsen. Works III/5, Songs 2* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 2009), No. 222, http://www5.kb.dk/export/sites/kb_dk/da/nb/dcm/cnu/pdf/CNU_III_05_songs_2.pdf#page=109; see also appendix.

Ex. 2. Carl Nielsen, 'In the Land of Dreams', bb. 5–6.

Nevertheless, the sheer amount of harmonic strategies and changes of key combined in this one song does make 'In the Land of Dreams' stand out from the other songs of the cycles. As previously mentioned, Nielsen's rapid changes of style are likely to be a result of his interpretation of the poem, and it could be argued that Nielsen's determination to create an organic musical development is exactly what is at play here. Daniel Grimley defines Nielsen's understanding of organicism as unrelated to the otherwise common notion of thematic coherence; rather, it is based upon a musical idea of succession and not on progression like an 'improvisatory spinning-out akin to a stream of consciousness',¹⁹ which may explain the structure of this song. However, one might argue that in 'In the Land of Dreams' there are different passages reflecting not only alternative types of expressions but also different modes of composition altogether, which at times result in a kind of harmonic hodgepodge. One example illustrating this issue is bars 8–9 (Ex. 3), where Nielsen moves from a calm, pentatonic section into a sudden and dramatic crescendo through repeated F# and F#⁷ chords functioning as a tritone substitution to the rather surprising G major in second inversion in the following bar.

Another example is bar 15, where Nielsen prepares for a modulation through chromatic leading notes in the bass and tenor, thus automatically creating a strong tension and an urge for a resolution that never comes: without further ado, the C sharp minor in second inversion in bar 15 simply continues as the new tonic in the following section, leaving us feeling somewhat bereft of a real dominant or harmonic turning point (Ex. 4).

From a critical viewpoint, one might therefore reproach 'In the Land of Dreams' of being slightly harmonically inconsistent, and it is perhaps not unthinkable that Nielsen himself found parallels between his own song and the excessive and inscrutable harmony he considered a trademark of Wagner's.²⁰

¹⁹ Daniel M. Grimley, 'Organicism, Form and Structural Decay: Nielsen's Second Violin Sonata', *Music Analysis*, 21/2 (2002), 185–86.

²⁰ Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid*, 79.

Ex. 3. Carl Nielsen, 'In the Land of Dreams', bb. 8–9.

Ex. 4. Carl Nielsen, 'In the Land of Dreams', bb. 14–16.

The rather contrastive musical expressions of 'In the Land of Dreams' also occur in its melody and accompaniment. The melody is marked by large intervals and countless octaves on one hand and small chromatic movements on the other, whereas diatonic stepwise motions are scarce. Many of the leaps are in fact arpeggios, proving that Nielsen had at times a tendency to let the harmony dictate the melody, as Reynolds has also pointed out.²¹ This way of composing might of course seem odd when taking

²¹ Reynolds, *Carl Nielsen's Voice*, 86–87.



Ex. 5. Carl Nielsen, 'In the Land of Dreams', bb. 50 and 55.

Nielsen's critique of Wagner misusing the intervals into account, but it is worth noting that this melodic strategy is not entirely unique to 'In the Land of Dreams'. The melody of 'Has the Day Gathered All Its Sorrow' ('Har Dagen sanket al sin Sorg') also consists of C minor and E flat minor arpeggios, and both melody and accompaniment in 'In the Harem Garden' ('I Seraillets Have') are heavily loaded with chromaticism. As was the case with the harmony, also the sheer amount of contrasts and the utilization of the melodic boundaries set 'In the Land of Dreams' apart from the other songs. The melody's range is larger than that of any of the other Jacobsen-songs, for instance, and it contains such a varied mix of note values that it almost makes the song resemble speech at times.

Furthermore, it could be argued that 'In the Land of Dreams' is the only Jacobsen-song where no type of accompaniment or motif can be said to unify the song. Only rarely does a specific motivic figure reoccur in the song as seen from bar 49, where we are introduced to a motif of three ascending semiquavers that could be interpreted as a nod to the trills of the lark mentioned in the poem. This motif (see Ex. 5, b. 50) is then transformed from bar 53 (see Ex. 5, b. 55) before returning to its original form in bar 56, thereby connecting the two sections.

These more clear-cut motifs are exceptions, though, as most are cut off almost as soon as they are initiated by small contrastive passages or other rhythmic figures before they are given the chance to solidify themselves. Moreover, the transition from one section to another is often very abrupt as seen in bars 27–29 for instance (Ex. 6). Here, a section full of heavy minor chords are interrupted by a single unison bar, which then again without warning is replaced by a sequence of rapid, wide arpeggios in major in the following bar, thereby immediately eradicating any memory of the previous section.

While this absence of motivic red threads and the abrupt transitions between different passages could of course be justified by the same notion of organicism that could explain the lack of repetition and harmonic continuity, it does result in an overall slightly inconsistent auditory experience. Since there are no motifs to bind the various harmonic patterns and senses of pulse together, 'In the Land of Dreams' could be perceived as somewhat fragmented.

The rather distinct structure of the song is, as previously mentioned, probably caused by Jacobsen's poem. Nielsen took the poems he chose for his music very seriously and

Ex. 6. Carl Nielsen, 'In the Land of Dreams', bb. 27–29.

Ex. 7. Carl Nielsen, 'In the Land of Dreams', bb. 7–8.

made great efforts to stay as faithful to them as possible.²² Since the poem is built upon an array of metaphors from the narrator's experience of a realm of dreams, it must undoubtedly have seemed natural to Nielsen to also express these descriptions in his music. When all of these images described by Jacobsen portray anything from beauty and playfulness to fear, it must have seemed nonsensical to Nielsen to try to fit all of these into the same key, for instance, or one stylistic expression.

It also resulted in some rather explicit depictions of Jacobsen's words. Apart from the aforementioned trills of the lark, another example could be the passage from bars 7–8, where Jacobsen explains: 'I can play like the fish on the sandy bottom of the sea' (see Ex. 7). Here, the melody literally illustrates a playful fish, once again jumping freely from one note value to another in a phrase full of disjunct motions followed by a seabed of accentuated, repeated quavers. Meanwhile, a row of underlying 'waves' in the piano

²² Ibid. 67.

accompanies the singer so that the associations to the sea could not possibly be misinterpreted. A similar example may be found in bars 18–19 (Ex. 8). This line rhymes with the previous one, which is why the same stylistic features are preserved. However, this time Nielsen expands the accompaniment with off-beat semiquaver grace notes in the bass, which is an obvious reference to the lively fairies mentioned in the poem.

Ex. 8. Carl Nielsen, 'In the Land of Dreams', bb. 18–19.

'In the Land of Dreams' thus becomes an almost stereotypical example of the kind of programme music Nielsen later so strongly opposed, where music evidently attempts to imitate or represent non-musical situations as he believed Wagner did with his leitmotifs. Wagner's approach was also criticized by Heinrich Schenker, who believed Wagner let the leitmotifs dictate the music from above, which deprived it of its *Urlinie*.²³ Similarly, it is likely that the explicit imagery of 'In the Land of Dreams' seemed unsatisfactory to Nielsen upon revisiting, even though it in this case is the *lack* of motifs rather than the excess of them that has contributed to creating the feeling of fragmentation. The missing motifs also complicate an understanding of the song from the analytical perspective which Reynolds has otherwise argued most accurately describes Nielsen's art songs in general, namely that of Rudolph Réti.²⁴ It is hard to identify the diachronic, motivic development process which, according to Réti, is the key to understanding the inner, organic development of music. Interestingly, Reynolds' analytical observation indicates that Grimley's deduction that organicism from Nielsen's viewpoint was not motif-related might be a misconception, since the other Jacobsen-songs (including the 'Arabeske' from *Five Piano Pieces (Fem Klaverstykker)*, also based on a Jacobsen poem) that were not discarded by Nielsen all represent a different motivic approach and are more harmonically consistent.

²³ Warren Darcy, 'A Wagnerian Ursatz; or, Was Wagner a Background Composer after All?', *Integral*, 4 (1990), 1–2.

²⁴ Reynolds, *Carl Nielsen's Voice*, 69.

An Altered View on Wagner

Nielsen's radical change of mind must have taken place somewhere between 1891 and 1892, that is after he came back home from Germany but before the publication of opus 4. So, what could have led to this? In Germany 1890, Nielsen found himself immersed in a divided musical society where Wagner and Brahms in particular were eagerly debated. Because the two at that time (and arguably even so today) were considered musical antitheses, and since Nielsen was unafraid of taking a stand, it is not unlikely that the Wagner enthusiasm shared by most of his fellow students in Germany influenced and encouraged his appreciation of him.²⁵ It is also worth noting that Nielsen only spoke poorly of Brahms when comparing him to Wagner. Furthermore, his first open condemnation of Wagner was written just a few days after his meeting with Brahms in 1894 – a meeting which made a huge impression on Nielsen.²⁶ It is reasonable to assume that this could have intensified his aversion to Wagner later on, too, although at the point in time, he had already rejected 'In the Land of Dreams'.

There are, in other words, indications that Nielsen's disregard of Wagner was based on more than professional disagreements, so relating it to Nielsen on a more personal level might be beneficial in order to understand his motivations. For instance, it is quite plausible that Wagner's celebrity status as the creator of revolutionary musical trends must have been a cause of envy to an ambitious man from a humble background like Nielsen's, who could only dream of such success. Nielsen also admitted several times that the mere thought of fame gave him butterflies.²⁷ However, a trend is only groundbreaking the first time it is presented, and Nielsen was quick to discover that, in order to achieve what Wagner did, he had to leave Wagner behind. Nielsen expressed his expectations of a time post Wagner in a letter to Henrik Knudsen: 'then the time will be near when we will once again see the emergence of a new, healthy and ruddy style. If only one could even be the frontrunner of something like that!'²⁸ This idea is also motivated by the fact that Nielsen's refraining from imitating Wagner was not a spontaneous but a *conscious* choice as was the case with 'In the Land of Dreams'. This is perhaps unsurprising considering that Nielsen lived in a Wagner era where he played, conducted and listened to Wagner's music on a near daily basis and consequently must have found himself inculcated by it. As Patrick McCreless points out, it is evident how Nielsen felt challenged by Wagner's inescapable influence when composing *Saul and David* as these mythical operas more than anything undoubtedly were Wagner's domain.

²⁵ Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, I/109.

²⁶ Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 99; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, I/510.

²⁷ Jørgen I. Jensen, *Carl Nielsen. Danskeren* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1999), 107.

²⁸ Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, II/307: 'saa vil den Tid vist ikke være helt fjern hvor man atter kan se en frisk, sund og rødmusset Retning tone frem. Kunde man endda blot blive til en Forløber for noget i den Retning!' (transl. by the author).

As a result, Nielsen made a conscious decision to exclude anything that even remotely resembled a leitmotif to avoid comparison.²⁹

As Nielsen grew older, his desire for fame gradually vanished, and he now considered his former thirst for acclaim immature and naïve. Instead, he sympathized with Mozart's desire to be understood rather than praised and simultaneously criticized Wagner and more modern composers' worship of progress as the goal itself. According to Nielsen, Mozart on the other hand 'did not want anything new, it came on its own. He did not want anything else than the others, but he could give and gave more. He did not remove what already was but added to it the many treasures he had found, partly in dreams, partly in play'.³⁰ This last remark could also be interpreted as a reflection of Nielsen's appreciation of Mozart as a person. His playful approach to music must have appealed to Nielsen in the same way that his personal interaction with Brahms could have increased his affection for Brahms' work. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that Nielsen would have found certain aspects of Wagner's personality unattractive. Apart from the aforementioned jealousy, it is reasonable to assume that he would have disliked Wagner's notorious arrogance and narcissism.³¹ There are several other instances where Nielsen's opinion of a composer is directly reflected in his evaluation of their musical production. He did not like Richard Strauss, for example, neither as man nor composer,³² whereas he expressed great sympathy with the mission of humorous and humble Schoenberg even though their musical approaches in many ways were miles apart.³³

It is therefore not unlikely that Nielsen's disdain for musical sentimentality and extravagance could in part stem from the haughtiness associated with Wagner himself (and Beethoven, too, for that matter). The more Nielsen opposed popularity and revolutionary tendencies, the more unjust he seemed to find the glorification of Wagner.

Were Nielsen and Wagner Musical Opposites ...

To affirm his own independence as a composer, Nielsen evidently did everything he could to distance himself from Wagner, and one may argue that contemporary Danish music critics helped him reinforce the differences between the two of them.

29 Patrick McCreless, 'Strange Bedfellows', *Carl Nielsen Studies*, 4 (2009), 107–9.

30 Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid*, 86: 'vilde ikke noget nyt, det kom af sig selv. Han vilde ikke noget andet end de andre, men han kunde give og gav noget mere. Han tog ikke bort af det, der var, men lagde til af de mange Kostbarheder, han havde fundet, halvt i Drømme, halvt i Leg.' (transl. by the author).

31 Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *A History of Opera* (London: Allen Lane / Penguin Group, 2012), 296–97.

32 Torben Meyer and Frede Schandorf Petersen, *Carl Nielsen. Kunstneren og Mennesket* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1947), vol. 1, 146–48.

33 Fjeldsøe, *Den fortrængte modernisme*, 141.

In the late 1890s, that is during the early stages of Nielsen's career, music was facing a period of change. The Modern Breakthrough had left its mark on Denmark, and Danish literature had now consequently turned its back on romantic Golden Age depictions and made the transition to harsher realism. At this point in time, J.P. Jacobsen was one of the most notable Danish authors representing the new ideals of the Modern Breakthrough, where, as a poet, he portrayed a hard-hearted reality from which one could either distance oneself through dreams or come to terms with it through irony.³⁴ Danish music, however, had not yet joined the literary movement, and thus the more conservative Denmark initially disregarded Nielsen's art songs to poems by Jacobsen. According to the critics, they were too international, and, regarding the tonal treatment, the composer took too many liberties.³⁵

Since Nielsen only wrote through-composed songs in the late 1800s, it was easy for critics to excuse the songs as early experiments by a young composer who had not yet found his own musical identity. In his biography, Torben Meyer entitles the chapter on this period of Nielsen's life 'Maturation', and Nils Schiørring explains that Nielsen wrote the art songs simply because as a young, upcoming composer he had felt obliged to do so. When describing the art songs, Schiørring focuses exclusively on the musical features that also characterized Nielsen's later songs to prove how the art songs could be explained as precursors.³⁶ For a long time, Nielsen's early art songs were thus habitually ignored, while his later songs were accentuated as good, Danish music, which, along with other major works of Nielsen's, were considered an important part of Danish cultural heritage.

Later, however, new interpretations appeared that managed to place Nielsen's 'modern' art songs in a Danish cultural context as well. Jørgen I. Jensen was perhaps the first to assert that the art songs were just as Nielsenian as his later works by pointing out that they could be interpreted from another perspective which would make sense to a Danish composer: Symbolism. This understanding placed Nielsen on par with Danish thinkers of the Modern Breakthrough where previously his art songs had been overlooked as mere copies of international trends.³⁷ That Nielsen's art songs might have been inspired by symbolist movements could explain the way Nielsen, unlike the typical Romantic composers who intended to express themselves through their music, wanted to create musically stylized tableaux in order to match the style of Jacobsen's poems. In several of the songs, including for instance the medievally inspired 'Irmelin' or 'Genre Piece' ('Genrebilledede'), it is clear that Nielsen attempts to set a musical scene that matches the story of the poem rather than imitate the words too directly, thus explaining perhaps

³⁴ Daniel M. Grimley, *Carl Nielsen and the Idea of Modernism* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 25–31.

³⁵ Meyer and Schandorf, *Carl Nielsen. Kunstreren og Mennesket*, vol. 1, 99.

³⁶ Nils Schiørring, 'The Songs', in Jürgen Balzer (ed.), *Carl Nielsen 1865–1965 Centenary Essays* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1965), 118–22.

³⁷ Jensen, *Carl Nielsen. Danskeren*, 92–93.

why Nielsen himself would not necessarily have considered the songs as examples of the type of programme music he later so despised. Arguably, this would also have been his intention with 'In the Land of Dreams' although the imagery found in this song is, in Nielsen's view, likely to have overstepped the boundaries as it is much more explicit than the other songs.

The fact that the poem itself defines the form of 'In the Land of Dreams' could also be interpreted as a symbolist idea, although Jacobsen's free approach to rhyme and metre evidently caused Nielsen some trouble, as bars 37–45 and 57–60 indicate, where the effect of the rhymes is slightly lost due to Jacobsen's change of rhyme scheme. Ironically, the irregularities in metre and rhyme patterns in Jacobsen's poetry was praised by Georg Brandes, who compared Jacobsen's prose-like resistance to poetic norms to the modern compositional and lyrical freedom that Wagner's works were so renowned for.³⁸

Vitalism later reoccurred as a more optimistic counterpart to symbolism,³⁹ fitting perfectly with Nielsen's own descriptions of good music as something organic, natural and healthy. The vitalistic ideas strengthened the image of Nielsen as the 'common man' in the best possible sense of the word. His rural upbringing and liberal belief in the equality and potential of humankind reflected core values found in Danish society at the time, when sympathy had moved from the learned aristocratic upper class to the ordinary, hardworking craftsman.⁴⁰ Understanding Nielsen from a vitalistic point of view thus widened the gap between Nielsen and Wagner. What could possibly be further from an elitist, controversial sophisticate such as Wagner than a happy, down-to-earth lad from Funen? The division becomes even more pronounced if one considers the optimistic vitalism as a contrast to the pessimistic symbolism, since the latter was a philosophy represented by one of Wagner's greatest idols, Arthur Schopenhauer,⁴¹ whose sombre worldview became the source of inspiration for many of Wagner's later works.⁴² If the two philosophies were each other's opposites then, naturally, so were Nielsen and Wagner, and any suggestion that Nielsen would have been influenced by Wagner could thus easily be dismissed as incongruous.

After World War II, it was undoubtedly important for Denmark to distance itself from Germany in general and anti-Semitic Wagner in particular.⁴³ During and after German occupation, Denmark felt a strong need to define its own cultural values and Nielsen quickly became a symbol of these. This new understanding, which suddenly enabled an interpretation of Nielsen's earlier, more modern songs from a Danish perspective, thus strengthened Carl Nielsen's mythical status as a unique national icon.

38 Michael Fjeldsøe, *Kulturradikalismens musik* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2013), 45.

39 Michael Fjeldsøe, 'Carl Nielsen and the Current of Vitalism in Art', *Carl Nielsen Studies*, 4 (2009), 31.

40 Reynolds, *Carl Nielsen's Voice*, 47–48.

41 Fjeldsøe, 'Carl Nielsen and the Current of Vitalism', 32.

42 Carl Dahlhaus, 'The Music', in Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski (eds.), *Wagner Handbook* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1992), 303.

43 Reynolds, *Carl Nielsen's Voice*, 20.

... or Comparable Musical Idealists?

Because of this discourse, it is reasonable to assume that specific statements of Nielsen's have historically been favoured and others ignored in order to strengthen that narrative. More recent Nielsen research has therefore generally had a desire to open up for alternative interpretations of the composer and – rather than focusing on Nielsen as an indisputable opponent of Wagner – has tended to conclude that throughout his life Nielsen's opinion of Wagner was fickle. Fjeldsøe, Jensen and Balzer among others reach that same conclusion by referring to a single letter of 1912, in which Nielsen once again expresses enthusiasm about Wagner to Royal Theatre director A.P. Weis.⁴⁴ Too much focus on such a single statement might, however, lead to premature conclusions. The letter's positive appraisal of Wagner significantly stands out from any other statement in almost four decades. Moreover, there are many reasons for assuming that Nielsen could have had other intentions with the letter than praising Wagner (one being that he speaks of *Tristan and Isolde*, whose upcoming Danish premiere Nielsen strongly wished to conduct). Instead, I would argue that while Nielsen's own opinions on Wagner were quite consistent from around the early 1890s, it is rather his own and other Danish music critics' perception of the two as incompatible opposites that has been slightly exaggerated.

