
CARL NIELSEN AND THE GOTHENBURG ORCHESTRAL SOCIETY 1914 - 31

Contact, programming, and repertoire

By Peter Hauge

Carl Nielsen's time in Gothenburg may be regarded as one of his most successful periods as conductor. Mutual respect prevailed between Nielsen the conductor, the Orchestral Society's management and the musicians. Among 'Europe's finest orchestras' which Carl Nielsen had conducted up until 1918 – such as the orchestras in Stuttgart, Berlin, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Helsinki and Kristiania (Oslo) – he included the Gothenburg Symphony Orchestra, and said that it was 'better than the Royal Chapel in Copenhagen when taken in its entirety'.¹ This claim should also be seen in the light of the considerable disagreement between the composer and the Royal Theatre leading to his resignation in 1914. When one reads contemporary reviews of the concerts which Nielsen conducted in Gothenburg, it is apparent that he was extremely popular among the musicians and especially among the audience. It was also in Gothenburg that Nielsen composed some of his greatest works, including the Fifth Symphony at the start of the 1920s and not least the Wind Quintet, which he completed and had played through while he was in Gothenburg in Spring 1922.² Nevertheless, this period is only superficially discussed in the recent literature on the composer, which most often relies on the first Carl Nielsen biography by Meyer and Schandorf Petersen (1947-48).³ Their material is often based on anecdotes and the relatively few pub-

1 *bedre end det Kgl. Kapel i Kjøbenhavn hvad Helheden angaar. DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Johannes Nielsen, 12.12.1918; in 1930 Nielsen wrote a short article for the orchestra's 25th anniversary, reproduced in John Fellow (ed.), Carl Nielsen til sin samtid, Copenhagen 1999, 552-53.*

2 Cf. Torben Schousboe (ed.), *Carl Nielsen: Dagbøger og brevveksling med Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen*, Copenhagen 1983, 451-52 (16.4.1922, 24.4.1922).

3 Recent biographical literature includes, for example, Jack Lawson, *Carl Nielsen*, London 1997; Steen Christian Steensen, *Musik er liv: en biografi om Carl Nielsen* [Music is life: a biography of Carl Nielsen], Copenhagen 1999. Older biographical literature includes Torben Meyer & Frede Schandorf Petersen, *Carl Nielsen: Kunstneren og mennesket*, Copenhagen 1947-48, 2 vols.; Ludvig

lished letters that concern Gothenburg and people connected with the city's Orchestral Society (Orkesterförening). However, two recent accounts ought to be mentioned. Olle Edström's meticulous discussion of musical life in Gothenburg 1919-39, even though Carl Nielsen is not mentioned individually, provides a useful insight into the Orchestral Society's work and its place in Gothenburg's cultural life, which the Danish composer was a part of during this period.⁴ Around the same time Carl Nielsen also maintained an extensive correspondence with the city's leading musical personality: the pianist, composer and conductor Wilhelm Stenhammar. Bo Wallner's extensive biography of Stenhammar also considers his relationship with Carl Nielsen and the relationship between Nielsen and the Orchestral Society.⁵ Since the Society's proceedings and correspondence are incomplete and cannot provide much information about Nielsen's conducting, the most important sources for the Society's work are the three published Festschrifts of 1915, 1925 and 1935.⁶ The Festschrifts, besides going through the Society's history, also contain complete programmes together with economic statistics and information about audience attendance. In turn, Carl Nielsen's many yet unpublished letters are a significant and interesting source.⁷ The composer's correspondence with Stenhammar is of great importance; in addition, the letters to his son-in-law, violinist Emil Telmányi, are interesting, since here one can gain a more nuanced picture of Nielsen's experiences as conductor in Gothenburg.⁸

In 1905, the Gothenburg Orchestral Society established Sweden's first municipal orchestra. Among the principal promoters was bank director Herman Mannheimer, who was initially appointed treasurer and later became chairman of the committee (1922-35) and to whom Carl Nielsen later dedicated the Wind Quintet; another promoter was the 'City Notary' and later Mayor, Peter Lamberg, who was elected

Dolleris, *Carl Nielsen: en musikografi*, Odense 1949. Published letters in which Gothenburg is mentioned can be found in Irmelin Eggert Møller & Torben Meyer (eds.), *Carl Nielsens breve: i udvalg og med kommentarer*, Copenhagen 1954; Torben Schousboe (ed.), *op. cit.* The correspondence between Nielsen and Stenhammar has been published with introduction and notes by Knud Ketting, 'Breve fra Carl Nielsen til Wilhelm Stenhammar' [Letters from Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar], *Espansiva* 21-22 (May 2004), 3-35.