Since Danish music critics tended to emphasize Nielsen's later, popular songs (his 'højskolesange') as ideal examples of his love of simplicity which strongly contradicted Wagner's exorbitance, it is easy to fall into the trap that Nielsen by 'simple' meant step-wise, diatonic, tonal melodies. It is therefore important to emphasize that Nielsen and Wagner often moved within similar musical spheres and shared the understanding of music as a natural being with an inherent will. As a result, they both wanted to renew or rather free music from its previous tonal boundaries without radically breaking with the tonal system itself by using alternative formal and harmonic approaches. This same belief drove them to embrace similar strategies such as alternative understandings of form, an avoidance of tonal cadences and the use of chromaticism as previously mentioned. In the letter to Behrend, Nielsen also makes it clear that it is not Wagner's technical skills that he opposes, but his way of feeling and thinking.⁴⁵ In other words, when Nielsen preferred simplicity over complexity, he did not oppose stylistic features such as expanded tonality and more modern harmonic trends; it also explains why he never abandoned this approach in his symphonic works. Instead, Nielsen believed that Wagner's eagerness and ambition to revolutionize was what made him forget the wisdom of the past, resulting in a perverse and sentimental understanding of music.⁴⁶ On this

⁴⁴ Fjeldsøe, *Den fortrængte modernisme*, 131; Jensen, *Carl Nielsen. Danskeren*, 119; Jürgen Balzer, 'The Dramatic Music', in Balzer (ed.), *Carl Nielsen Centenary Essays*, 76. Cf. Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 302; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, IV/500.

⁴⁵ Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 109; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, I/533.

⁴⁶ Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid*, 342–45.

notion, which any admirer of Wagner of course would not hesitate to dismiss, it is also worth mentioning that both Nielsen and Wagner seemed to agree that Ancient Greece represented the peak of humanity in regard to high arts, both claiming to have been heavily inspired by them.⁴⁷

Furthermore, it is ironic how Nielsen's critique of Wagner's alleged sentimentality strongly resembles Wagner's own critique of Italian opera as he similarly accused it of ignoring music's real purpose in order to obtain cheap thrills and emotional reactions through catchy melodies and vocal brag. Interestingly, both Nielsen and Wagner seemed to distance themselves from these attitudes, not because of personal distaste but out of principle. When Nielsen occasionally attempted to defend parts of Wagner's production (mostly *The Master-Singers of Nuremberg*), he always used his intuition to defend its quality which eventually forced him to cast it aside as it could not be rationally justified.⁴⁸ Similarly, Wagner admitted that bel canto had appealed to him in his early years though his musical principles also compelled him to turn his back on it.⁴⁹ In terms of sentimentality, Nielsen and Wagner also both proudly renounced programme music while somewhat paradoxically sharing the conviction that music and poetry could easily assist each other in conveying a message. Nielsen believed music to be a separate entity that could enhance the meaning of words and compared it to the sun bringing life to worldly objects.⁵⁰ On the other hand, he disparaged Wagner for wanting his music to imitate the poetry too literally. This was never Wagner's intention, however. While Wagner initially believed that music and poetry could point to the same poetic idea and therefore completed each other when united,⁵¹ he later became an even stronger advocate for absolute music as his love for Schopenhauer's philosophy grew stronger. Schopenhauer believed music was the highest of art forms as it better than anything else could portray its own inner will, which drove Wagner, who previously considered music and poetry equals, to admit that a story always must stem from the music itself and not the other way around as this was the only way for opera to reach its fullest potential.⁵²

The fact that Nielsen and Wagner shared more musical ideals than Nielsen himself would want us to think comes as no surprise perhaps. It is both predictable and understandable that a young composer would deal with a musical icon such as Wagner with equal amounts of admiration and disdain; but the idea that Nielsen could have avoided Wagnerian influence altogether seems somewhat flawed. In his analysis of *Saul and David*, McCreless points out that although Nielsen made great efforts to avoid

⁴⁷ Ibid. 100–3.

⁴⁸ Nielsen. *Selected Letters*, no. 494; Fellow (ed.), *Brevudgaven*, VII/272.

⁴⁹ Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera*, 298–99.

⁵⁰ Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid*, 129.

⁵¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 21.

⁵² Dahlhaus, 'The Music', 303.

employing any intertextual references such as leitmotifs, the opera contains, ironically, clear intertextual references to other works by Wagner.⁵³

As Meyer puts it, Wagner was to Nielsen 'a phenomenon that fascinated him greatly and – an experiment with both merits and errors'.⁵⁴ As Nielsen grew older and able to view his own production more retrospectively, he once again seemed more lenient towards Wagner. In an interview in 1927, as Nielsen had reached his sixties, he amably acknowledged the doors that Wagner had opened to his successors like himself (after he had slated the even newer jazz music compared to which Wagner might have seemed like a musical paragon): 'However you choose to interpret my opinions you can rest assured that I, as Wagner somewhere puts it, feel a deep connection to my spiritual ancestors. The musical giants: Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner and all the other great composers I am gratefully indebted to, even though I allow myself to criticize them now and then'.⁵⁵

Conclusion

In spite of his previous enthusiasm, Nielsen chose to draw a line between his own musical production and Wagner's somewhere between 1891 and 1892. Since Nielsen believed good music should be simple, clear and organic – and Wagner's music was anything but that – he felt forced to discard 'In the Land of Dreams' due to its overt harmonic complexity, strong stylistic variations and heavy imagery compared to his other art songs. That Nielsen's determination to distance himself from Wagner might have been driven by other factors than purely professional disagreements is plausible since both Nielsen himself, as well as Danish society in general, seemed to have found it advantageous to liberate his name from any associations to Wagner specifically. However, this narrative has tended to create a slightly one-sided interpretation of their relationship as they were perhaps not as musically incompatible as often portrayed.

53 McCreless, 'Strange Bedfellows', 137.

54 Meyer and Schandorf, *Carl Nielsen. Kunstneren og Mennesket*, vol. 1, 104: 'et Fænomen, der optog ham stærkt, og – et Eksperiment med både Fortrin og Fejl' (transl. by the author).

55 Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin Samtid*, 442: 'Hvorledes man end udlægger mine Meninger, saa kan De være rolig for, at jeg, som Wagner etsteds udtrykker sig, føler mig underligt bunden til mine aandelige Aner. Musikens Giganter: Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner og alle de andre store Tonekunstnere føler jeg mig i taknemmelig Gæld til, selv om jeg kan tillade mig her og dér at øve Kritik mod dem.' (transl. by the author).

Appendix

222 I DRØMMENES LAND

Andante con moto

Tekst: J.P. Jacobsen

The musical score consists of three systems of music. System 1 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of seven sharps, and a common time signature. It features a vocal line with lyrics 'Det er her - ligt at le - - ve i' and a piano accompaniment. System 2 begins with a bass clef, a key signature of seven sharps, and a common time signature. It contains a vocal line with lyrics 'Drøm-me-nes Land, hvad jeg vil det staar dér i min Magt, jeg kan' and a piano accompaniment. System 3 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of seven sharps, and a common time signature. It includes a vocal line with lyrics 'le - ge som Fi - sken paa Hav - bun - dens Sand, sku - e' and a piano accompaniment. The score is annotated with dynamic markings like *p*, *molto*, and slurs.

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9

Hav - dy - bets tryl - - len-de Pragt.

f

12

dim.

15 *Animato*

Jeg kan byg - ge som en Som-mer-fugl bag Ro - ser-nes Blad, jeg kan

p staccato

18 tum - le mig som Al - fer-ne i Dug - draa - bens Bad, jeg kan

fz

fz

fz

20

sti - ge ned i Bjer - get, der har Flam - mer om sin Tin - de jeg kan

pp — mf — cre - - - -

22

vug - ge mig paa Strøm - me-ne de glo - den-de der-in - de, jeg kan

scen - - - - do

24

fa - re o - ver Van - de-ne som Aan - den en Gang før, mens

ff

26

sor - te Bøl - ger væl - te sig o - ver mør - - ke Jord,

dim.

28 Agitato

Tempo I

jeg kan sku - - e Mul - met

p

30 vi - - ge for Ly - - sets stær - - ke

4 4 4 4

32 Glans og jub - le glad med

cresc.

34 Jor - - den ved dets før - - ste

cresc.

(35)

37

39

41

Meno

dim.

pp

(42)

Vaar - vind paa Blom - ster - nes Flor

44

og fra Vin - te - rens Dva - le dem væk - ke jeg kan

di - mi - nu - en - do

46

sæn - ke mig som Dæm - ring ud o - ver Mark og Vang, jeg kan

48

klin - ge som en To - ne i Lær - kens Mor - gen - sang

più f

50

jeg kan drøm - me som en Knop un - der Bla - de-nes Hang og aab - ne mig som

52

Ro - se un - der Sol - straa-lers Klang jeg kan bæ - ve som Dug-gen paa

54

Bø - ge - træ - ets Blad og fan - ge Glans og svin - - de ved

56

Sol - straa - lers Bad jeg kan ru - ge som Skyg - ge i Skov og i Lund, kan

rit.

pp dim. rit.

58 Tempo I

61

jeg kan taar - ne mig som Bøl - ge og knu - ses i - mod

cresc.

65

Strand, o, her - ligt at le - ve i Drøm - me-nes

f fz p cresc.

69

Land.

dim.

Abstract

The article investigates Carl Nielsen's views on Richard Wagner in order to understand what might have driven him to discard one of his own songs, 'In the Land of Dreams' ('I Drømmenes Land'), for having a Wagnerian sentiment. Nielsen's varying opinions of Wagner are accounted for as well as Nielsen's understanding of the nature of music. Based on these statements, a musical analysis of 'In the Land of Dreams' focuses on discovering and pointing out similarities between Nielsen's idea of Wagner's musical style and specific musical features in the song. Possible reasons behind Nielsen's changing points of view are discussed, including to which extent Danish society could be said to have influenced and encouraged the discourse of Nielsen as anti-Wagner. It is concluded that both Nielsen and Danish society had multiple reasons for wanting to separate Nielsen from Wagner, such as Nielsen's personal ambition to make a name for himself as a composer and Denmark's need of a national hero, which only grew stronger following the German occupation. However, because of these agendas, the differences between Nielsen and Wagner have tended to be exaggerated as they do in fact share more musical ideals than one might assume, including a desire to liberate music's own inner will through alternative harmonic approaches and an aversion for musical sentimentality and programme music.

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An Educational Example: Hanns Eisler's *Das Vorbild* Revisited

Alyssa Bree Wells

Despite Hanns Eisler's declaration in a 13 August 1952 letter to Bertolt Brecht that the composition on which he was currently working, *Das Vorbild* (The Example), was to sound like the 'Aufbau des Sozialismus' (the building of socialism), the work was not received with unanimous praise in the German Democratic Republic (GDR).¹ Premiered amidst debates between composers and GDR cultural officials over the theorization and practical applications for socialist realism, both Eisler and his triptych for alto voice and orchestra with texts by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe were decried by some and lauded by others. Members of the East German composers' union, the *Verband der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler* (VDK), held conflicting opinions about *Das Vorbild* prior to its premiere, largely due to an ongoing debate as to whether or not Eisler was receiving preferential treatment.² When the work premiered at the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik* (Festival of Contemporary Music), a series of concerts intended to represent the future of music under socialism, the GDR's state-controlled press commended *Das Vorbild*'s ability to represent the cultural heritage of the GDR and serve as an example of socialist realism.³ Despite the praise, the composers', critics', and cultural officials' largely negative responses to Eisler and *Das Vorbild* have subsequently resigned the work to be a mere footnote in his compositional output.⁴

Situating *Das Vorbild* within the dual contexts of its premiere during the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik* and Eisler's ideological and educational goals reveals the value of this forgotten 'example'. Indeed, revisiting *Das Vorbild* facilitates a more nuanced

¹ This article is a revised version of my paper at the conference *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-Garde? Hanns Eisler and his Contemporaries* (Copenhagen, 2015). The phrase 'Aufbau des Sozialismus' had become popular following the Second Party Conference of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland* (SED) in 1952. Daniel Zur Weißen, *Komponieren in der DDR: Institutionen, Organisationen und die erste Komponistengeneration bis 1961* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999), 141.

² Ibid. 140.

³ The question of cultural heritage, and musical heritage more specifically, within the GDR has received in-depth discussion by Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

⁴ Until this article, *Das Vorbild* has largely been understood as receiving only harsh criticism from party functionaries and other musicians in the GDR. Arnold Pistiak, *Darf ich auch Verse von Goethe verwenden?: Hanns Eislers Goethe-Kompositionen* (Berlin: Edition Bodoni, 2013); Heidi Hart, *Hanns Eisler's Art Songs: Arguing with Beauty* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2018).

understanding of how Eisler attempted to use socially relevant music to ameliorate the problems he identified as existing because of *Musikanalphabetismus* (music illiteracy) and to assist audiences in learning about their social situation. These goals represent what I term to be Eisler's *educational impulse*, which was developed during his time studying with Arnold Schoenberg. It was only while living in the GDR that his beliefs generally aligned with the dominant political group. Thus, in the GDR, his music now had opportunity to serve the functions he had advocated for over thirty years, rendering *Das Vorbild* an important artistic and ideological statement.

This re-evaluation shows a new interpretation of *Das Vorbild* and Eisler's role in the definition and creation of a socialist musical culture. Ultimately, *Das Vorbild* demonstrates how Eisler's educational impulse functioned – without the problems of capitalism – in the GDR.⁵ This article subsequently locates the origins of Eisler's educational impulse and acknowledges how it shaped *Das Vorbild* through an exploration of his writings. Further contextualization with archival material pertaining to the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik* and an analysis of *Das Vorbild*'s musical and textual contents uncovers how Eisler sought to apply his educational impulse within a socialist context.

Foundations of Eisler's Educational Impulses

Eisler's criticism of bourgeois musical culture led him to be highly concerned with both the function and reception of music in society. Above all, he believed that music should have a purpose and that it should be easily understood by the proletariat, two principles he contended were absent from many of the different countries and societies in which he resided.⁶ Indeed, as musicologists Albrecht Betz, Joy Calico, Hermann Danuser, and Horst Weber, among others, have noted, whether he was writing in the capitalist Weimar Republic or United States, or the socialist GDR, Eisler's steadfast commitment to Marxist thought was always present in his compositional output and theoretical writings, in which he argued that music should attain relevance to society by raising awareness of class struggles.⁷

5 Eisler articulated concerns about music under capitalism succinctly in a 1927 essay, writing that 'Diese Art des Kunstbetriebes enthüllt wie keine den Zusammenhang zwischen Kunst und Kapital. Der Grundsatz des bürgerlichen Kunstidealismus, die Unabhängigkeit der Kunst von der politischen und ökonomischen Situation der Gesellschaft ist heute bereits ins Wanken geraten.' (This kind of art reveals like no other the connection between art and capital. The principle of bourgeois artistic idealism, the independence of art from the political and economic situation of society, has begun to waver.) Hanns Eisler, 'Vom bürgerlichen Konzertbetrieb [1928]', *Hanns Eisler. Gesammelte Schriften 1921–1935*, ed. Tobias Faßhauer and Günter Mayer (Hanns Eisler Gesamtausgabe, series IX, vol. 1.1: Wiesbaden, Leipzig, Paris: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007), 84–86, at 85.

6 For more on the development of this ideology, see the essays in 'II. Die Entwicklung der politischen und ästhetischen Position Eislers', *Hanns Eisler, Das Argument* (Sonderband 5), ed. Wolfgang Fritz Haug (Berlin: Argument-Verlag, 1975), 57–153.

7 Eisler attributed his interest in Marxism to his experience of the October Revolution in 1917. Hanns Eisler, 'Kurze Selbstbiographie I [1954]', *Hanns Eisler. Musik und Politik – Schriften 1948–1962*, ed. Günter

Yet, for this function to be met, music must be easily understood by the audience; a goal which he found other composers in the era to cast aside in favour of subjective sonic expression of the self.⁸ Beyond music's aural accessibility, Eisler also found that many composers gave little consideration for the relevance of music to the lived experiences of their listeners. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Eisler was repeatedly critical of composers' lack of regard for their listener's musical knowledge and their avoidance of socially aware musical content.⁹ As a part of these critiques, Eisler offered solutions that often involved educational measures for his audiences.

In his 1927 essay, 'Musik und Musikverständnis', Eisler criticized the music of modernist composers, saying that 'the evaluation of a piece of music now requires a great knowledge of the elements of harmony, polyphony, and form'.¹⁰ Without these, concert hall music was subsequently inaccessible to the layperson not educated in music. He would continue on to say that

the fact that the listener is only given the common emotional content does not put him in a position to really accept and understand the play; he will then be in the same situation as one who hears a Chinese lecture without understanding Chinese; he will notice that the speaker soon speaks angry, sometimes sad, sometimes sentimental, but he will not know what it is actually about.¹¹

He further argued that this is the case for Johann Sebastian Bach, whose music is such 'that the listener without a musical education cannot grasp anything'.¹² Despite the inaccessibility of Bach's music, Eisler's teleological view of music history caused him to maintain throughout his life that Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven were integral to the

Mayer (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1982), 336. Albrecht Betz, *Hanns Eisler Political Musician*, trans. Bill Hopkins (Cambridge University Press, 1982); Joy Calico, "The Karl Marx of Music": Hanns Eisler Reception in the United States after 1947, in *Hanns Eisler: 's müßt dem Himmel Höllenangst werden*, ed. Maren Köster (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 1998); Hermann Danuser, 'Hanns Eisler: Zur wechselhaften Wirkungsgeschichte engagierter Musik', in *Die Wiener Schule heute* (Mainz: Schott Musik International, 1983); Horst Weber, *I Am Not a Hero, I Am a Composer: Hanns Eisler in Hollywood* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2012).

⁸ Arnold Schoenberg undoubtedly influenced Eisler's opinion of subjectivity in music.

⁹ Eisler often described this as 'progressive music'.

¹⁰ 'Die Bewertung eines Musikstückes setzt nun eine große Kenntnis der Elemente der Harmonie, der Polyphonie, der Form voraus'; Eisler, 'Musik und Musikverständnis [1927]', *Eisler. Gesammelte Schriften 1921–1935*, 55–59, at 58.

¹¹ Ibid.: 'Daß dem Hörer nur der allgemeine Gefühlsinhalt vermittelt wird, setzt ihn noch nicht in die Lage, das Stück wirklich aufzunehmen und zu verstehen, er wird dann in derselben Situation sein, wie einer der einen chinesischen Vortrag anhört, ohne Chinesisch zu verstehen; er wird bemerken, daß der Redner bald zornig, bald traurig, bald sentimental spricht, wird aber nicht wissen, worum es sich eigentlich handelt.'

¹² Ibid.: 'daß ein Hörer ohne musikalische Vorbildung davon nichts erfassen kann.'

cultivation of a musically educated public.¹³ This approach was clearly borrowed from his composition lessons with Arnold Schoenberg. As a student of Schoenberg, Eisler would have been introduced to the concept of using historical examples from the 'Classical and Romantic Masters' in lieu of examples created solely for the purpose of instruction.¹⁴ In a 1958 interview with Nathan Notowicz, Eisler commented upon Schoenberg's teaching style, stating that Schoenberg had an adage for his students, frequently saying that 'with me you will solely hear what I have learned from the great masters'.¹⁵

In the same 1927 essay, Eisler observed that this *Musikanalphabetismus* was exacerbated by financial restrictions, for in order to gain the knowledge necessary to comprehend musical content, one must possess the financial means to educate oneself. He also suggested that the ultimate solution to this problem would require the musical education of everyone, starting from childhood; however, this would prove untenable within the context of a capitalist society. As the analysis of *Das Vorbild* will demonstrate, by 1952 Eisler had devised a way to provide his listeners with musical archetypes within a composition that could facilitate comprehension of the whole work and subsequently provide the audience with a lesson in musical literacy.

Eisler's concerns about music education's entanglement with social and economic systems would also be evident in a 1940 book proposal to Oxford University Press, where he found it necessary to analyse 'the development of modern music in its relations to general social trends of modern times'.¹⁶ His outline for this analysis gave a significant

¹³ In his 1951 essay, 'Brief nach Westdeutschland', Eisler described the ongoing crisis music in capitalism and proposed several solutions. 'Den unerfahrenen Hörer betrachtet er [der moderne Komponist] mit Überheblichkeit, denn er weiß, daß Musik Erfahrung verlangt und einem ungeübten Ohr Traditionelles fremd, Neues aber absurd klingen muß, und daß Kunstgeschmack und Urteilsfähigkeit sich erst durch Erfahrung und Bildung entwickeln. Er weiß auch, daß klassische Musik nicht ohne weiteres verstanden werden kann, und daß die großen Werke Bachs, Mozarts, Beethovens musikalisch gebildete Hörer voraussetzen.' (He [the modern composer] regards the inexperienced listener with arrogance because he knows that music requires experience, and that an un-experienced ear, for whom the sound of the classical tradition is strange, the new must sound absurd; and that artistic taste and judgement only develop through experience and education. He also knows that classical music cannot be easily understood, and that the great works by Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven presuppose musically educated listeners); Eisler, 'Brief nach Westdeutschland [1951]', *Eisler. Schriften 1948–1962*, 179–91, at 180.

¹⁴ Andreas Spörri, 'Erich Schmid, ein Meisterschüler von Arnold Schoenberg', *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center*, 3 (2001), 213. Günter Kochan in Asriel, 'Komponist und Hörer III: Der Kompositionssprozess und einige Möglichkeiten seiner Formalisierung bei der Analyse', *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 18 (1976), 341.

¹⁵ 'Bei mir können Sie nur das hören, was ich selbst von den großen Meistern gelernt habe.' Nathan Notowicz, *Wir reden hier nicht von Napoleon. Wir reden von Ihnen!* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1971), 49.

¹⁶ This proposal would result in the book *Composing for the Films* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947); Hanns Eisler, 'Why is Modern Music so Difficult to Understand?' Oxford University Press, London and New York [1940], *Hanns Eisler. Musik und Politik – Schriften 1924–1948*, ed. Günter Mayer (München: Rogner & Bernhard, 1973), 469–70, at 469.

portion of the book to a criticism of the 'lack of truly progressive musical pedagogics' that did not take the contemporary – that is, a Marxism-informed – point of view into consideration.¹⁷ To Eisler, musical progress only could occur following the acceptance of a convention into society:

It is clear that when a phenomenon has become accepted as a convention in music, the ear in course of the development as well as the imagination of the artist draw consequences. This is one of the most important engines alongside the social in the evolution of musical technique.¹⁸

Thus, music stagnated without a socially progressive musical pedagogy. Without music education for all, the audience could not gain sufficient familiarity with modern techniques so as to render them conventional, and therefore be accepted. This is consistent with his earlier 1936 statements about the need for composers to consider the musical knowledge that an audience already possesses: the music's political or social message could only be understood if the musical content was aurally intelligible to the audience.¹⁹

Without music education for all, Eisler proposed that composers must instead be concerned with altering the function of music in society, writing in 1931:

For history teaches us that each new style of music does not emerge from an aesthetically new standpoint, that is, does not present a material revolution, but

¹⁷ Ibid. 470. It should be noted that 'progressive pedagogies' differs from 'progressive music', in that a progressive pedagogy reflects a concern with music education while 'progressive music' is most frequently used by Eisler to describe musical content.

¹⁸ 'Es ist klar, daß, wenn sich in der Musik ein Phänomen als Konvention durchgesetzt hat, das Ohr im Laufe der Entwicklung sowie die Phantasie des Künstlers daraus Konsequenzen zieht. Das ist einer der wichtigsten Motoren neben dem Sozialen in der Evolution der musikalischen Technik.' Hanns Eisler, 'Einführung in die moderne Harmonie [1939]', *Eisler. Schriften 1924–1948*, 442–53, at 445.

¹⁹ This approach reflects Eisler's contention that in a new musical culture, audiences would have a more developed understanding of music. The masses could come to understand new music through the implementation of a pedagogical approach that unites theory with practice. In 1936, Eisler argued that 'Das Erlernen von musikalischer Logik wird selbstverständlich zugleich mit dem Erlernen eines Instruments verknüpft sein müssen. Es ist der große Fehler bürgerlicher Musikerziehung auch in der Pädagogik, Theorie von Praxis zu trennen. Wir müssen das Anwachsen des Musikanalphabets u. a. auch dieser Tatsache zuschreiben. Eine neue Musikpädagogik darf also Theorie und Praxis nicht trennen, sondern muß eine aus der anderen entwickeln.' (Of course, learning musical logic will have to be linked to learning an instrument at the same time. It is the great mistake of bourgeois music education also in pedagogy, to separate theory from practice. Among other things, we must ascribe the growth of musical illiteracy to this fact. A new music pedagogy must not separate theory and practice, but they must develop one from the other.) Eisler, 'Vorbemerkung des Autors: Einleitung zum Trio Präludium und Fuge über B-a-c-h [1936]', *Eisler. Schriften 1924–1948*, 377–79, at 377.

that the change of the material is inevitably conditioned by a historically necessary change in the function of music in society at all.²⁰

At the time this essay was written, Eisler believed that the way in which music's function could best be altered was through an engagement with the *Arbeitermusikbewegung* (worker's music movement).²¹ Consequently, composers must be willing to supply art that becomes 'die große Lehrmeisterin der Gesellschaft' (the great educator of society) by engaging with the political and social lives of the proletariat through music.²² Eisler demonstrated these ideas in practice in his *Lehrstück, Die Maßnahme* (1930–1931), which repositioned music so that it would not be something to be consumed. In this musical-theatrical compositional collaboration with Bertolt Brecht, music is a tool for teaching audiences about political topics through participation, raising their awareness of oppression. Eisler's continued advocacy for music as a social-educational tool would be readily apparent in *Das Vorbild*.

Eisler's desires to educate audiences about music and their social conditions remained a core part of his musical philosophy throughout his life. Yet until he came to live in the GDR in 1949, the majority of his efforts to use music as an educational tool were constructed in opposition to the bourgeois concert business that he found so detestable. Eisler consistently argued that 'only after the proletariat seizes power a new musical culture can gradually emerge'.²³ Without such a revolution, music would have to operate within the constraints of capitalism. Thus, after his move to the GDR, Eisler would find himself involved in what he described in 1951 as the GDR's 'Phase des Lernens' (phase of learning), wherein he had the opportunity to contribute to the implementation of a new musical culture – not just its theorization.²⁴

Eisler in the German Democratic Republic

The new musical culture of the GDR was guided by the idea of socialist realism, which had been instituted by the *Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland* (SMAD; Soviet Military Administration in Germany) while installing the *Socialistische Einheitspartei*

²⁰ 'denn die Geschichte lehrt uns, daß jeder neue Musikstil nicht entsteht aus einem ästhetischen neuen Standpunkt, also keine Materialrevolution darstellt, sondern die Änderung des Materials zwangsläufig bedingt wird durch eine historisch notwendige Änderung der Funktion der Musik in der Gesellschaft überhaupt.' Eisler, 'Die Erbauer einer neuen Musikkultur [1931]', *Eisler. Gesammelte Schriften 1921–1935*, 132–52, at 148.

²¹ Eisler had been significantly involved in the *Arbeitermusikbewegung* throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

²² Eisler, 'Die Erbauer einer neuen Musikkultur', 151.

²³ 'erst nach Ergreifung der Mach durch das Proletariat kann eine neue Musikkultur allmählich entstehen.' Eisler, 'Musik und Musikverständnis [1927]', 59.

²⁴ Eisler, 'Musik in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik [1951]', *Eisler. Schriften 1948–1962*, 147–53, at 147.

Deutschlands (SED; Socialist Unity Party of Germany) as the party of political control in the GDR.²⁵ By 1952, musicians and cultural officials in the GDR were involved in discussions about socialist realism that addressed the very issue that Eisler had begun to explore in the mid-1920s: music's relationship to the masses. Specifically, the *Staatliche Kunskommission* (Stakuko; the state commission for art), which operated under the cultural arm of the SED, and the VDK, the composers' union, sought to address how music could reflect the social realities of the East German people and contribute to the construction of a new, socialist culture.²⁶ Following the SED's November 1951 declaration that it would seek firmer control over all artistic matters (less than four months after the formation of the VDK), the two associations embarked on a collaborative effort, albeit one fraught with conflict, to define socialist realism more clearly.²⁷

By 1952, the Stakuko²⁸ and VDK²⁹ had each released separate guidelines about socialist realism in music. The Stakuko's guidelines focused primarily on the avoidance of

²⁵ For more information about the content of these guidelines, as well as their application and adoption into art music of the GDR, see Mikuláš Bek, Geoffrey Chew, and Petr Macek, *Socialist Realism and Music* (Prague: Institute of Musicology, Masaryk University, 2004); Tatjana Böhme-Mehner, 'Provincialism, Modernity, and the Classical Heritage: The Administrative Structure of the GDR and the Situation of Music Production', in *Classical Music in the German Democratic Republic: Production and Reception*, ed. Kyle Frackman and Larson Powell (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2015), 20–33; Heinz Alfred Brockhaus and Konrad Niemann, *Musikgeschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1945–1976* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1979); Golan Gur, 'Classicism as Anti-Fascist Heritage: Realism and Myth in Ernst Hermann Meyer's Mansfelder Oratorium (1950)', in *Classical Music in the German Democratic Republic*, 34–57; Manfred Jäger, *Kultur und Politik in der DDR: Ein historischer Abriss* (Köln: Edition Deutschland Archiv, 1982); Inge Geissler Jens, *Zwischen Diskussion und Disziplin: Dokumente zur Geschichte der Akademie der Künste (Ost) 1945/1950 bis 1993* (Berlin: Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste: Henschel, 1997); Toby Thacker, "Anleitung und Kontrolle": Stakuko and the Censorship of Music in the GDR, 1951–1953', *Critical Studies*, 22/1 (Oct. 2001): 87–110; David G. Tompkins, *Composing the Party Line: Music and Politics in Early Cold War Poland and East Germany* (Purdue, IN: Purdue University Press, 2013); Zur Weißen, *Komponieren in der DDR*.

²⁶ It is notable that unlike the morally ambiguous, or reprehensible, pasts of many GDR political elite, the composers and musicologists who held positions of power in the VDK had either been imprisoned or fled the country during the Third Reich, with the exception of Karl Laux, whose career continued on from the Third Reich through the GDR. A list of members of the Berlin chapter of the VDK in 1950 and 1951 can be found in the *Akademie der Künste Archiv* (henceforth AdK) in Berlin. 'Information Landesverband Berlin', Call No. VKM 150, AdK.

²⁷ The Stakuko's music department was headed by former avant-garde poet Rudolf Hartig and comprised primarily members who had no advanced musical training.

²⁸ The Stakuko had charged a group of VDK members from Saxony with the creation of a brochure entitled 'Arbeits- und Studienmaterial zur Frage des Formalismus und Realismus' (Working and Study Material on the Question of Formalism and Realism). Zur Weißen, *Komponieren in der DDR*, 86.

²⁹ The VDK members of Berlin responded with a critical article in *Musik und Gesellschaft*, writing that 'Die breite Entfaltung einer Diskussion über Fragen des Realismus ist nach dem Erscheinen der Broschüre doppelt wichtig, weil seit dem Beschluss der II. Parteikonferenz der SED die Verwirklichung

formalism through articulating specific content-related and compositional techniques, such as serialism or individualistically focused content that were considered formalist. Conversely, the VDK encouraged composers to strive for socialist-realist music through guidelines that promoted socially minded compositions written in an aurally accessible manner.³⁰

VDK Article on Socialist Realism

1. Reflection of social reality;
2. Connectedness with the people,
 - a. intelligible to everyone,
 - b. on a national basis;
3. Recognition of the role of the national cultural heritage;
4. Recovery and development of the national cultural heritage;
5. The fusing of high ideal content with artistic mastery of form
(Zhdanov).³¹

Stakuko Brochure against Formalism

1. Subjectivism in the form of extreme individualism;
2. Cosmopolitanism;
3. Affected artifice and constructivism;
4. Naturalism;
5. Primitivism;
6. Decadence.³²

des sozialistischen Realismus in der deutschen Musik zu einer dringenden Forderung geworden ist' (The broad development of a discussion on questions of realism is doubly important after the publication of the brochure, because the realization of socialist realism in German music is an urgent demand following the decision of the Second Party Conference of the SED.) Nathan Notowicz and Eberhard Rebling, 'Zur Frage des Realismus und Formalismus: Kritische Bemerkungen zu einer Broschüre' (On the Question of Formalism and Realism: Critical Remarks on an Brochure), *Musik und Gesellschaft*, 9 (1952), 7.

³⁰ The VDK's encouragement of composers to learn how to compose in a socialist realist manner reflects Eisler's impulse to education. They believed that 'ein Komponist, der sein Handwerk nicht beherrscht, ist darum noch kein Formalist, sondern einfach ein Stümper. Seine Musik ist auch nicht primitivisch im Sinne des Formalismus, sondern sie ist primitiv, ungekonnt.' (a composer who has not mastered his craft is therefore not yet a formalist, but simply a bungler. His music is also not primitive in the sense of formalism, but rather primitive, unskilled), Nathan Notowicz and Eberhard Rebling, 'Zur Frage des Realismus und Formalismus', 7.

³¹ '1. Widerspiegelung der gesellschaftlichen Wahrheit; 2. Volksverbundenheit, a. Allgemeinverständlichkeit, b. Volksverbundenheit auf nationaler Grundlage; 3. Anerkennung der Rolle des nationalen Kulturerbes; 4. Verwertung und Weiterentwicklung des nationalen Kulturerbes; 5. Verbindung von hohem Ideengehalt mit künstlerischer Meisterschaft der Form (Shdanow).' Nathan Notowicz and Eberhard Rebling, 'Zur Frage des Realismus und Formalismus', 12.

³² '1. Subjektivismus in der Form des extremen Individualismus; 2. Kosmopolitismus; 3. Artismus und Konstruktivismus; 4. Naturalismus; 5. Primitivismus; 6. Dekadenz.' Zur Weihen, *Komponieren in der DDR*, 86.

The conflicting guidelines surrounding socialist realism allowed composers like Eisler to create works that were simultaneously acceptable and unacceptable, depending on interpretation and framing and which organization was offering the evaluation.

Despite these apparent differences in approaches, when the qualities the Stakuko argued should avoid are juxtaposed with the VDK's instructions, a clearer picture of their main tenets emerges. The following list highlights the congruencies in the VDK and Stakuko's principles:

- Avoidance of subjectivism in the form of extreme individualism in favour of the reflection of social reality.
- Avoidance of cosmopolitanism through the display of national character.
- Awareness of national cultural heritage and its effect on the future of music.
- Avoidance of constructivism, primitivism, and naturalism.

Thus, while the Stakuko's suggestions for avoiding formalism dictate what should *not* be done, the VDK's statements provide contextualization that gives us an idea of what *should* be done. During the VDK and Stakuko debates over the rhetorical manifestations of the above qualities, the two organizations collaborated on a music festival that was to serve as a display of musical socialist realism. The concerts of the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik* were meant to provide all East Germans (from audience members, to composers, and politicians) with examples of how socialist realism was to sound and how music should function in a socialist society.³³ The 1952 *Festtage* thus represented what those in the Stakuko and VDK believed to be a successful translation of theory into practice, wherein the compositions performed could be understood as models for the future of socialist realism. Eisler's contribution to the festival programme *Das Vorbild*, would ultimately live up to its name – the example – and serve as a literal example of socialist realism during the 1952 *Festtage*.³⁴

³³ Mention of the 1952 Festtage first appears in the Stakuko's yearly plan for 1952, which was created in November 1951, alongside the statement that 'Musikfeste dienen der Förderung fortschrittlicher Musiker und der Werke der Meister realistischer Musik' (Music festivals serve to promote progressive musicians and works by masters of realist music). 'Arbeitsplan der Staatlichen Kommission für Kunstangelegenheiten für das Jahr 1952', 9 November 1951, in 'Struktur- und Stellenplane, Personal, Verwaltung', Slide Nos. 980–1007, Call No. DR 1/20, BArch.

³⁴ Each of the works that the VDK ultimately proposed as an example of socialist realism was also vetted by the Stakuko before being added to the programme. Stakuko member Hans-Georg Uszkoreit and the VDK's Nathan Notowicz (composer, musicologist and First Secretary in the VDK) coordinated these inter-organizational efforts. Many of the Stakuko documents pertaining to the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik* are available in the Licherfelde Bundesarchiv (henceforth BArch). 'Arbeits-, Kollektiv- und Dienstbesprechungen, Tagungen der Stakuko und im Bereich der Abt./HA Musik', Slide No. 1246, Vol. 2, Call No. Dr 1/6198, BArch.

The VDK began to solicit suggestions for works to be performed in a bulletin distributed on 26 January 1952, but nearly six months passed before Eisler became involved.³⁵ Archival documents related to the VDK and Stakuko planning meetings about the festival reveal that on 14 July 1952, Fritz Möller, the VDK's executive secretary, wrote to Eisler requesting that he submit three compositions for the 1952 *Festtage* and specifically requested *Das Vorbild*.³⁶ Eisler rejected Möller's request, writing: 'I ask you to take note that this time no works of mine will be performed.'³⁷ Eisler cited his involvement in a student concert, which was to take place during the festival, as an obstacle for his own participation and suggested that a work by a student be submitted instead. Despite Eisler's plea to Möller, a 6 August letter from Möller reminded Eisler that the joint selection committee had already informed him that several of his works had been selected, including *Das Vorbild* (entitled 'Tryptichon' at the time). The process through which Eisler came to submit *Das Vorbild* illuminates the accusations of favouritism that would follow the festival. The exchange of letters between Eisler and Möller, however, underscores the extent to which the VDK is culpable of the very favouritism they decried by brushing aside Eisler's suggestion that a student composition be performed.

Because of Möller's external pressure, Eisler had no choice but to submit the work and fulfil an additional request:

It would also be interesting to know how you relate to the development of German music making, in general, and how you relate to the development of a musical creation in the method of socialist realism.³⁸

Eisler was thus put in the position to justify how his submission was an example of socialist realism for the VDK, Stakuko, and festival audiences. The programme notes, however, would make no mention of socialism, instead, they would describe *Das Vorbild's* humanistic content and representation of Goethe; it is unclear whether this was a conscious choice on the part of Eisler or merely an editorial decision made during the programme publication process.³⁹ This attention to the historical positioning rather than

³⁵ 'Einladung zu verbandinternen Veranstaltungen', Call No. VKM 159, AdK.