- 4 Olle Edström, *Göteborgs rika musikliv: i en översikt mellan världskriget*, Gothenburg 1996.
- 5 Bo Wallner, *Wilhelm Stenhammar och hans tid*, Stockholm 1991, vol. 3.
- 6 *Göteborgs Orkesterförening 1905-1915. En Minneskrift utgifven af Göteborgs Orkesterförenings styrelse*, Gothenburg 1915; Sture Stureson and Erik Petersson, *Göteborgs Orkesterförening 1915-1925. Berättelse på uppdrag av Göteborgs Orkesterförenings styrelse*, Gothenburg 1926; Sture Stureson, *Göteborgs Orkesterförening 1925-1935. Berättelse på uppdrag av Göteborgs Orkesterförenings styrelse*, Gothenburg 1935.
- 7 Thanks to John Fellow and Knud Ketting for information on the unpublished letters.
- 8 *DK-Kk, CNS CII, 10, 'Brevveksling mellem Carl Nielsen og Emil og Anne Marie Telmányi 1918-31'* [Correspondence between Carl Nielsen and Emil and Anne Marie Telmányi 1918-31].

chairman. The importance of the establishment was underlined by the fact that, at this time, Sweden only had a single professional full-time orchestra, namely the Royal Opera in Stockholm. That same year the new concert hall in Gothenburg was unveiled with seating for 1,294 listeners;⁹ by comparison, Tivoli's concert hall at the start of the 1900s only had space for 1,082 people, expanded to 1,500 in 1925-26, while the second large concert hall in Copenhagen, the Odd Fellow Palace's Great Hall, could accommodate 1,510.¹⁰

The Gothenburg Orchestral Society divided its concerts into three categories that mirrored the class-divided society at the beginning of the twentieth century. *Subscription concerts* applied first and foremost to those that supported the orchestra economically, whereas the *symphony concerts* were addressed to the 'fashionable audience' (but see below).¹¹ Within these two concert categories the 'literature's masterworks' were performed – works from the Classical and Romantic periods.¹² The final group was the *popular concerts*, which presented music for the general public with shorter and more accessible works. This division can even be seen in the foundation of the Society, and appeared as a proclamation in a description of the Society published in newspapers in Spring 1905:

With equal respect to the orchestra's finances as to the desirability of a separation of social classes as far as possible affording the opportunity for enjoyment of the orchestra's presentations, the following grouping of concerts is considered suitable: a greater number of *popular concerts at lower prices*, intended for the wider classes, which should contain accessible, but artistically performed music of various kinds; a series of *popular symphony concerts* at somewhat higher but *cheaper prices*, particularly suitable for the broad ranges, where the desire for learning is often greater than the economic consideration for their satisfaction, not least among the rising generation; and *five great symphony concerts* with larger orchestra and with the use of leading domestic and international soloists, in which concerts classical and modern compositions of more demanding nature can be performed ... That at all concerts, domestic music should profit as far as possible through the presentation of older and younger Swedish composers' products goes without saying.¹³

9 *Festschrift 1915-1925*, 157.

10 Claus Røllum-Larsen, *Dansk instrumentalmusik ca. 1910-1935: en stilhistorisk studie på baggrund af undersøgelser af den ny musiks repræsentation i periodens københavnske koncertliv* [Danish instrumental music], Copenhagen 1995, 56. By way of comparison the population of Copenhagen in 1905 was c. 427,000, while Gothenburg in 1910 was c. 168,000; in 1920 Copenhagen had c. 561,000, and Gothenburg 202,000.

11 DK-Kk, CNA I.E.b.2., scrapbook, undated Swedish review.

12 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Thorvald Aagaard, 26.12.1918.