³⁶ Möller had heard an earlier version of *Das Vorbild* – entitled at the time *Über den Frieden* – on an April 1952 radio programme broadcast from Leipzig. The version that Möller requested contained a different second movement. The genesis of *Das Vorbild* is explained in full later in this article. Möller, Letter to Eisler 14 July 1952, Call No. HEA 8076, AdK.

³⁷ 'Ich bitte Euch also zur Kenntnis zu nehmen, dass dies Mal von mir nichts aufgeführt wird.' Eisler, Letter to Möller 18 July 1952, Call No. HEA 8076, AdK.

³⁸ 'Interessant dürfte auch sein, wie Sie zu der Entwicklung des deutschen Musikschaftens im allgemeine stehen und wie Sie sich verhalten zur Entwicklung eines Musikschaftens mit der Methode des sozialistischen Realismus.' Möller, Letter to Eisler, 6 August 1952, Call No. HEA 8076, AdK.

³⁹ The programme notes state, for example, 'Die Rhythmen der Sprache lässt Eisler in einer schönen Des-Dur-Melodie frei anschwingen, um den gedankenreichen Inhalt ungehindert zum Ausdruck kommen'

contextualizing it within a socialist society likely contributed to criticisms of formalism by members of the VDK following the festival. That is, without knowledge of Eisler's educational impulse, how it is rooted in Marxist thought, and consequently how the work contributes to the construction of socialism, *Das Vorbild* was rife for misinterpretation.

This correspondence between Eisler and Möller has not received attention in previous discussions of *Das Vorbild*. The nuance they add demands a comprehensive re-evaluation of the work. Furthermore, because the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik* and its contribution to the definition of socialist realism has fallen outside the scope of scholarship on *Das Vorbild*, documents show the Stakuko's and VDK's insistence on including the work in the festival and their joint efforts to frame *Das Vorbild* – and the entirety of Eisler's compositional output in the GDR – under the label of socialist realism have largely been overlooked. As Daniel Zur Weißen has demonstrated, the majority of Stakuko and VDK criticism about *Das Vorbild* in fact centred on Eisler receiving preferential treatment as a result of his close relationship with music critics.⁴⁰ Considered as exerting an unfair amount of influence over audiences as a result of this favouritism, Eisler's standing, in turn, influenced the reception of *Das Vorbild*. Criticism of Eisler via *Das Vorbild* has subsequently dominated discourse surrounding the composition, whereby scholars such as Arnold Pistiak and Heidi Hart argue that its lasting legacy is negative; however, meeting minutes from the planning of the festival and newspaper reviews of the festival reveal a more nuanced history of the work and its reception.⁴¹ Reanalysing the work with these new documents in mind reveals how Eisler sought to use music to educate audience members, musicians, and composers alike about social issues through music – an educational impulse that extends back to the 1920s.

Das Vorbild in the GDR

Eisler composed the final version of *Das Vorbild* with the principles of the 'Aufbau des Sozialismus' (building of socialism) in mind. Originally titled *Über den Frieden* (On Peace), the first iteration of the triptych was premiered on 23 March 1952 on the radio.

zu lassen. Die sehr sparsame, aber außerordentlich ausgewogene Orchesterbegleitung mündet bei dem Schlussatz 'Wir heißen euch hoffen' mit einer leisen Flöten-Melodie in ein zart ausklingendes Nachspiel. Die meisterhafte musikalische Gestaltung ist für den Komponisten in diesem dreiteiligen Werk das Mittel, dem Humanismus Goethes ein klingendes Denkmal zu setzen' (The rhythm of the language allows Eisler to oscillate freely in a beautiful D-flat melody that lets the thoughtful content be expressed unhindered. The very sparing, but exceptionally well-balanced orchestral accompaniment leads to the final phrase of 'We bid you hope', with a soft flute melody in a delicately dying away conclusion. The masterly musical setting is for the composer of this work in three movements the means to erect a sounding monument to Goethe's humanism). Programme notes for the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik*, Call No. HEA 3339, AdK.

⁴⁰ Zur Weißen, *Komponieren in der DDR*, 124–99.

⁴¹ Hart, *Hanns Eisler's Art Songs*, 129–38; Pistiak, *Darf ich auch Verse von Goethe verwenden?*, 34–53.

Although all four versions of *Das Vorbild* were triptychs comprised of three stylistically distinct movements, this March 1952 version contained a different second movement. Eisler was later inspired to replace the second movement, 'Friedenslied' with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's poem 'Das Göttliche'. In a 13 August 1952 letter to playwright Bertolt Brecht, Eisler articulated the inspiration:

I revise my Tryptichon; I just have to take out the 'Friedenslied' and put it somewhere else because it does not fit in musically. I am replacing it with another Goethe-fragment ('Edel sei der Mensch, hilfreich und gut'). That really resounds with the building of socialism and gives the whole work its name: *Vorbild*.⁴²

The text of the new second movement contains a hint to the overall socialist spirit of *Das Vorbild* in its last strophe:

Der edle Mensch,	The noble man
Sei hilfreich und gut!	Be charitable and good!
Unermüdet schaff er	Be tireless in making
Das Nützliche, Rechte,	The useful, the right.
Sei uns ein Vorbild	Be to us model
Jener geahnten Wesen ⁴³	Of those foreshadowed beings!

Just as the 'noble man' of 'Das Göttliche' was to serve as an example for all humans, the new appellation for the work demonstrates that *Das Vorbild* was to serve as an example for socialist realism within the context of the 1952 *Festtage*. Eisler's use of the quintessentially East German phrase 'Aufbau des Sozialismus' in his letter to Brecht is notable and intriguing in itself, but the timing of Eisler's choice to replace the second movement with the text by Goethe proves more significant. As the festival documents reveal, Eisler's decision to replace the second movement occurred shortly after the 6 August letter from Möller in which he was reminded that the work had already been chosen by the selection committee.⁴⁴ This timing indicates that *Das Vorbild* can instead be read as a work intended as a statement for the festival and thus exemplifies Eisler's desire to take part in the construction of a new socialist musical culture.

Analysing the music and text of *Das Vorbild* through the lens of Eisler's educational impulses, while simultaneously taking into consideration the tenets of socialist realism

⁴² Ich arbeite mein Tryptichon um; das Friedenslied muß ich doch herausnehmen und wo anders hingeben denn es passt musikalisch nicht hinein. Ich ersetze es durch ein anderes Goethefragment ("Edel sei der Mensch, hilfreich und gut"). Das klingt wieder beim Aufbau des Sozialismus und nenne das Ganze: *Vorbild*. Hanns Eisler, 'Correspondence with Brecht', 13 August, 1952, Call No. HEA 5748, AdK.

⁴³ Eisler, 'Das Vorbild: Triptychon für Altosolo und Orchester nach Texten von Goethe.'

⁴⁴ Möller, letter to Eisler 6 August 1952, Call No. HEA 8076, AdK.

promoted in the 1952 *Festtage* reveals the ways in which Eisler negotiated his personal compositional ideology within the political environment of the GDR. *Das Vorbild* makes apparent Eisler's desire for music to serve multiple educational purposes:

1. Educating his audience about music and therefore facilitating a comprehension of musical form and content.
2. Providing a historical context that is grounded in German musical culture.
3. Providing compositional models that his composition students could use to guide their own compositions.

To do this, *Das Vorbild* introduces the audience to four distinct styles of music – a fugue, a recitative, a folk song, and a pastoral symphony – in a straightforward manner through which there are limited possibilities for confusion or alternative interpretations. As this analysis will show, the musical variety in *Das Vorbild* is achieved through stylistic allusions to 'den größten Meistern der Vergangenheit', such as Bach and Handel.⁴⁵ Ultimately, understanding how Eisler's educational impulse promotes the use of imitation, and how stylistic allusions to prominent composers facilitate musical, cultural, and social lessons reveals congruencies with the musical and social goals of the GDR.

The first educational lesson in *Das Vorbild* came in the form of an allusion to a Bach-like fugue. Eisler had originally composed this movement as a stand-alone work for the 1947 Jean Renoir film, *The Woman on the Beach*.⁴⁶ He recycled the work for the first movement of the triptych, which he would title 'Fuge'.⁴⁷ Ex. 1 presents a piano reduction of bars 1–10 in Eisler's 'Fuge', where the viola introduces the fugue's subject (bb. 1–8). As both Hart and Pistiak have noted, this resembles Bach's *Fugue in G Minor* (BWV 861; ex. 2).⁴⁸

Ex. 1. Bach quoted in 'Fuge', Eisler, *Das Vorbild*, bb. 1–9.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ For a recording of *Das Vorbild*, see: Hanns Eisler, *Das Vorbild*, Annelies Burmeister with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Adolf Fritz Guhl, Berlin Classics 0092342BC, 1996, CD.

⁴⁶ Jean Renoir, *The Woman on the Beach* (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 1947).

⁴⁷ Pistiak, *Darf ich auch Verse von Goethe verwenden?*, 35.

⁴⁸ Hart, *Hanns Eisler's Art Songs*, 129–38; Arnold Pistiak, *Darf ich auch Verse von Goethe verwenden?*, 36.

⁴⁹ All *Das Vorbild* transcriptions courtesy of Anna Rose Nelson. Original score from Hanns Eisler, 'Das Vorbild: Triptychon für Altosolo und Orchester nach Texten von Goethe' (VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1970).



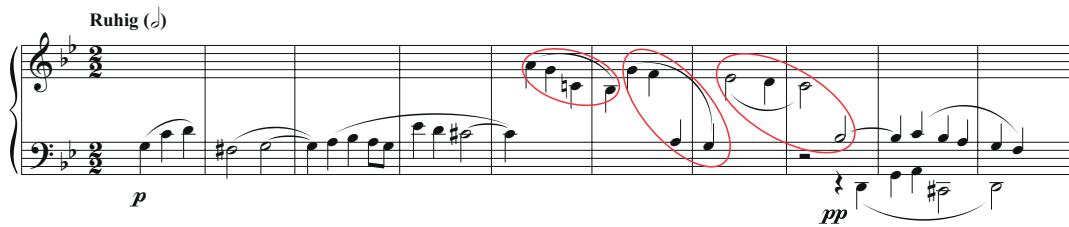
Ex. 2. Subject of the fugue in Bach, Fugue in G Minor, BWV 861, bb. 1–2.⁵⁰

Both composers, for example, begin with similar melodic gestures that move toward the tonic. Eisler solidified the similarities with clear rhythmic parallels to Bach's fugue, wherein points of tonicization are emphasized through longer rhythmic values. Although Eisler's fugue does not adhere to the same principles of tonal harmony that are exemplified in Bach's, the overall melodic contour of both subjects bears a striking resemblance to one another that is amplified through the rhythmic similarities and pacing of the phrase.

Eisler's adaption of the Bach fugue provides a more aurally accessible interpretation of the original subject. Rather than immediately providing the answer to the subject, Eisler extends the subject through a repetitive melodic sequence (Ex. 3). This transitional sequence functions to ease the listener into the second statement of the subject, which enters in measure seven. The repetitive nature of these sequences creates a moment of pause for the listener before new melodic material is introduced. This effort to aurally guide the audience through the fugue recalls Eisler's educational impulse as it is reflected in his aforementioned 1927 essay, 'Musik und Musikverständnis', wherein he describes the music of a composer like Bach as being inaccessible to the audience without musical education. The aural pause that Eisler composes into 'Fuge', thus can be understood as functioning to make 'the art of inner-musical development' of the fugue apparent by marking the subject distinct from the answer and providing the listeners with an example of the melodic idea that they will hear repeatedly throughout the fugue.⁵¹ In doing so, 'Fuge' becomes more accessible to the amateur listener who may have entered the concert hall with so little musical knowledge that they could only hope to understand the emotional affect of a composition without guidance. Whereas the other two movements of *Das Vorbild* contain texts that can guide listeners' interpretation of the musical content, the repetition and sequencing in 'Fuge' assists the listener without text. This technique not only serves Eisler's educational goals, but also reflects the aspects of socialist realism espoused by the VDK and Stakuko that advocate for music that is relevant to the situation of the presumed 'musically illiterate' listener.

⁵⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Fuge in G Minor*, BWV 861, vol. 14, Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1866).

⁵¹ 'die Art der inner-musikalischen Entwicklung'; Eisler, 'Muß der Musikfreund etwas von Musiktheorie Wissen [1925]', in *Eisler. Gesammelte Schriften 1921–1935*, 30–33, at 31.



Ex. 3. Transitional sequence in 'Fuge', Eisler, *Das Vorbild*, bb. 1–9.

The second and third movements of *Das Vorbild* feature texts by Goethe that make explicit the social lessons to be learned from the work. In juxtaposing the textless fugue alongside two other texted movements, *Das Vorbild* strives to achieve the goals that Eisler outlined in his 1951 essay 'Musik in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik'. Namely, *Das Vorbild* uses products of 'the great classical artistic period'⁵² in a manner that provides social relevance to the East German audience, whose knowledge of Goethe and Bach was bolstered by these figures' connections to the cities of Weimar and Leipzig, located within the boundaries of the GDR. By situating the spectre of Bach alongside Goethe, Eisler capitalizes on the audience's awareness of these figures in order to establish a relationship between the past and present.

The second movement, 'Arie', continues *Das Vorbild*'s lesson in German cultural history through the use of Goethe's poem 'Das Göttliche' (The Divine) (1783), which Eisler altered to convey a message applicable to the social and political conditions of the 1952 *Festtage*'s audience. As previously mentioned in the discussion of Eisler's letter to Brecht, Eisler chose to call the poem 'Edel sei der Mensch' (Let Man be Noble) rather than its title 'Das Göttliche'. This was the first in a series of secularizing alterations through which Eisler readied the text for a socialist society.

Eisler eliminated several strophes from Goethe's original, all of which contain explicit references to spiritual powers (see Figure 1). These alterations facilitate compliance of the work with the stance of the GDR, wherein goodness comes from the individual rather than potentially oppressive religion. Absent such spiritual allusions, 'Arie' becomes directly applicable to the lives of East German citizens, providing them with a description of conduct that aligns with goals of the socialist state. The first two strophes (of Eisler's reduction) serve to separate the individual from nature, while the third demonstrates the qualities that man possesses. In doing so, the text places the power to change within the hands of humans – something that is integral to the concept of the 'Aufbau des Sozialismus'. The fourth strophe attains relevance to a socialist society by making explicit the individual's ability to unite with others under a common cause. As previously referenced in Eisler's letter to Brecht, the last strophe identifies the qualities of the 'edle Mensch' as attributes for which all should strive – generosity, devotion, equality, and goodness – and which are qualities necessary for the establishment of a functioning socialist society.

⁵² 'der großen klassischen Kunstperiode'; Eisler, 'Musik in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik', 147.

Eisler's Adaptation	English Translation	Goethe's Text
Edel sei der Mensch Hilfreich und gut! Denn das allein Unterscheidet ihn Von allen Wesen, Die wir kennen.	Noble be man, Charitable and good. Since that alone Distinguishes him From other existences Which we know well.	Edel sei der Mensch Hilfreich und gut! Denn das allein Unterscheidet ihn Von allen Wesen, Die wir kennen.
	Hail to those unknown Exalted beings Whom we forbode. Let man resemble them; His example teach us To hold their faith.	Heil den unbekannten Höhern Wesen Die wir ahnen! Ihnen gleiche der Mensch! Sein Beispiel lehr' uns Jene glauben.
Denn unfühlend Denn unfühlend Ist die Natur: Es leuchtet die Sonne Über Bös und Gute Und dem Verbrecher Glänzen wie dem Besten der Mond und die Sterne.	For nature remains Forever unfeeling: The sun shines down on Evil and good men And moon and stars Glitter on criminals As on those who are best.	Denn unfühlend Ist die Natur: Es leuchtet die Sonne Über Bös und Gute Und dem Verbrecher Glänzen wie dem Besten der Mond und die Sterne.
Wind und Ströme, Donner und Hagel Rauschen ihren Weg Und ergreifen Vorüber eilend Einen um den andern.	Wind and rivers, Thunder and hailstones Rush on their courses And, hurrying onwards, They seize on and tear down One as the other.	Wind und Ströme, Donner und Hagel Rauschen ihren Weg Und ergreifen Vorüber eilend Einen um den andern.
Auch so das Glück Tappt unter die Menge, Faßt bald des Knaben Lockige Unschuld, Bald auch den kahlen Schuldigen Scheitel.	Thus also does fortune Fumble among men, Now taking the innocent Curly-haired lad, but Soon also the bald Guilt-laden skull.	Auch so das Glück Tappt unter die Menge, Faßt bald des Knaben Lockige Unschuld, Bald auch den kahlen Schuldigen Scheitel.
	Each one of us must, Accepting eternal Great, iron laws, Accomplish the circle Of his existence.	Nach ewigen, ehrnen, Großen Gesetzen Müssen wir alle Unseres Daseins Kreise vollenden.

Nur allein der Mensch Vermag das Unmögliche: Er unterscheidet, Wählet und richtet; Er kann dem Augenblick Dauer verleihen.	But man and man only Can do the impossible: He distinguishes Chooses and judges. He can lend lastingness To the single moment.	Nur allein der Mensch Vermag das Unmögliche: Er unterscheidet, Wählet und richtet; Er kann dem Augenblick Dauer verleihen.
Er allein darf Den Guten lohnen, Den Bösen strafen, Heilen und retten, Alles Irrende, Schweißende Nützlich verbinden.	He alone may Reward the good, Punish the evil Heal and be saviour Bind to his uses The erring, the drifting.	Er allein darf Den Guten lohnen, Den Bösen strafen, Heilen und retten, Alles Irrende, Schweißende Nützlich verbinden.
Der edle Mensch Sei hilfreich und gut! Unermüdet schaff er Das Nützliche, Rechte, Sei uns ein Vorbild Jener geahneten Wesen.	The noble man Be charitable and good! Be tireless in making The useful, the right. Be to us model Of those foreshadowed beings!	Und wir verehren Die Unsterblichen, Als wären sie Menschen, Taten im großen, Was der Beste im kleinen Tut oder möchte.

Fig.1. Mvt. 2 'Arie': Eisler's edited version of 'Das Göttliche', renamed as 'Edel sei der Mensch' alongside Goethe's original.⁵³

Eisler's method of setting the text reinforces the message he has crafted through his alterations of 'Das Göttliche'. The texture of 'Arie' resembles that of an accompanied recitative.⁵⁴ As can be seen in bars 40–44 (Ex. 4), whenever the vocal part sounds, the instrumental accompaniment has a slow harmonic rhythm that stands in stark contrast to more active vocal line. Upon the conclusion of a vocal phrase, the accompaniment provides a more rhythmically active punctuation. These choices ultimately create a stylistic reference to a recitative, providing the audience with the opportunity to engage with a second compositional style in an accessible manner.

⁵³ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Thomas Mann, trans. Stephen Spender, 'Noble Be Man', *The Permanent Goethe*, The Permanent Library Series (New York: Dial Press, 1948), 19–20.

⁵⁴ The editor of the published version of *Das Vorbild*, Manfred Grabs, declared the 'Arie' to be similar to a recitative as well. Eisler, 'Das Vorbild: Triptychon für Altosolo und Orchester nach Texten von Goethe', back cover.

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Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

Horn in F 1

Horn in F 2

Alto

stra - fen, hei - len und ret - ten, al - les Ir - ren - de, Schwei - fen - de nütz - lich ver - bin - den.

Violin

Viola

Cello

Double Bass

p dolce

ppp sul tasto

ppp sul tasto

ppp sul tasto

Ex. 4. Recitative-like setting of text in 'Arie', Eisler, *Das Vorbild*, bb. 40-44.

The alternation of melodic and rhythmic activity between the vocalist and instrumentalists facilitates a listening environment in which the attention of the listener is directed to the text. The listener, who is afforded the opportunity to concentrate on the text, is provided with clarity through the rhythmic stylization of the text. Eisler's text setting is such that it mimics normal speech patterns, solidifying the relationship between the text and the melodic line, ensuring that the two cannot be separated.⁵⁵ The first five bars of 'Arie' furnish an example of this unity. In this sketch (Ex. 5), Eisler's attempt to emphasize the word 'Gute' can be seen through the revised bar lines and altered metres proposed for bars 14 to 16, where he wrote over the existing bar lines with longer vertical lines to indicate potential new metric phrasing. Although these changes did not endure further revisions, they demonstrate the attention that Eisler paid to the metrical setting of the text and give insight into the decisions that informed the published version.

Ex. 5. Transcribed sketch of 'Arie', Eisler, *Das Vorbild*, bb. 12–17.⁵⁶

Ex. 6. Soprano line in 'Aria', Eisler, *Das Vorbild*, bb. 1–5.

Eisler's attention to the rhythmic setting of the text can be observed through his emphasis on the words 'Mensch', 'hilfreich', and 'gut' by giving them longer rhythmic values (Ex. 6). The intentionality of the emphasis created is evident in the sketches of the movement. Eisler's text setting in this movement thus demonstrates the care he took to clearly communicate the ideals he found to be so important in 'Das Göttliche': namely that it

⁵⁵ Eisler believed that 'Die Dichtung verändert sich, wenn sie gesungen wird, und die Musik verändert sich, wenn sie Worte singt. Text und Musik schlagen aus ihrer eigenen Qualität in eine neue Einheit um und sind nicht bloß eine Summation von zwei Kunstgattungen.' (The text changes when it is sung and the music changes when it sings words. Text and music turn their individual qualities into a new unity and not merely into a summation of the two art forms.) Eisler '[Einiges über das Verhältnis von Text und Musik II] [1950]', *Eisler. Schriften 1948–1962*, 98–105, at 99.

⁵⁶ Transcription by the author. Sketches, *Das Vorbild*, HEA 460.

is within the power of man to engage in conduct that could aid in the construction of a socialist society. By making these values aurally evident to the audience, Eisler was therefore able to turn the concert into an educational setting wherein his audience could learn about the qualities of personal conduct that were valued in the GDR.

In the third movement, 'Symbolum', Eisler draws on another of Goethe's poems, likewise entitled 'Symbolum' (1813).⁵⁷ In the original, Goethe writes of a freemason's work towards changing and improving the world around him. Again, Eisler adapted the text by eliminating strophes, but this time, his alteration of certain pronouns also comes to have a significant effect on the text's meaning (Figure 2). In removing first-person 'ich' and replacing it with 'wir' (we) throughout this movement, Eisler eliminated any traces of individualism. As in 'Arie', his changes also remove allusions to divine power and freemasonry, firmly placing the secular individual, who is not a part of an elite, secret society, as the enactor of social change. These alterations allow for an interpretation of the text that indicates a direct tie to the building of a socialist society and are reflective of Eisler's educational impulses.

Comprehension of the text in 'Symbolum' is aided by the movement's close imitation of a *Volkslied*. Its repetitive and easily discernible form resembles Eisler's compositional choices in his recently completed *Neue deutsche Volkslieder* [New German Folksongs] (1950/1951), which was a contemporary collection of *Volkslieder* of Eisler's own invention. In both *Neue deutsche Volkslieder* and 'Symbolum', the vocal line is joined by a subdued accompaniment that avoids overshadowing the text. The almost Schubertian qualities of *Neue deutsche Volkslieder* are also present in 'Symbolum', where the harmonic affect supports the emotional content of the text. Yet, unlike the *Neue deutsche Volkslieder*, which was given as an example of 'Primitivism' in the Stakuko brochure on socialist realism in music, 'Symbolum' avoided criticism.⁵⁸

The *Volkslied*-like setting of the text within 'Symbolum' provides a third style of composition with which the audience may gain familiarity by expanding the number of opportunities to learn through listening. Like the first and second movements of *Das Vorbild*, Eisler added moments of pause to 'Symbolum' by concluding each phrase of text with a repetition of octave D-flats to allow the listener to comprehend the musical rhetoric (Ex. 7). The seven repetitions of this dramatic octave motive throughout 'Symbolum' gives the listener time to process the melodic and textual content, signalling that the phrase they just heard has concluded. The exact location of these moments can be seen in Fig. 2, where asterisks mark pauses between phrases. The audience would thus,

⁵⁷ Unlike the second movement, 'Symbolum' remained a part of *Das Vorbild/Über den Frieden* throughout nearly every version, with the exception of one 1952 manuscript. In this sketch, Eisler removed 'Symbolum' and replaced it with the 'Arie', while retaining 'Friedenslied' for the second movement. This edit, however, did not appear in any subsequent manuscripts, nor was it performed. The revision history of 'Symbolum' also differs from both 'Arie'/'Edel sei der Mensch' and 'Fuge' in that Eisler does not indicate that he intended it for any other work.

⁵⁸ Zur Weihen, *Komponieren in der DDR*, 86.

Eisler's Adaptation

Des Mannes Wandeln,
Es gleicht dem Leben,
Und sein Bestreben,
Es gleicht dem Handeln
Der Menschen auf Erden
Auf Erden.

Die Zukunft decket
Schmerzen und Glücke
Schrittweis dem Blicke;
Doch ungeschrecket
Dringen wir vorwärts
Wir vorwärts.

Und schwer und *schwerer*
Hängt eine Hülle,
Mit Ehrfurcht, stille
Ruh'n oben die Sterne
Und unten die Gräber.

Betracht' sie genauer
Und siehe, so melden
Im Busen der Helden
Sich wandelnde Schauer
Und ernste
Und ernste Gefühle.

Doch rufen von drüben
Die Stimmen der Geister,
Die Stimmen der Meister:
Vergeßt nicht zu üben,
Die Kräfte des Guten!

Hier *flechten* sich Kronen
In ewiger Stille,
Die sollen mit Fülle
Die Tätigen lohnen!
Wir heißen euch hoffen
Wir heißen euch hoffen
Wir heißen euch hoffen

English Translation

The mason's [man's] ways
Are a symbol of life,
And his toil
Resembles the strife
Of man on earth.

The future hides
Gladness and sorrow;
Stepwise to the sight,
Yet undaunted,
Ever on we press.

Heavy and far-off [heavier],
With reverence.
Hangs the veil.
Silent above rest the stars
Silent below the graves!

Consider and behold;
For, lo! there rise.
In the breasts of heroes,
Ever-changing awe
[And earnest]
And earnest feeling.

From yonder call
Voices of sages —
Voices of masters:
Delay [forget] not to use
The heritage of the good!

Here are a weaving,
In silence eternal,
Crowns that with fullness
Shall the active reward!
We command thee to hope!

Goethe's Original

Des Maurers Wandeln,
Es gleicht dem Leben,
Und sein Bestreben,
Es gleicht dem Handeln
Der Menschen auf Erden.

Die Zukunft decket
Schmerzen und Glücke
Schrittweis dem Blicke;
Doch ungeschrecket
Dringen wir vorwärts

Und schwer und ferne
Hängt eine Hülle,
Mit Ehrfurcht, stille
Ruh'n oben die Sterne
Und unten die Gräber.

Betracht' sie genauer
Und siehe, so melden
Im Busen der Helden
Sich wandelnde Schauer
Und ernste Gefühle.

Doch rufen von drüben
Die Stimmen der Geister,
Die Stimmen der Meister:
Versäumt nicht zu üben,
Die Kräfte des Guten!

Hier winden sich Kronen
In ewiger Stille,
Die sollen mit Fülle
Die Tätigen lohnen!
Wir heißen euch hoffen.

Fig. 2. Mvt. 3 'Symbolum': Eisler's edited version of 'Symbolum' alongside Goethe's original.⁵⁹

59 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Frederic Rowland Marvin, trans. Frederic Rowland Marvin, *Poems and Translations* (Troy, N.Y., 1907), 142-43.

theoretically, be given the opportunity to consider how the text may be translated into lessons of forward progress and unwavering commitment that are applicable to their own lives – an action that would have been wholly supported within the GDR.

Ex. 7. Three D-flats at the end of a section in 'Symbolum', Eisler, *Das Vorbild*, bb. 12–14.

Alongside the text's explicit connection to the building of a socialist society, Eisler provided for his audience additional introductions to the musical past. The movement's (and work's) dualistic presence in the past and present is cemented in the last melodic statement of *Das Vorbild* when an oboe *obligato* reminiscent of the Classical era ushers in the closing statement after the soprano completes the phrase 'wir heißen euch hoffen!' (Ex. 8). This decision thus positions the listener with an aural connection to their cultural heritage and gives well-wishes for the work that must be done in the future to build a socialist society.

Rasche \downarrow . (a tempo)

Ex. 8. Oboe solo and horn sequence in 'Symbolum', Eisler, *Das Vorbild*, bb. 72–85.

The work closes with this striking descending sequence in the horn part played over a sustained tonic, allowing the movement most firmly rooted in tonal harmony to conclude with a perfect authentic cadence. Much like the allusion to Bach's BWV 861 in the 'Fuge' movement, Eisler harkens to an earlier compositional style in this phrase, this time to the eighteenth century through the closing statement that hints at another 'German' composer, Handel. This statement is reminiscent of the end of G.F. Handel's 'Pastoral Symphony' from *Messiah* due to the texture, the sequence of ascending phrases that ultimately leap down, and the slow-moving bass line that guides the composition to a conclusion while the melodies explore the tonal space before reaching a cadence (Ex. 9).

Ex. 9. From Handel's *Messiah*, Mvt. 14, Pifa, bb. 9–11.⁶⁰

Eisler's similar pastoral statement, which is void of the ornamental features of Handel's work, evokes the style of an iconic historic German composer to reflect more broadly on German heritage. The choice to allude to Handel is particularly intriguing, given that Eisler refers to the 'cosmopolitan' nature of Handel's biography, arguing that 'A Marxist has to determine that two of the most important German musicians did not live in Germany, rather they considered themselves international.'⁶¹ This stylistic choice can thus be interpreted as posing a solution to this problem by making Handel's work – as well as the works of other composers who utilize similar stylistic choices – useful for East Germany through the addition of a relevant text and the elimination of trills, syncopation, and other ornate techniques. The audience therefore theoretically learned about conduct in a socialist culture from a text set in a manner that bears resemblance to a folk song, while simultaneously contriving connection to the country's artistic heritage.

Eisler's references to the styles of German composers of the past – fugues, recitatives, folk songs, and pastoral symphonies – demonstrates his continued commitment to the notion that in order for musical progress to be made in the future, the audience must be comfortable with what is currently being performed. Through *Das Vorbild*, Eisler gives his audience a cursory overview of four styles of composition that are essential to German musical history through allusions to multiple composers he admired. Thus, Eisler's educational impulse is observable in the ways in which he sought to provide the audience with an aurally accessible composition with socially and musically educational content.

⁶⁰ Score transcribed by Anna Rose Nelson from: Georg Friedrich Händel, 'Messiah: 1.14: Pifa', in *Georg Friedrich Händels Werke*, vol. 45, ed. Friedrich Chrysander (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1902).

⁶¹ 'Ein Marxist hat festzustellen, daß zwei der größten deutschen Musiker nicht in Deutschland gelebt haben, sondern sich international fühlten.' Eisler, 'Bemerkung zum Entwurf eines Beschlusses des ZK der SED zum 125. Todestag Ludwig van Beethovens [1952]', *Eisler. Schriften 1948–1962*, 194–211, at 196.

After the 1952 Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik

Das Vorbild was immediately heralded as a success in the GDR's state-controlled newspapers, particularly for its educational value and accessible content. Three of the seven reviews of *Das Vorbild* discussed the effective communication of the composition's educational content. Music critic Karl Laux, for example, wrote:

Of Eisler one came to know the triptych, *Das Vorbild*, with words from Goethe. ... In the prelude, consisting of an 'Introduction and Fugue', Eisler demonstrated the mastery of his abilities, which was also put forth in the most beautiful instrumental accompaniment of the 'Aria.' Goethe's words ('Edel sei der Mensch' and 'Symbolum'), with their humanistic qualities, were urgently imparted upon the listener in a manner that was more declamatory than melodic.⁶²

Another review of the concert echoed similar sentiments, with the unknown reviewer praising Eisler's ability to bring the proverbs of Goethe to performance.⁶³ In all, only the meetings between the VDK and Stakuko contained criticism of *Das Vorbild*, yet these discussions have dominated the narrative surrounding the work.⁶⁴ As a result, the reception of *Das Vorbild* and its legacy for the very audience who Eisler sought to educate with the work has been entirely overlooked. *Das Vorbild* would ultimately be performed seven times in the GDR:

Date	Concert Title
23 March 1952	Radio Performance
27 September 1952	<i>Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik</i> (Berlin)
18 April 1953	<i>Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik</i> (Schwerin)
15 October 1959	<i>10. Jahrestag der Republik</i>
16 January 1969	Berliner Sinfonie Orchester
7 July 1978	<i>Hanns-Eisler-Tage der DDR</i> (Lecture/concert)
16 March 1982	<i>Messekonzert – Johann Wolfgang von Goethe 150</i>

Fig. 3. Performances of *Das Vorbild* in the GDR.

⁶² 'Von Hanns Eisler lernte man das Triptychon "Das Vorbild" nach Worten von Goethe kennen. ... In diesem Vorspiel bestehend aus Einleitung und Fuge, zeigt Eisler die Meisterschaft seines Könnens, die auch in der instrumentalen Untermalung der Arie schönste Blüten triebt. Die Worte Goethes ("Edel sei der Mensch" und "Symbolum") mit ihrem humanistischen Inhalt werden in einer mehr deklamatorischen als melodischen Führung dem Hörer eindringlich nachgebracht.' Karl Laux, 'Die neue Thematik der deutschen Musik', HEA 3828.

⁶³ Unknown, 'Konzert mit Werken zeitgenössischer Komponisten', *Berliner Zeitung*, 1 Oct. 1952.

⁶⁴ Zur Weihen, *Komponieren in der DDR*, 160; Pistiak, *Darf ich auch Verse von Goethe verwenden?*, 51–53.

The many praises of *Das Vorbild* and its educational value indicate that Eisler was successful in composing a work that met the Stakuko's and VDK's public needs with regards to socialist realism. Yet Eisler's decision to not account for its socialist content in the programme notes hints to us that the political acceptance of the work was perhaps not the result of a contrived effort on the part of Eisler. The musical and textual content reflects an educational impulse that had been held by Eisler since the mid-1920s. Like in all of the instances where he described compositional methods or approaches, *Das Vorbild* represents his latest attempt to enact his vision for music within the context of particular social and political circumstances.

Conclusion

Situating *Das Vorbild* within the contexts of the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik* and his educational impulse presents a starkly different interpretation of the work and its legacy. The debates that occurred between the Stakuko and the VDK – and within each organization – reveal congruencies in the interpretation of socialist realism. These shared goals for socialist realism provide a lens through which *Das Vorbild* can be understood as exemplifying socialist-realist compositional practice. Eisler selected texts that could be applied to the building of socialism and set them to music in a declamatory matter that fulfilled many of the VDK's and Stakuko's demands. Likewise, his choice to quote and imply reference to Bach, Handel, and Goethe exemplifies a connection to the national character and is also building upon it. A more nuanced understanding of Eisler's participation in the creation of a new musical culture becomes apparent following this exploration of how *Das Vorbild* fits in to the ideological goals for music in the GDR. Furthermore, *Das Vorbild* and its contexts provide scholars with a more refined conception of the overlap between his compositional – and pedagogical – methods and philosophies. Identifying the manifestations of his educational impulse *Das Vorbild* highlights the (in)congruencies that existed between the dominant ideology espoused by the state and his personal goals. Indeed, the stress that Eisler placed on learning from composers such as Bach positions his educational impulse as falling well within the party line. Each movement's stylistic allusions serve to give audience members examples through which they can come to understand classical music. Despite the negative legacy of *Das Vorbild* and the criticisms to which Eisler was subject during its premiere, it is clear that this work was an educational example that fulfilled the shared goals of composers and cultural officials in the GDR, providing them with a musical path forward.

Abstract

Situating Hanns Eisler's *Das Vorbild* within the contexts of the 1952 *Festtage zeitgenössischer Musik* and his educational impulse presents a starkly different interpretation of the work and its legacy. The debates that occurred between the Stakuko and the VDK – and within each organization – reveal (in)congruencies in the interpretation of socialist realism. These shared goals for socialist realism provide a lens through which *Das Vorbild* can be understood as exemplifying socialist-realist compositional practice. Yet, his ideas on educating listeners through music is found throughout his career. *Das Vorbild* and its contexts provide a more refined conception of the overlap between his compositional – and pedagogical – methods and ideas.

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2

Reviews

Træk af musiketnologien i Sverige i 2010'erne

Review essay

Jens Henrik Koudal



Owe Ronström and Gunnar Ternhag (eds.)
Musiketnologi - elva repliker om en vetenskap
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De osynliga melodierna. Musikvärldar i 1800-talets skillingstryck
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Gunnar Ternhag and Märta Ramsten (eds.)
'En alldeles egen och förträfflig National-Musik': nio författare om Svenska folk-visor från forntiden (1814-1818)
Acta academiae regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 139
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Spelmansböcker i Norden. Perspektiv på handskrivna notböcker
Acta academiae regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 159
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Denne anmeldelses formål er at give et indtryk af musiketnologien i Sverige i 2010’erne, som den kommer til udtryk gennem fire bøger fra årtiets anden halvdel. Jeg bruger begrebet musiketnologi i bred betydning om den forskning, der studerer hvordan “people historically construct, socially maintain and individually create and experience music” – med et citat fra en udbredt svensk lærebog i emnet.¹ Publikationerne giver tilsammen et indtryk af udvikling og mangfoldighed i denne del af musikforskningen. To af bøgerne vil blive omtalt mere udførligt, mens de to sidste bare omtales kort.

Musiketnologi er i Sverige ikke en selvstændig videnskabelig disciplin på universitets-niveau. Der bedrives dog musiketnologisk forskning inden for fagdisciplinerne musik-videnskab og etnologi på landets universiteter, og desuden forskes der på kulturarvsinstitutioner under Musikverket, især ved Svenskt visarkiv og tidligere også ved Musikhuseet (det nuværende Scenkonstmuseet). Situationen er principielt den samme i Danmark og Norge.

Forskere gör status

Det er passende at begynde med antologien *Musiketnologi – elva repliker om en viden-skab*, der er redigeret af etnologiprofessor ved Uppsala universitet Owe Ronström sammen med musikprofessor ved Stockholms universitet Gunnar Ternhag og udgivet af Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur. Udgivelsen er resultat af et foredragssymposium i Uppsala i 2016, og det er skrift nr. 147 i Akademiets serie.² Symposiet blev holdt med nogle og tredive deltagere i anledning af, at det var 30 år siden, disciplinens daværende udøvere besluttede at kalde sig musiketnologer og deres videnskab musiketnologi. Det skete under et besøg i Sverige i efteråret 1986 af den fremtrædende musiketnolog Mark Slobin fra USA. 30-året bliver i den udgivne antologi brugt til at gøre status: Hvordan skal man i dag vurdere den forholdsvis unge viden-skabs resultater? Hvad er musiketnologiens stilling i dag? Hvordan kan man forestille sig fremtiden? Formålet var ifølge bogens forord at vurdere disciplinen i “Sverige och övrige Norden” i et kritisk lys og at identificere dens landvindinger. Bogen rummer ti artikler af symposiedeltagere (der med en enkelt undtagelse alle er svenske) samt referat af en panelsamtale. Skønt de på titelbladet kaldes replikker, er artiklerne dokumenteret med noter på sædvanlig akademisk vis.