13 *Festschrift 1905-1915*, 26.

Though the Society had hoped that the distinction between the symphony concerts and the popular ones would gradually disappear and merge into one, the categories remained separate.¹⁴ The purpose of the different categories is described in more detail:

The *popular concerts* should be given every Sunday and holiday at 6.15pm, with ticket prices 50 öre and 1 krone. The programme should be given for the general public, easily grasped and accessible but without poor taste. The *symphony concerts* should run every Wednesday at 8pm, with ticket prices 75 öre, 1 krone 50 öre and 2 kroner. As the title suggests, the main item in these concerts should be a symphony. The annual five *subscription concerts*, to which the Society's leading members will be admitted, should include larger orchestral items with performances by leading domestic and international soloists.¹⁵

The purpose of the popular concerts was therefore educational, and the programming mirrored this by presenting music that was easily accessible without being an expression of poor taste. That this was put into practice is revealed in a letter that Stenhammar wrote in December 1919 to Tor Mann, who was engaged to conduct in Gothenburg. Stenhammar remarked that the programme in a popular concert should not be too long or heavy, and should last 75 minutes at most; if one chose a larger symphonic work, the other works must be short, such as an overture.¹⁶ The popular concerts in Gothenburg can be compared with the *Folkekonserter* in Copenhagen, which had a social and cultural informative aim – that is, they were broadly educational and mirrored contemporary attempts to appear socially engaged.¹⁷ However, both the symphony and the subscription concerts, where symphonic Classical and Romantic music became the focus, were directed more towards a bourgeois audience. This class division was also reflected by ticket prices and even indicated by those days of the week when the different concerts were held: early Sunday evening, when most people were free, was a good time for the popular concerts, whereas Wednesday (symphony concerts) and Friday (subscription concerts) evenings were awkward for those who had to work early the following morning.¹⁸

In today's terms, the number of concerts each season was relatively high, between 68 and 75 in the period between 1918 and 1922, which made great demands not only on the musicians but also on the conductors.¹⁹ The Society's golden age, seen from both an economic perspective and with relation to the attendance, can be

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 31. In practice, soloists were also engaged in the two other categories.

¹⁶ Letter cited in Edström, *op. cit.*, 604-05.

¹⁷ See also Claus Røllum-Larsen, *op. cit.*, 28-29.

¹⁸ Cf. Edström, *op. cit.*, 102-03, 602.

¹⁹ Cf. *Festschrift 1905-1915*, 146.

said to run from the 1918-19 season until 1922-23.²⁰ It was first and foremost the popular concerts that attracted the public, followed by the symphony concerts and the exclusive subscription concerts.²¹

The contact between Carl Nielsen and Gothenburg

Interest in performing Nielsen's works appears early in the orchestra's history. Three pieces from *Maskarade* (1906) and the popular *Suite for Strings* (1890) were performed at a symphony concert in Autumn 1909.²² The following year, Stenhammar, who had become attached to the orchestra in 1907, chose to perform Nielsen's First Symphony (1894), and when the composer learnt of this through his publisher Wilhelm Hansen, he wrote to Stenhammar to thank him for his interest and advise him about some corrections and alterations in the symphony.²³ After the concert Stenhammar wrote back and reported that the audience and the critics had shown some interest in the work, but not great enthusiasm.²⁴ Stenhammar praised Nielsen's anti-Wagner approach, for he believed that Wagner could only lead to Richard Strauss, like Protestantism to Catholicism: 'I therefore had great pleasure in your symphony, this clear, honest and chaste, genuinely Protestant work'.²⁵ Together with the letter, Stenhammar sent some reviews of the event. This exchange formed the basis for their later extensive and personal correspondence. They had met previously when Stenhammar visited Copenhagen though at that time it did not come to anything except a reserved recognition of each other, which some years later, however, became a warm and close relationship and one of the most important reasons why Nielsen constantly returned to Gothenburg. It was in 1914 that Stenhammar first invited Carl Nielsen to Gothenburg to conduct his own works, and they corresponded about the programming with the violin concerto as starting point, in which they hoped Peder Møller would be the soloist.²⁶ The concert, in which Carl Nielsen conducted his Third Symphony 1911/1912), *Saga-Drøm* (1908) and *Helios* (1905) before the violin concerto, was an unqualified success. The orchestra was enthusiastic about Carl Nielsen; according to Stenhammar, he had won all their hearts, and the musicians' eyes shone when they talked about him.²⁷

20 *Festschrift 1915-1925*, 147; cf. Edström, *op. cit.*, 598-604.