Owe Ronström og Dan Lundberg (docent i musikvidenskab, overbibliotekar ved Musikverket) indleder bogen med en artikel, der betoner vigtige punkter i disciplinens

1 Citatet er af musiketnologen Timothy Rice, se Dan Lundberg og Gunnar Ternhag, *Musiketnologi – en introduktion* (Hedemora: Gidlunds forlag, 2002), 20.

2 Den samlede liste over akademiets skriftserie rummer i øvrigt tre andre musiketnologiske skrifter, der er fremkommet på basis af lignende foredragssymposier: Nr. 105, *Samlade visor. Perspektiv på handskrivna visböcker*, ed. G. Ternhag, 2008; nr. 134, *Tryckta visor. Perspektiv på skillingstryck som källmaterial*, ed. M. Ramsten, K. Strand og G. Ternhag, 2015; samt nr. 139, den her anmeldte ‘En alldeles egen och forträfflig National-Musik’. *Nio författere om Svenska folk-visor från forntiden (1814-1818)*, 2015.

indhold gennem 30 år. Den er en vældig god oversigt, fordi den belyser både termen, emnefeltet, metoder, institutionelt tilhørsforhold, forskere og musikere, forholdet til folkemusikforskning samt betydningen af ‘døråbnere’, som hjalp disciplinen med at få fodfæste, især musikprofessor Jan Ling.

Docent i musikvidenskab Anders Hammarlunds artikel, ‘Musiken – et uvurderligt Materiale for Antropologerne!’, har et stort videnskabshistorisk perspektiv. Den betragter overbevisende den danske musikforsker Knud Jeppesens velkendte bog *Kontrapunkt* (1930) som udtryk for tidlig musiketnologi i Danmark og Sverige – byggende på Guido Adlers filologiske musikforskning i en tradition tilbage til barokkens og oplysningstidens interdisciplinære filologiske tænkere som Hugo Grotius, Samuel Pufendorf, Montesquieu og Herder.³

‘Erich Stockmann och musiketnologins introduktion i Sverige’ af Gunnar Ternhag behandler tyskeren Stockmanns betydning for musiketnologiens etablering i Sverige ved at belyse hans kontakt med svenske forskere, især Ernst Emsheimer og Jan Ling. Stockmann var uddannet ved Humboldt-universitetet i Berlin og fra 1983 professor i musikvidenskab sammesteds. Artiklen præges af Ternhags store kendskab til det svenske musikforskermiljø og hans personlige kontakt med Stockmann. Artiklen har heldigvis også blik for storpolitikkens og de personlige politiske holdningers betydning for samarbejdet under den kolde krig (etterretningstjenesterne i Sverige og DDR læste og lyttede med!), herunder også vigtigheden af internationale fagsammenslutninger som International Folk Music Council/International Council for Traditional Music. Datidens forskersamfund i musiketnologien sammenlignes til sidst med et fodboldhold, hvor Stockmann havde den centrale rolle at bygge ‘holdet’ af svenske musiketnologer op ved at formidle internationale impulser. Ternhag publicerer desuden en meget informativ panelsamtale med Märta Ramsten (tidligere chef for Svenskt visarkiv) og Ann-Mari Häggman (tidligere chef for Finlands svenska folkmusikinstitutt), der viser udviklingen fra, at svenske feltarbejdere i deres indsamlingsarbejde havde fokus på stoffet i historisk sammenhæng og til, at de udviklede en musiketnologisk grundholdning. Märta Ramsten priser i øvrigt til slut det tværnordiske forskersamarbejde i musiketnologien, men dette emne forfølges ikke videre i bogen.

Den danske folklorist Lene Halskov Hansens artikel, ‘Feltarbejde i lydarkiverne – nøglehul til forståelse af musikalske livsfortællinger’, beskriver hendes igangværende projekt, der bruger en biografisk narrativ tilgang. Hun er projektforsker og videnskabelig medarbejder knyttet til Dansk Folkemindesamling ved Det Kgl. Bibliotek. Artiklens formål er at diskutere etnologisk feltarbejde, her i form af det særlige ‘feltarbejde i arkivet’. Hun bruger lydarkiverne i Dansk Folkemindesamling med den veldokumenterede traditionssanger Ingeborg Munch som hovedperson. Halskov Hansen belyser det inspirerende, konfliktskabende og nogle gange destruktive forhold mellem sanger

³ I Danmark har lektor Thomas Holme, Aarhus Universitet, også forsket i Jeppesens imponerende nationale og internationale forskernetværk.

og indsamler (arkivar Thorkild Knudsen) for at vise, at deres interageren i optagelses-situationerne fik betydning for Ingeborg Munchs 'livsfærdig'. Artiklen giver desuden spredte indtryk af Dansk Folkemindesamlings tidlige musiketnologiske virksomhed især i perioden 1960-1980.

Musiketnologiens plads og rolle i en musikvidenskabelig uddannelsessammenhæng bliver behandlet af Karin L. Eriksson (docent i musikvidenskab, universitetslektor ved Linnéuniversitetet). Artiklen er en slags feltstudie i undervisningsinstitutionernes beskrivelse af musiketnologi, som den fremträder på deres hjemmesider, i studieplaner og i musikvidenskabelig oversigtslitteratur. Konklusionen er, at musiketnologi opfattes som et af flere delområder af musikvidenskab med interesse på både pædagogisk og forskningsmæssigt niveau, at den præsenteres som et område, der komplementerer den øvrige undervisning i musikvidenskab, og at feltarbejde som metode spiller en fremträ-dende rolle i institutionernes beskrivelse af, hvad musiketnologi er.

Ingrid Åkessons har skrevet en god og informativ analyse om musiketnologi på en kulturarvsinstitution, nemlig Svenskt visarkiv, hvor Åkesson selv er forskningsarkivar. Hun konkluderer som karakteristisk for forskningen, at den for det første er gået hånd i hånd med dokumentation (via feltarbejde og anden erhvervelse af kildemateriale), for det andet har problematiseret begreber som revival/revitalisering, minoriteters musik og kulturarv, samt for det tredje at den ofte har anlagt et tværvidenskabeligt perspektiv som supplement til musiketnologien, gerne i samarbejde med universitetsforskere. 1992 mar-kerer for alvor musiketnologiens indtræden på Visarkivet, for da udkom Märta Ramstens doktorafhandling *Återklang. Svensk folkmusik i förändring 1950-1980*.⁴ Åkesson ser det i øvrigt som en fordel, at Visarkivets forskere ikke er tvunget til at følge enhver ny trend i forskermiljøet, og at forskningsresultater (også) publiceres i en form, som retter sig til mennesker uden for den akademiske verden.

De sidste fire artikler lægger vægt på at diskutere musiketnologiens mulige fremtid. Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius (docent i etnologi, forskningsarkivar ved Svenskt visarkiv) har skrevet en tænksom artikel om videnskabelige identifikationer og fællesskaber, bl.a. ud fra egne erfaringer som doktorant i etnologi i 1990'erne. Han ønsker at holde betegnelsen musiketnologi åben, at lade den være en mødeplads "någonstans mellan mångvetenskap och tvärvetenskap" (s. 105). Han anser det for realistisk, at musik- etnologien vedbliver at være nysgerrig over for nye måder at tænke på vedrørende "kunskabsmål och kunskabsobjekt, metodval och refleksion". 'Musik i rörelse' kalder Mats Nilsson (docent i etnologi, universitetslektor Göteborg) sin artikel om musik- og danseetnologi. Han skitserer baggrundsteorier og diskuterer, hvad der gør danse- etnologi til en del af musiketnologien. Nilsson betragter dans som "ett lyssnarmodus, parallelt med andra modus som exempelvis koncert- och marschmodus – at alltså se dans som et sätt att lyssna på och använda musik" (s. 112). Efter hans opfattelse har

⁴ Märta Ramsten, *Återklang. Svensk folkmusik i förändring 1950-1980* (Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet, 1992).

dans ændret sig fra i begyndelsen af 1900-tallet at være dans i lokalsamfundet til i dag at være “dancing communities” (s. 113).⁵ Lars Berglund (professor i musikvidenskab, Uppsala) betoner i begyndelsen af sin artikel sin outsiderstatus i forhold til musiketnologi, og han oplevede, at flere deltagere i konferencen “uttryckte forvåning över att se mig vid symposiet” (s. 115). Han kritiserer musiketnologernes vagt antydede fordomme om klassisk musikvidenskab (fx s. 123ff.), og han taler imod at gøre musiketnologi til et selvstændigt hovedemne ved de svenska musikhøjskoler. Følgelig slutter han med at stille spørgsmålet “Behövs (termen) *musiketnologi*?” – og svarer for mig lidt uklart ved at prise en inkluderende musikforskning uden skel mellem discipliner (nærmest et nej). For ham vil musikforskningen fremover “integreras och pluraliseras när det gäller empiriskt material, teori och metod” (s. 129). I Berglunds diskussion indgår også en kortfattet analyse af termer og begrebers magt i svensk musikforskning og -undervisning med reference til Ferdinand de Saussure (*ibid.*). Det er velkommen, at der medtages sådant et kritisk, teoretisk perspektiv, men for en udenforstående som anmelderen er det lidt for indforstået, hvilke personer og miljøer, der refereres til, for eksempel forbliver aktørerne i magtkampen i musikforskningen uklare. Til sidst spørger Alf Arvidsson (professor i etnologi, Umeå) i sin artikel ‘Musiketnologin möter neomaterialismen’, hvordan nyere kultur- og samfundsvidenskabelige teorier kan udvikle musiketnologien. Han svarer med at pege på en række “neomaterialistiska eller posthumanistiska” teoridannelser (teorier om materialitet, affekter, netværk, m.m.) og skitserer deres mulig anvendelse på en række konkrete emner vedrørende musikken rolle i nutidens og fremtidens samfund.

Denne aktuelle bog er med sine 11 ‘replikker’ en tiltrængt redegørelse for musiketnologiens nyere historie og en status over dens nutid i Sverige. Egentlig savner jeg bare et kapitel om, hvordan og i hvilket omfang, der er bedrevet ‘historisk musiketnologi’ i Sverige. Jeg kunne dog også have ønsket en artikel, der gik i dybden med at analysere nogle enkelte eksempler på de mest banebrydende publikationer fra de sidste 30 år med en konkretisering af deres emner, problemstillinger, metoder og resultater.⁶ Det er i øvrigt ærgerligt, at det bare er lykkedes at få én ikke-svensk forfatter til at bidrage med en artikel, for musiketnologien har trods alt et vist lokalt særpræg i de øvrige nordiske lande. Det ændrer ikke ved, at antologien er vigtig for musiketnologisk interesserede i hele Norden. Måtte den inspirere til tilsvarende oversigter over musiketnologiens

⁵ I Sverige skrives også (undtagelsesvis) doktorafhandlinger om spillemandsmusik og anden dansemusik; således udkom i 2016 musikeren Magnus Gustavssons *Polskans historia. En studie i melodityper och motivformer med utgångspunkt i Petter Dufvas notbok* som resultat af et doktorandstudium ved universiteterne i Lund og Göteborg (jf. min anmeldelse i *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 99 (2017), <https://musikforskning.se/stm-sjm/node/160>).

⁶ For eksempel antologien *Musik, medier, mångkultur. Förandringar i svenska musiklandskap*, ed. Dan Lundberg, Krister Malm og Owe Ronström (Hedemora: Gidlunds förlag, 2000). Her skildres med nye metoder, hvordan en række musikalske delkulturer i Sverige er blevet skabt og opretholdes i anden halvdel af 1900-tallet.

tilstand i de øvrige lande. For musiketnologiens resultater har interesse for både forskere, undervisere, musikudøvere og samfundets beslutningstagere.

Visesangens ‘usynlige’ melodier

Visesang var et hovedemne i den gamle folkemusikindsamling og -forskning i Skandinavien. En genre i visesangen, der bliver ved med at interessere forskere, er de såkaldte skillingsviser, dvs. visetekster i enkle tryk, ofte 4-8 sider i oktavformat, der normalt er beregnet til at sælges til et folkeligt publikum. Den slags viser kendes især fra 17.-19. århundrede. Titusindvis af sådanne tryk er bevaret i arkiver som Svenskt visarkiv og Dansk Folkemindesamling samt i universitets- og nationalbiblioteker, og i det 20. århundrede er der (også i andre europæiske lande) vokset en mangesidig forskning frem på basis af disse visetryk. Materialet har interesseret sang-, litteratur-, lokal- og mentalitetshistorikere, folklorister og musiketnologer. Svenskt visarkiv har i de senere årtier prioriteret dette materiale og har i 2019 udgivet ikke mindre end tre bøger derom, skrevet af arkivets egne forskere: En om melodierne (som anmeldes i det følgende), en om viser om kvindelige barnemordere⁷ og en om skillingstrykproducenter fra ‘det lange 1800-tal’.⁸ Bogen *De osynliga melodierna. Musikvärldar i 1800-talets skillingstryck* er skrevet af Märta Ramsten, docent i musikvidenskab og aktivt medlem af såvel Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svenska folkkultur som Kungl. Musikaliska Akademien.⁹ Hun har en lang karriere bag sig som vise- og folkemusikindsamler ved Svenskt visarkiv, radiovært og musikforsker. Hun har altså beskæftiget sig med skillingsviser og andre viser gennem et langt forskerliv, og det bærer den godt formidlede bog præg af.

Antallet af publicerede skillingsvisetryk er som sagt stort, og dog er visernes melodier lidet studeret i Skandinavien. Ramsten udgår derfor fra den vigtige konstatering, at skillingsvisen som medialt produkt er en hybrid, en kombination af skriftlighed og mundtlighed. Melodierne trykkes dog uhyre sjeldent som noder, og kendes derfor kun gennem angivelsen “synges som ...”. Det vil sige, at skillingstrykkenes melodipraksis bygger på publikums ‘tavse’ melodikundskab. I Sverige er man så heldig, at musikforskeren Margareta Jersild i 1975 publicerede en doktorafhandling, *Skillingstryck. Studier i svensk folklig visesång före 1800*,¹⁰ hvor hun bl.a. nåede frem til, at melodihenvisninger refererer til hinanden i lange kæder via visernes tekstdel.

⁷ Karin Strand, *En botfärdig synderskas svanesång. Barnamord i skillingstryck mellan visa och verklighet* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenskt visarkiv, 47; Möklinta: Gidlunds förlag, 2019).

⁸ Eva Danielson, *Skillingstryckarna. Skillingstrykproducenter under det långa 1800-tal* (Meddelanden från Svenskt visarkiv, 53; Stockholm: Svenskt visarkiv, 2019).

⁹ Ramstens forrige bog er en “musiketnologisk undersökning” med titlen *Kungl. Musikaliska akademien och folkmusiken*, udgivet i samme akademis skriftserie nr. 141 (i samarbejde med Svenskt visarkiv) i 2016.

¹⁰ Margareta Jersild, *Skillingstryck. Studier i svensk folklig visesång före 1800* (Stockholm: Svenskt visarkiv, 1975).

Op mod 30 tekster kan på denne måde henvise til en og samme melodi. Et tilsvarende dybdestudie om skillingsvisemelodier i 1800-tallet findes ikke i noget skandinavisk land, og denne mangel giver Ramsten sit bidrag til at råde bod på. Et andet forskningsspørgsmål, som har inspireret Ramsten, er, hvordan melodihenvisninger og tekster parres. Her er tekst og melodi netop ikke – som i kunstmusikken – en enhed. Det gælder generelt, at de anbefalede melodier skal være let sungne, aktuelle og skal passe til tekstens metrum. Men melodiens tilknytning til eller farvning fra en tidligere tekst, indgår som en slags underforstået praksis i skillingstrykkernes melodianvendelse (s. 10f.).

Ramsten takler sit store skillingsvisemateriale med kyndig hånd. Materialets omfang gør, at hun vælger sig fire delstudier med forskellig tilgang, for at kunne se mønstre og praksisser i melodianvendelsen: 1) *Melodier i cifferskrift* (udarbejdet af præsten Johan Dillner); 2) *Soldater- og krigsviser med tilknytning til de slesvigiske krige i 1848-50 og 1864*; 3) *Skillingstryk og teatret*; 4) 'Allt väl – ni förstår mig väl' (et poetisk-musikalsk refræn, som anvendes i smæde- og skandaleviser). Hun udvælger sig som primært kildemateriale de mere end 17.000 skillingstryk i det stockholmske Kungliga Bibliotekets samling og i George Stephens samling i Växjö bibliotek,¹¹ fordi de er de bedst katalogiserede samlinger i Sverige. Der findes dog ingen anden søgefunktion til melodier end tekstdbegyndelse. Det viser sig, at ca. 10% af de verdslige skillingsviser fra 1800-tallet har melodihenvisning, men Ramsten anser det for sandsynligt, at stort set alle tekster med betegnelsen vise har været beregnet til sang. De åndelige sange samt fængsels- og henrettelsesviser har en højere frekvens af melodihenvisning (40-50%) – en vigtig viden at have med i de konkrete delstudier, hvor Ramsten spørger: Hvordan bruges melodier i skillingstrykkernes forskellige miljøer? Hvordan føres melodipraksis videre i skriftlig og mundtlig tradition, og hvordan interagerer tekster og melodier?

Det første delstudie vedrører nedskrevne melodier, for det er, hvad der er tale om i den cifferskrift, som præsten og hofprædikanten Johan Dillner lod ledsage sine tryk fra 1840'rne af nye salmer i Haeffners koralsbog. Musikken var beregnet til det forholdsvis enkle og let byggelige, enstrengede instrument psalmodikon, der i Skandinavien vandt en vis udbredelse efter o. 1830. De 57 melodier i cifferskrift, som Ramsten har fundet i sine verdslige og åndelige skillingstryk i Sverige, er her transskribert til almindelige noder og kommenteret en for en. Det er en broget flok, der strækker sig fra melodier med rod i 1700-tallet (Bellmanmelodier, Haydns kejserhymne, polskdansemelodier, salmemelodier) og til nyere melodier fra teatret, den nyevangeliske vækkelsesbevægelse og militæret. Netop marcher er emnet for det andet delstudie, hvor Ramsten belyser, hvordan 'stridssange' og 'krigssange' opstod og blev brugt i forbindelse med skandinavismen og svenske frivilliges deltagelse i krigene i Slesvig i tidsrummet 1848-65. Tredje delstudie påviser, hvordan skillingstrykkene gennem hele 1800-tallet henviste til store

¹¹ Engländeren George Stephens (1813-1895) boede og virkede en stor del af sit liv i Stockholm og København; han indsamlede folkeviser og eventyr og studerede runeindskrifter, bl.a. som professor i engelsk ved Københavns Universitet.

mængder af melodier, der stammede fra hovedstadsteatrene, købstadsteatre og rejsende teaterselskaber. Disse melodier var igen hentede fra komedier, operaer, Bellmansange, vaudeviller, sangspil og frem for alt folkelige melodier inklusive folkelige danser. Det er måske i dette delstudie, Ramsten kommer dybest med mange tankevækkende eksempler på melodiers vandringer på tværs af sociale klasser. Hun viser, at der i slutningen af 1800-tallet var et bevidst samvirke mellem forskellige medier i formidlingen af tekster og melodier, ja selv de tidlige grammofonindspilninger og skillingsvisetryk samvirker i de første årtier af 1900-tallet. Skillingsviserne havde sit eget etablerede marked indtil 1920'rne. Endelig er det fjerde delstudie en fascinerende og dybtgående undersøgelse af, hvordan tekster med nid og satire (med det ovenfor nævnte refrain 'Allt väl – ni förstår mig väl' som den sammenbindende tråd) trækker melodikæder og tekstlige associationer på tværs af sociale og geografiske grænser fra Frankrig i 1700-tallet og til lokalt udgivne skillingstryk i Stockholm og den svenske provins i 1800-tallet.

Netværksmønstret af melodier også i 1800-tallet betyder, at de lånte melodier aktualiseres i nye sammenhænge, forsynes med ny tekst og således får en ny identitet. En del 1700-tals melodier lever således videre et godt stykke ind i 1900-tallet, hvor de endda er blevet dokumenteret med båndoptager og video i de såkaldte traditionsindspilninger. Ramstens tilgang til stoffet er musiketnologisk i den forstand, at hun interesserer sig for visernes overlevering og anvendelse i forskellige miljøer, og bogen kan da også beskrive viser, der har været brugt som læremiddel i folkeskolen, missionssange i søndagsskoler, salmesang i menigheder, militære marcher, borgerlige nidviser med mere. De normalt anonyme skribenter kan endda i nogle tilfælde identificeres og placeres socialt. Visernes overlevering er sket gennem 'medial interaktion', der foruden skillingstryk bl.a. indbefattede håndskrevne visebøger, pianoalbum til hjemmet og blæseorkestre. Det kan påvises, hvordan melodier bliver meningsbærende gennem (tekstens) ideologiske ladninger eller emnemæssige associationer, herunder paroditeknik. Ramsten konkluderer på sine undersøgelser, at skillingstrykkenes melodiverdener kan forstås som en 'melodibank', fra hvilken melodier lånes og anvendes til forskellige tekster og nogle gange tilbageleveres med en ny identitet. Melodilån fra banken sker ikke tilfældigt, men metodisk, efter uskrevne regler; i sidste ende er det altid det enkelte individs hukommelse af melodier, som bestemmer melodivalget. Melodierne bygger på og udgør en del af den europæiske kulturarv. Det er denne bogs fortjeneste at give os redskaber til at specificere denne kulturarv, der består af franske 1700-tals chansons, reformationens koraler, centraleuropæiske folkemelodier, operaer, italienske lirikasseviser og engelske søndagsskolesange – bare for at nævne nogle – det vil sige "et mix av melodier från europeisk musikhistoria genom flera hundra år" (s. 192).

To antologier om “National-Musik” og “Spelmansböcker”

Svenske musiketnologer har ofte afholdt symposier og arbejdsmøder med tvær-nordisk deltagelse og har efterfølgende præsteret at publicere antologier med bearbejdede foredrag. De to sidste bøger er eksempler på, at dette nordiske fællesskab stadig har betydning. ‘En alldelens egen och förträfflig National-Musik’: nio författare om Svenska folk-visor från forntiden (1814-1818) belyser den tidligste systematiske indsamling af folkevisemelodier i Norden i anledning af 200-året for den første svenske udgave af folkeviseteckster og melodier. E.G. Geijer og A.A. Afzelius’ folkeviseadgave kom i tre bind i 1814-18 parallelt med, at Abrahamsson, Nyerup og Rahbeks udgave af middelalderlige danske folkeviser udkom i fem bind i Danmark i 1814 (på titelbladene: 1812-1814). Antologien fra 2015 er frugten af et forskersymposium i Uppsala (initieret af Svenskt visarkiv og Samfundet for visforskning.) Den rummer ni artikler af nordiske forskere, der anlægger forskellige perspektiver og sammenligner indsamlings- og udgivelsesarbejdet i Sverige, Danmark, Norge og Finland. Desuden blyses udgavernes idehistoriske baggrund og europæiske kontekst, ligesom den senere reception især vedrørende begrebet ‘national musik’ analyseres. Bogen er redigeret af Märta Ramsten og Gunnar Ternhag og udgivet af Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur i samarbejde med Svenskt visarkiv. Redaktørerne bidrager selv med artikler om henholdsvis ‘Svenska folk-visor från forntiden 200 år’ (Ramsten) og ‘När folkvisor blev sånger för manskör’ (Ternhag). Udgivelsen viser, at spørgsmålet om, hvordan og hvorfor folkeviserne var så vigtige i skabelsen af en ‘nordisk’ og ‘national’ tone, bliver ved med at fascinere.

Spelmansböcker i Norden. Perspektiv på handskrivna notböcker er redigeret af Märta Ramsten, Mathias Boström, Karin L. Eriksson og Magnus Gustafsson og udgivet i 2019. Den er resultat af en konference med samme navn, der blev afholdt på Linnéuniversitetet i Växjö i 2017 og samlede mere end hundrede især nordiske forskere, pædagoger og musikere om temaet ældre håndskrevne nodebøger med dansemusik. Disse nodebøger fra mange forskellige samfundsgrupper har de sidste 40-50 år været genstand for tydeligt voksende interesse hos (foruden forskere) udøvende spillemand og musikere fra både folkemusik- og kunstmusikmiljøer. Tænk bare på Den Danske Strygekvartets CD-udgivelser *Wood Works* og *Last Leaf* fra 2014 og 2017. Bogen rummer først tre artikler med diskuterende redegørelser for det bevarede materiale i hver af de tre skandinaviske lande ved universitetslektor Bjørn Aksdal (Norge), fil.dr. Magnus Gustafsson (Sverige) og dr.phil. Jens Henrik Koudal (Danmark). Det modsvarende materiale fra Finland præsenteres kort i bogens indledning. Desuden indeholder antologien fire specialstudier om glemte kvindelig fra tre århundreder i Norge (af fil.kand. i musikvidenskab Eva Hov på basis af trondhjemske nodebøger), om forholdet mellem traditionsspillemandens nodebog og hans repertoire i Sverige (af Märta Ramsten), om udvalg, spredningsveje og fremførelsесpraksis af spillemandsbøgers repertoire i brugen af håndskrevne nodebøger på spillekurser rettet til amatører i Sverige (af Karin L. Eriksson) samt en artikel om

musikforskeren Niels Denckerts søgning efter svensk folkemusik i mange nordeuropæiske landes arkiver og biblioteker i årene 1928-61 (af fil.dr., chef for Smålands Musikarkiv Mathias Boström). Bogen er med sine mange illustrationer, nodeeksempler og kilde-referencer en savnet, bred indføring i dette spændende nordiske musikkmatiale, som repræsenterer en fælles europæisk musikkultur i 17.-20. århundrede.

Jeg kunne have omtalt flere interessante publikationer fra andre områder af musiketnologien, men dette må række som eksempel på, at der er grøde i denne gren af musikforskningen i Sverige i begyndelsen af det 21. århundrede.

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Thomas Solak

Funktionsharmonik – En guide til oplevelsesorienteret analyse

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Martin Hamann

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Harmonisk analyse har i mange år været en grundsten i musikalsk teori. Mange bøger er skrevet om emnet, bøger hvis overordnede pædagogiske hensyn (oftest ønsket om primært at formidle satslærekompetencer) ikke sjældent har resulteret i inkonsistent indføring i den analysemetode, som i Danmark har vundet en grad af hævd. En hævd, der gerne får dens udøvere til at tvivle på, at andre tilgange til stoffet kan være relevante. Jeg taler naturligvis om funktionsanalysen. Blandt disse fremstillingers uheldige forvrængning af den oprindelige teori, som måske endda i særlig grad præger de hyppigst benyttede, er en manglende præcis distinktion mellem den harmonik, funktionsanalysen kan sige noget meningsfuldt om og den, som funktionsanalysen *ikke* kan sige noget meningsfuldt om. Til de sidstnævnte hører megen musik fra 1500-tallet og det tidlige 1600-tal samt dele af rockmusikken: al den musik, man ofte sammenfattet under et enkelt begreb kalder *modal*.

Så meget desto glædeligere er det, at der netop er udkommet to bøger, der på hver sin forbilledlige vis råder bod på alt dette: Thomas Solaks *Funktionsharmonik – En guide til oplevelsesorienteret analyse* (2019) og Martin Hamanns *Popmusik og modalharmonik* (2020).

Bøgerne er henvendt til hver sin del af undervisningssystemet. Hamanns bog starter på yderst pædagogisk vis nærmest fra scratch med at fortælle, hvad en skala er, og er i hele sin udformning møntet direkte på gymnasiets musikundervisning. Solaks bog er anderledes sammensat. Den er udformet som en generel indføring i de oplevelser,

funktionsanalysen muliggør. Den er udformet i et fortællende sprog med en logisk fremadskridende disposition. Den tillader sig selv den – utopiske? – position at tale ud til de velinformede interesserede klassiske lyttere, og tilbyde dem en ligeligt auditiv og teoretisk indføring i, hvorledes musikkens harmonik kan forstås. Solak har tilmed opbygget en internetside, hvor man kan høre de over 200 musieksempler, der indgår som fremstillingens grundlag, og hvis nodegengivelse Solak ikke viger tilbage for at fremstille i flere systemer, endda med brug af C-nøgler. En nøgle som i dag nok er uforståelig for de fleste mennesker. Solak angiver heller ikke becifringstegn over noderne. Bogen er for folk, der enten kan læse noder eller høre akkorder i forvejen. Jeg vil dog ikke tøve med at anbefale bogen også for de, der kan have svært ved begge dele.

I Solaks *Funktionsharmonik* findes for måske første gang i dansk teorihistorie en fremstilling, der dels kommer omkring alle relevante aspekter af funktionsanalysen, dels fremstiller funktionsanalySENS hovedteser enkelt, præcist og ikke mindst konsistent – naturligvis ud fra den særlige position Solak indtager, nemlig den position man med et udtryk fra Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen kan kalde ‘progressionel’.¹ Det er den position, hovedparten af dansk funktionsteori siden Svend Westergaard indtager, om end kun de færreste gør sig positionens særkender bevidst. Det er den position, der mener, at VI efter I kaldes ‘afledning’ og at VI efter V kaldes ‘stedfortræder’. Og de mener også ofte, at det er det at optræde i den skuffende kadence, der definerer begrebet ‘stedfortræder’.

Hamanns *Popmusik og modalharmonik* er udformet med henblik på et publikum med færre forkundskaber. Første tredjedel er en indføring i det, han benævner kirketonearter, i hvorledes man fastslår hvilken kirketoneart en given melodi forløber i, samt i hvorledes man analyserer harmonikken. Herunder ikke mindst i hvad det er, der betinger forskellen i funktional og modal harmonik. Indføringen er hele vejen igennem suppleret med simple opgaver og øvelser, hvorigennem man kan sikre sig tilegnelsen af stoffet. Anden tredjedel indeholder en interessant historisk gennemgang af en perspektivændring i popmusikkens harmonibrug, som Hamann oplever som en bevægelse fra funktional til modal harmonik. For de, der har været med i rockens udvikling siden slutningen af tresserne, kan det virke besynderligt, at det modale aspekt stadfæstes så sent, som Hamann gør det, men det kan skyldes forskelle i perspektiv eller i det materiale, vi lægger til grund for vores oplevelser. Det rokker ikke ved Hamanns beskrivelse. Der er også et mindre afsnit om videregående modal teori, som baserer sig på Allan Mores, Ken Stephensons og Dominic Pedlers solide undersøgelser af rockharmonik, og derfor skarpsindigt udpeger de helt enkle, basale grundforskelle mellem det funktionale og det modale, samt særlige karakteristika for pop-harmonikken.² Fremstillingens præcise skitsering af popharmonikkens særtræk tydeliggør

¹ Se fx Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen, ‘Transformational Attitudes in Scandinavian Function Theories’, *Theory and Practice*, 43 (2018), 77–110, her 83.

² Allan Moore, ‘The So-Called “Flattened Seventh” in Rock’, *Popular Music*, 14/2 (1995), 185–201; K. Stephenson, *What to Listen for in Rock* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Dominic Pedler, *The Songwriting Secrets of The Beatles* (London: Omnibus Press, 2003).

en mangel i vores begrebslighed, nemlig at begrebet ‘modal’ skal dække al den harmonik, der ikke er ‘funktional’. Som konsekvens bliver så vidt forskellige harmonimønstre, som dem, der karakteriserer renæssancens harmonik, nyere folkemelodiudsættelser, det tyvende århundredes fritonale harmonik og bogens emne, popharmonikken, alt sammen karakteriseret som én og samme ting: modalitet. Vi savner en begrebsmæssig distinktion mellem eksempelvis en ‘rockharmonik’, ‘folkeviseharmonik’ og ‘renæssancesalmeharmonik’. Den sidste kunne vi jo måske blot betegne som ‘kirketonalitet’³? Bogens sidste tredjedel består af musikanalyser. Og her er endnu en kvalitet: Hamann har transskribert en lang række nyere popsange, som indgår som illustrerende materiale i hans fremstilling, som altså således ligger klar til brug.

Solaks bog er bygget op som en indføring i det at lytte funktionalt til musik. Den fører læseren fra en redegørelse for den historiske baggrund for funktionsteorien igennem tolkningen af kadencen og dennes betydning, til nærmere omtale af D⁷ og S⁶, frem til biakkordernes rolle som det, Solak beskriver som *varieteter* af – igen Solaks ord – ‘stamfunktionerne’ (et nyt ord i danske lærebøger). Biakkorderne står i stedet for hovedfunktionerne på enten *prolongerende* (dvs. umiddelbart før eller efter en hovedfunktion) eller *repræsenterende* (hos progressionisten Solak betyder det i en skuffende kadence eller i en analogidannelse hertil) vis. Først herefter gennemgås bidominanter, og i forlængelse af bidominanterne også parallellerne, med en exceptionel klargørelse af den forståelse, der ligger bag ikke bare Solaks, men al seriøs dansk funktionsteoris brug af begrebet. En forståelse, som blot ikke er blevet erkendt og formuleret så tydeligt før. Når andentrinsakkorden efter forudgående bidominant kaldes Sp skal man

ikke her forsøge at høre paralleltoneartens subdominant – altså i en forstand, hvor denne kunne videreføres til paralleltoneartens D osv. – men den selvsamme subdominantakkord, *hørt* som en T. Betegnelsen Sp er til for at kunne skelne den fra andre mål og kunne lige så vel oversættes til “tonika i e-mol.” (s. 91)

Der er intet subdominantisk over Sp. Betegnelsen angiver, at andentrinsakkorden lyder som *tonika* i subdominantparalleltonearten.

Neapolitaniseringsbegrebet, som Jan Maegaard lancerede og som flere teoretikere sidenhen har brugt flittigt – tanken at det forhold der er mellem subdominannten og den neapolitanske subdominant (fjerdetrin og det lave andettrin) kan genfindes mellem tonika og det lave sjettetrin samt mellem dominanten og det lave tredjetrin – forklares og gennemgås også, men inddrages bevidst ikke i analyserne. Det er et valg, der tydeligt fremsættes. Man klarer sig da også fint uden.

Efter gennemgang af disse grundlæggende træk af funktionsteorien har Solak kapitler om ‘ornamentik’ – det er forudhold, modulation, alteration m.m. Derefter kommer

³ Hvormed jeg kun har selve skaladannelserne i tankerne – ikke de særlige melodiske formler, som begrebet ‘modal’ egentlig oprindeligt refererer til: En ‘modus’ som en særlig melodiformular.

en række ukommenterede analyser og et appendiks, der omhandler stemmeførings-betingede forhold omkring bl.a. forskellige typer dissonancer. Bogen kommer omkring stort set alt, hvad der er værd at vide om emnet. Det helt enestående scoop i Solaks fremstilling er hans konsekvente fremstilling af biakkorderne som *repræsentanter* for stamfunktionerne – når altså ikke de, som indført efter egen dominant, peger mod paralleltonearterne. Mange andre danske fremstillinger omtaler stedfortræder- og afledningsrepræsentationerne som selvstændige *funktioner*, hvormed antallet af funktioner pludselig udvides fra de tre hovedsøjler – T-S-D – til en lang række funktions-typer af forskellig hierarkisk status. Dette ser man ikke hos Solak.

Da ‘stedfortræder’ for Solak blot er et andet ord for ‘slutakkord-i-skuffende-kadence’, lader han begrebet ‘stedfortræder’ nærmest *erstatte* begrebet ‘skuffende kadence’ og taler nu i stedet om ‘stedfortræderforbindelser’. Samtidig er Solak opmærksom på, at andet-trin i kadencen II-V-I rent faktisk netop er en *stedfortræder* for subdominanten. Men hans rigide stedfortræderdefinition tillader ham ikke brug af begrebet i denne vending, hvorfor han er nødsaget til at opfinde en ny term, Sr, subdominantrepræsentant. Solaks repræsentationstænkning udelukker brug af parallelbetegnelsen ved kvintvist forbundne biakkorder såsom eksempelvis VI-III. Disse forstås fuldstændigt konsistent i forhold til repræsentationsdogmet i stedet som under- og overtertsrepræsentation af tonika. At Solak på trods af sin fine fornemmelse for repræsentationsaspektet, der tilmed lader ham opdage den manglende term for II i II-V-I, *alligevel* sætter lighedstegn mellem stedfortræder og skuffende kadence er mest af alt et udtryk for en fast forankret dansk tradition. En tradition, der kun går tilbage til Svend Westergaard, og som i en vis forstand udspringer af en fejllæsning af Westergaard. Westergaard omtaler den skuffende kadence som én – en meget hyppig – plads for stedfortræderen. Men ikke som den eneste! Den mundtlige tradition har siden fjernet Westergaards forbehold. Hos forfattere som Finn Høffding, Povl Hamburger og Thomas Alvad er stedfortræderen den, der træder i stedet for hovedfunktionen uanset progressionel sammenhæng. Den progressionelle del af dansk teori har som en efterrationalisering ændret beskrivelsen af, hvad en stedfortræder gør fra, at den *træder i stedet* for sin hovedfunktion, og – som en stedfortræder i det virkelige liv også gør det – *udfører den rolle* funktionens hovedakkord ville have udført, fx at etablere kadence ved at fortsætte til dominanten. Den progressionelle teori definerer i stedet stedfortræderen som én, der kommer, hvor *hovedfunktionen var ventet*. Det gør jo sjettetrin i den skuffende kadence. Men sjettetrinnet udfylder ikke tonikas rolle i en sådan grad, at musikken kan stoppe og finde hvile med dette sjettetrin. Ud fra den optik er den en elendig *stedfortræder*.

På to punkter – som i en vis forstand er uden betydning for helheden – halter Solaks fremstilling. Det er i hans ord for den teori, bogen handler om, og i den historiske fremstilling. Der florerer mange ord om det med funktioner. Nogle kalder det ‘funktionsharmonik’ andre ‘funktionsanalyse’ og ganske få (heriblandt Westergaard selv) ‘funktionsteori’. Som jeg ser det, peger de tre termer på forskellige aspekter af

kontinuummet teori, analyse og musik: Til grund for det hele må ligge en teori, en ‘funktionsteori’, nemlig teorien om, at et musikalsk forløb kan forstås som dannet af kun tre funktioner, som kan repræsenteres af forskellige akkorder. Til beskrivelse af musik forstået på denne måde er udarbejdet en terminologi, en ‘funktionsanalyse’. Den harmonik, man kan anvende denne analyse på, må kaldes ‘funktionsharmonik’. Sådan ser Solak det ikke. Lige her følger han en veletableret dansk tradition for sammenblanding af begreberne. De bruges i flæng og henviser alle til det system af funktionstegn, som – i mit sprogbrug – *funktionsanalysen* benytter.

Hvad angår de historiske fejl – der angår fremstillingen af Jean-Philippe Rameau, Moritz Hauptmann (som her omtales for første gang i en dansk lærebog) og Hugo Riemann, så følger Solak her i nogen grad igen en etableret gammel dansk tradition: en tradition for misforståelse. Vel skriver Kirkegaard-Larsen i sin netop afsluttede ph.d.-afhandling som en indlysende selvfolgelighed, at der er almindelig enighed om, at “Rameau’s theory does not amount to a function theory”,⁴ men alligevel fortæller Solak, at Rameau havde “tanker om funktionsharmonikken” (s. 180) – hvad det så end betyder. Solak kan have begreberne tonika, subdominant og dominant i tankerne, men disse kan man ikke i Rameaus teori beskrive som *funktioner*. Solak gør selv meget ud af, at funktionsteoriens karakteristika er repræsentationselementet. Et sådant er ikke til stede hos Rameau, hvis harmoniske logik konstitueredes af *progressioner*. Men Rameaus teori er ikke funderet på tre *funktioner* men på *kvintprogressioner*. Af samme grund er det også forkert, når Solak fortæller, at “[d]en tonale kadence er betegnelsen for den funktionsfølge, som Rameau i 1726 udråbte til den mest fuldendte stadfæstelse af en tonalitet i dur-mol-systemet.” (s. 25). Skulle akkorden f-a-c-d bevæge sig videre til en G-dur, ville den ikke forstås som en *l'accorde ajoutée* – subdominant – men som en *l'accord de grande sixte*, en akkord funderet på andettrin, som opträder som *simple dominante* i forhold til femtetrinsakkorden. Dertil kommer, at Rameau som alle andre af hans samtids teoretikere ikke tænkte kadencer som treleddede størrelser, men kun som et forhold mellem bare to akkorder. Tanken at forstå kadencen som en treleddet størrelse kan ganske vist anes i en kort bemærkning hos teoretikeren Johann Phillip Kirnberger, der om bevægelsen IV-V-I skriver:

Will man mitten im Stück einen Hauptabschnitt oder Haupttheil endigen, so kann zwar die Cadenz eben diese Form haben.⁵

Men som en formulering om kadencens væsen finder man den – så vidt jeg ved – først små tyve år efter Rameaus død hos Heinrich Christoph Koch:

⁴ Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen, *A Comparison and Mediation of Schenkerian and Post-Riemannian Traditions* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitet, 2020), 42.

⁵ J.P. Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des Reinen Satzes in Musik* (Berlin: G.J. Decker & G.L. Hartung, 1774), 95: “Vil man midt i stykket afslutte et hoved afsnit eller en hoveddel, så kan kadencen jo have netop denne skikkelse” (anmelderens oversættelse).

Diejenige Tonfolge, welche man eine Cadenz, oder einen Tonschluss nennet, besteht eigentlich aus drey Tachttheilen, von welchen der letzte, der die Cäsur des Tonschlusses ausmacht, jederzeit auf einen guten Tachttheil fallen, und im Basse den Grundton der Tonart mit über sich habenden harmonischen Dreyklange, in der Oberstimme aber die Octave des Grundtones enthalten muss.⁶

Kochs tredelte kadence forudsætter ikke IV som det første af de tre led. Hans kolleger holder stadig fast i forståelsen af kadencen som kun to-delt. I 1840 finder man nok en undtagelse hos teoretikeren Siegfried Dehn, der om netop bevægelsen IV-V-I lancerer begrebet ‘den sammensatte fuldkomne kadence.’ I en sådan “schreitet der Bass von der Quarte der Tonart in der Quinte, und dann von dieser in den Hauptton”⁷

Ikke førend i Hauptmanns udgivelse fra 1853 knæsættes ideen om kadencen som i sin grundstruktur treleddet. Hauptmann er ikke en teoretiker dansk litteratur normalt refererer til, men Solak gør. Hauptmann fremstiller kadencen som en dialektisk proces, hvori tonika i sin overgang til subdominannten bliver uklar, idet den ligeså godt kunne høres som subdominantens dominant, hvorved subdominannten så blev tonika. Er tonika tese, så er subdominant den antiteze, der tvinger processen videre til afklaring – en afklaring dominanten bringer. Dennes indtræden befæster den indledende tonikas rolle som tonika. Og alt er godt igen. Syntesen er nået. Denne tankegang bliver fundamental i Riemanns teori. Men Hauptmanns teori rummer ikke det definerende *repræsentations-element*. Biakkorderne spiller ingen repræsenterende rolle. Så det er urigtigt, at man hos Hauptmann, som Solak skriver det, finder “[e]t egentligt funktionelt syn på sammenhængen mellem de tre stamfunktioner” (s. 23). Endelig er det ikke helt fair at fremstille Riemanns funktionsteori som “en slags positionssystem hvor tonika er centrum, og hvor hvert af de øvrige trin er fikserede satellitter på placeringer omkring dette centrum – en form for udvidet modalitetssystem, hvor hvert trin er med til at definere en slags ‘akkordskala.’” (s. 24) Det ville det være, hvis Riemann kun opererede med parallelbegrebet således at det var én betegnelse for hver skalaens akkorder. Men Riemann operer jo både med over- og undertertsrepræsentation. Tredjetrin kan repræsentere både dominant og tonika og sjettetrin kan repræsentere både tonika og subdominant.

Det var meget plads for noget, der fra forfatterens side var ment som blot en ekstra service til læseren. Jeg anbefaler, at man opfatter min kritik som en korrigende tilføjelse, en slags ‘errata-service’. Hvis man tænker disse forbehold med, når man læser

⁶ Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (Rudolstadt: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1782-93), bd. 3, 240-41: “Den tonefolge, som man kalder en kadence eller en toneslutning består egentlig af tre taktdele, af hvilke den sidste, der udgør toneslutningens cæsur, altid falder på en god [=betonet] taktdel og må have toneartens treklangsharmoniserede grundtone i bassen med melodien i oktavstilling” (anmelderens oversættelse).

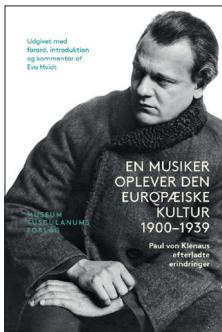
⁷ Siegfried Dehn, *Theoretisch-praktische Harmonielehre* (Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Thome, 1840), 250-51: “I den sammensatte fuldkomne kadence bevæger bassen sig fra toneartens kvart videre til kvinten og så fra denne til hovedtonen” (anmelderens oversættelse).

Solaks bog, så har man en fremstilling af funktionsteori, der ikke findes bedre andetsteds i dagens Danmark. En fremstilling, der kan læses som en gennemreflekteret opdatering af den særlige danske progressionelle variant af teorien. Føjer man hertil Hamanns redegørelse for poppens *ikke-funktionale* harmonik står dansk teori godt rustet til at udføre konsistent harmonisk analyse indenfor de to genrer, der trods megen anden eksisterende musik stadig dominerer verdens lydbillede: pop og dur-mol-klassisk.

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Eva Hvidt (ed.)

En musiker oplever den europæiske kultur 1900-1939.

Paul von Klenaus efterladte erindringer

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De senaste åren har en del viktig litteratur som berör skandinaviskt musikliv under den nazistiska eran 1933-45 utkommit. Bland sådan litteratur kan nämnas *Persecution, Collaboration, Resistance. Music in the "Reichskommissariat Norwegen"* (ed. Ina Rupprecht), *The Routledge Handbook to Music in German Occupation, 1938-1945* (ed. David Fanning och Erik Levi) samt Anders Carlbergs *Hitlers lojala musiker* om svenskt musikliv och nazismen. Till denna lista kan föras tonsättaren Paul von Klenau (1883-1946) nyligen utgivna memoarer *En musiker oplever den europæiske kultur 1900-1939* med introduktion och kommentar av cand. mag i musikvetenskap och historia, Eva Hvidt. Den redigerade versionen av Klenaus memoarer bygger på manuskript som 2001 återfanns i Wien tillsammans med partitur, skisser och andra texter. 2005 förvärvade Kgl. Bibliotek kvarlätnskapen vilket blev starten på de senaste årens intresse för Klenau.

Paul von Klenau var en danskfödd tonsättare som tillbringade sina yrkesmässigt och socialt viktigaste år i Tyskland och Österrike, huvudsakligen i Bayern och Wien. Han föddes 1883 och växte upp i ett borgerligt, musikaliskt hem. Hans första instrument var violin och musikstudierna förde honom till Berlin. Där övergav han violinen för vidare kompositionsstudier och en karriär som kapellmästare med en första anställning i Freiburg 1907. Enligt hans egna erinringar var det i Freiburg som han på djupet kom i kontakt med tysk kultur. Likt flertalet av dåtidens tonsättare hade han också ett brett kulturellt, litterärt och filosofiskt intresse vilket bland annat satte avtryck i hans operor och avspeglade sig i hans allmänna kultur- och musikförståelse. Under sin tyska och österrikiska tid knöt han kontakter och umgicks med en imponerande mängd centrala kulturstalter inom den tyskspråkiga världen. En del av dem porträtteras i hans memoarer under rubriken "Særlige Personligheder", men personporträtt genomsyrar också flertalet andra av kapitlen i *En musiker oplever*.

Klenau gifte 1903 in sig i en kulturellt viktig och framgångsrik liberal judisk släkt i och med sitt äktenskap med Anne Marie Simon och tillsammans fick de fyra barn.

Äktenskapet upplöstes 1926 och Klenau hade då redan träffat den kvinna som skulle bli hans andra fru, Margarethe Klimt. De gifte sig dock först 1941. Klenau närdé en nära vänskap med Anne Maries bror Heinrich Simon som fick en ledande position i den familjeägda *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Via Heinrich introducerades von Klenau i den senaste tidens kulturella och vetenskapliga diskussioner. I München dit han flyttat med Anne Marie samma år de gifte sig kom han i kontakt med flera centrala musik- och kulturstalter, bland andra dirigenten Wilhelm Furtwängler och diktaren Rainer Maria Rilke vars dikt *Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke* Klenau senare skulle tonsätta. München var också staden där Klenau fick sitt genombrott som kompositör då hans senromantiskt karaktäriserade första symfoni fick sitt uruppförande. Den har för några år sedan spelats in av Odense Symfoniorkester vilket får sägas vara ett uttryck för det fornyade intresse för honom som upptäckten av hans kvarlåtenskap generat.

1913 uruppfördes enaktsoperan *Sulamith* med Bruno Walter som dirigent. Första världskriget gjorde att han valda att återvända till det lugna och neutrala Danmark för att slå sig fram som dirigent och kompositör. Här grundande han Dansk filharmonisk Selskab vilket han ledde 1920–1926. Under denna period försökte han etablera sig som modern kompositör, något han likt andra samtida danska tonsättare, hade svårt att lyckas med. Carl Nielsens dominans var alltför svår att rå på och Klenau började odla en aversion mot det han uppfattade som ett förstockat danskt musikliv. Klenau gjorde dock en märkbar insats för den moderna musiken i Danmark i det att han 1923 lyckades få Arnold Schönberg till Köpenhamn för att dirigera sin egen musik. Året dessförinnan hade Klenau fått en anställning som kördirigent vid Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft vilket innebar att Centraleuropa återigen blev hans fasta punkt i tillvaron. Slutet av 1920-talet innebar en brytpunkt för honom i det att han fick problem med hörseln. Han slutade sina anställning vid Konzerthausgesellschaft och inledde en karriär som frilansande tonsättare. Under 1930-talet etablerade han sig som en habil tonsättare och dirigent och trots hans moderna kompositionsstil, med inslag av den av nazisterna förhatliga tolvtontekniken, lyckades han navigera i det polariserade musiklivet. 1939 återvände han till Danmark och en outsidertillvaro olikt den han upplevt på kontinenten. Strax före sin död 1946 sammankallde han sina memoarer.

Tre teman är särskilt intressanta runt Klenau, teman som är förbundna med varandra och som alla kretsar kring ambivalens och tvetydighet: hans ifrågasatta ställning i det danska musiklivet, hans ambivalenta position i det nazityska kulturlivet och förhållningssätt till nazismen samt det faktum att han som tonsättare stod med en fot i senromantiken och Strauss tonspråk och med en i den moderna musiken med Schönberg och den andra wienskolan som främsta företrädare.

I Danmark har Klenau varit en glömd och kontroversiell gestalt under större delen av 1900-talet och det har berott på uppfattningen om honom som nazistisk medlöpare, hans nedlätande attityd till det danska musiklivet och föreställningen att han ”svikit Danmark”. Som Niels Krabbe poängterat kan detta också läsas in i den större berättelsen

om Danmark under besättelsen.¹ Men de senaste åren har intresset för honom väckts till liv. Förutom de nu publicerade memoarerna, har flera av hans symfonier spelats in av danska orkestrar och framförts i radio. Det finns också ett antal musikvetenskapliga artiklar om honom.

Klenaus försök att komponera tolvtónsmusik och komma undan med det i det nazistiska Tyskland är fascinerande att läsa om. Enligt vad han skriver försökte han hålla det hemligt men i sinom tid kom hotelser om att hans musik riskerade att föras upp på nazisternas lista över *Entartete Musik*. I Sverige uppmärksammade *Svenska Dagbladets* musiksribent Moses Pergament 1934 uruppförandet av von Klenaus opera *Michael Kohlhaas* och förbluffades över att ett sådant modernt tolvtónsverk kunde framföras i Nazityskland.²

Klenau var aldrig medlem i det nazistiska NSDAP och han betonar själv att han saknade intresse för politik. Men hans karriär i Nazityskland byggde på opportunism och anpassning. Tvivelutan hade han antisemitiska och rasistiska värderingar som var allmänt spridda vid denna tid, vilket utgjorde friktioner i relation till hans ingifte i familjen Simon-Sonnemann, en familj som de facto öppnade de första dörrarna för honom i det tyskspråkiga kulturlivet. Memoarerna döljer inte dessa värderingar: Furtwänglers hustru ses som en ”praktfull representant för den germanska rasens bästa egenskaper”, diktaren och politiske journalisten Kurt Hiller syntes tydligt vara ”av judisk härstamning”, och jazzen ses som ”negermusik” utan kulturellt värde. Förhållandet mellan judar och ”germaner” var något som upptog en stor del av Klenaus tankeverksamhet och resulterade bland annat i den opublicerade texten ”Nationen und Juden” samt ett ofärdigt utkast från 1945 med titeln ”Entwurf eines Aufsatzes über die Judenfrage”. Vad som är anmärkningsvärt är att han i en tidigare version av erinringarna också uttalade sig nedgörande om sin första hustrus härförst och hem. Enligt utgivaren raderade Klenau dessa beroende på att de kunde misstolkas och att han inte ville utsätta familjen för fara under ockupationsåren, men det finns ingen hänvisning till i vilket sammanhang Klenau redogjorde för sina bevekelsegrunder att ta bort de antisemitiska passagerna. Både innehållet i de strukna passagerna och hans resonemang om att ta bort dem är högst relevanta. Även om utgåvan är rikligt kommenterad saknar jag denna typ av strukna passager, särskilt då fotnotskommentarerna sägs beröra just den typen av ändringar (s. 71). Klenaus biograf *in spe* kan således inte enbart nöja sig med den nu utgivna redigerade utgåvan för att komma närmare gåtan Klenau, utan måste ta sig an samtliga manuskript, ändringar och anteckningar för att få en fullödigare bild.

Paul von Klenaus memoarer är dessa invändningar till trots fascinerande läsning och ger inte bara en intressant inblick i ett udda tonsättaröde utan också i det inledande

¹ Niels Krabbe, “Paul von Klenau’s Ninth Symphony: a case study”, i David Fanning och Erik Levi (red.), *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938–1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2020, 399.

² Moses Pergament, ”Operanytt”, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 18 febr. 1934.

1900-talets tyskspråkiga kulturliv med alla dess sociala, estetiska och politiska spänningar. Men jag vill särskilt lyfta fram Eva Hvidts inledande förord och initierade kommentarer vilka sätter in Klenaus memoarer i en analytisk kontext och dessutom ger en bakgrundsberättelse till fyndet av kvarlåtenskapen och arbetet med att ge ut memoarerna. Det är en ambitiös och viktig insats!

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Anne Ørbæk Jensen

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

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IV. SYSTEMATIC MUSICOLOGY

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V. CRITICAL EDITIONS

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4

Reports

Editorial

Research project

Analytical Practices in Western Music Theory: A Comparison and Mediation of Schenkerian and Post-Riemannian Traditions

The Ph.D. dissertation, which was defended in September 2020 at Aarhus University (Musicology, School of Communication and Culture), aims to map and provide a path beyond the long-standing music-analytical divide between the Schenkerian tradition (in Anglo-American music theory) and the post-Riemannian, function-theoretical tradition (in Europe, especially German-speaking countries and Scandinavia).

The dissertation is divided into three parts. Part I, ‘Traditions’, is a thorough historical account of the afterlives of Heinrich Schenker’s and Hugo Riemann’s music theories, focusing on the establishment of the theories as geographically and institutionally separate *traditions*, as well as accounting for the continuing development of each theory.

In Part II, ‘Comparison’, I engage critically with previous comparative studies before offering my own comparison of theoretical and analytical features of each tradition. I compare the theories’ conceptions of general categories such as harmony, voice leading, key, and tonality, and more specific procedures such as modulation and sequence. Special attention is devoted to the different conceptions of ‘function’ in the two theories: I distinguish between function-theoretical ‘function’ and Schenkerian ‘functionality’, and I argue that these do not constitute competing claims about the same musical phenomenon, but complementary claims about related, but slightly different phenomena. I also discuss the theories’ different attitudes towards music’s temporality, and their claims about musical ‘logic’ and ‘coherence’.

Part III, ‘Mediation’, reflects on how one can ‘synthesize’, ‘reconciliate’, or ‘mediate between’ the two traditions. To this end, two new analytical models are offered, both combining ‘function’ and ‘functionality’. The first, *Multileveled Function Analysis*, incorporates Schenkerian notions of hierarchy, voice leading, and especially phrase and cadence into a function-theoretical framework – but without working with the idea of *Ursatz*. The second model integrates function-theoretical ideas about harmonic third-relationships into established Schenkerian practice. In a series of analytical applications of the new models, it is illustrated how Schenkerian and functional perspectives may productively enlighten each other – and hence, that the nearly antagonistic relationship between the traditions is more a result of historical processes than true incompatibility.

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Editorial

The current issue of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* (2020–21) presents two articles in Section 1. First, a contribution on Carl Nielsen by Nanna Staugaard Villagomez, considering his ambivalent relation with the music of Richard Wagner and how that might have affected Nielsen's decision to withdraw the lied 'In the Land of Dreams', meant for publication in Nielsen's settings of poems of J. P. Jacobsen, Op. 4. The second article by Alyssa Bree Wells on Hanns Eisler's *Das Vorbild* concludes the publication of papers from the conference *Neue Sachlichkeit, Political Music, or Vernacular Avant-Garde*, published in vol. 43.

In Section 2, Jens Henrik Koudal presents a review essay on the development in Swedish music ethnology in the 2010s. Further reviews concern Thomas Solak's guide to functional analysis and the commented, first publication of Paul von Klenau's posthumous memoires written in Copenhagen during the early 1940s. Section 3 gives a full bibliography of publications related to Danish musicology in 2019; and finally in Section 4, the reader may find an abstract of Thomas Jul Kirkegaard-Larsen's Ph.D. thesis.

The present volume is the last one by the current editors, who have been in charge of the *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* since vol. 41 (2017). We look forward to presenting a new team for the next volume.

Michael Fjeldsøe & Peter Hauge

Publications received

Books

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