21 *Festschrift 1915-1925*, 146; this does not include the school concerts, which Carl Nielsen never conducted.

22 The performance took place on 3.11.1909 and was conducted by Tor Aulin.

23 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 13.11.1910.

24 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.b., Wilhelm Stenhammar to Carl Nielsen, 27.11.1910.

25 *Ibid.*

26 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 2.12.1913, 17.12.1913, 20.12.1913, 1.2.1914; DK-Kk, CNA I.A.b., Wilhelm Stenhammar to Carl Nielsen, 19.12.1913.

27 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.d., Wilhelm Stenhammar to Carl Nielsen, 9.2.1914.

In 1915-16 Carl Nielsen's marriage began to break down because of an affair he had had with a mutual acquaintance, Marie Møller.²⁸ The affair, which had been going on for some time, not only led to a rift with Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, but also with many of the family's mutual friends, including a serious cooling of the friendship between Carl Nielsen and Henrik Knudsen, who had often helped him in connection with the copying of material and arrangement of piano scores. Nielsen was forced to leave Frederiksholms Kanal and stay with friends and acquaintances for lengthy periods. He often felt that the situation in Copenhagen was unbearable, and when he learnt in Autumn 1917 that Stenhammar was considering the possibility of asking for a leave of absence to devote himself to composition, Nielsen began to air the idea that he might substitute for him:

I have thought about you and your position in Gothenburg. You would like to have a year or two off, I have understood. – What would you say if I took your place for a season as your substitute one year? ... My family would obviously not come with me to Gothenburg, and I am certain that the financial side of the matter could be easily resolved. – Is it a crazy plan? – I need new surroundings for a while, this is how I feel my current position and the lamentable artistic circumstances in this utterly silly town where nothing really serious can thrive in the long run. – If the war had not happened, I would have long since left for Germany or America, so it is not a passing thought, but a deep need for new soil. – What do you say?²⁹

Stenhammar evidently answered Carl Nielsen reticently, and was in doubt about Nielsen's abilities as a conductor and had some questions concerning the matter. Stenhammar himself was criticised, and had often been characterised as a *kapelmester* with a rather strange conducting technique,³⁰ so it is likely that he was aware just how important it was to find a conductor who could withstand the critics' attacks. Carl Nielsen was well-known in Gothenburg, but as a conductor of his own works; as a

28 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.b., Svend Godske-Nielsen to Carl Nielsen, May 1916; CNA VII, Henrik Knudsen to Bror Beckman, 20.9.1915.

29 *Jeg har tænkt paa Dig og Din Stilling i Göteborg. Du vil gerne være fri et Aar eller to, har jeg forstaaet. – Hvad siger Du til at jeg en Saison overtog Pladsen som Vikar for Dig et Aar? ... Min Familie skulde selvfølgelig ikke med til Göteborg og den økonomiske Side af Sagen kunde let ordnes er jeg sikker paa. – Er det en vild Plan? – Jeg trænger til at komme i nye Omgivelser en Tid, saaledes føler jeg min nuværende Stilling og de elendige kunstneriske Forhold her i denne saare pjattede By, hvor intet virkelig alvorligt i Længden kan trives. – Havde Krigen ikke været var jeg for længe siden rejst til Tyskland eller Amerika, saa dette er ikke en flyvende Tanke, men en dyb Trang til ny Jord. – Hvad siger Du? DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 6.11.1917, published in Møller & Meyer (eds.), *op. cit.*, 165.*

30 Wallner, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 454-501; Edström, *op. cit.*, 611.

substitute for Stenhammar, Nielsen would also be required to conduct other works and would be called upon to perform works by composers he did not feel particularly committed towards.³¹ Furthermore, Stenhammar had probably heard of or read the Copenhagen criticism of Carl Nielsen's conducting and therefore asked about it; Nielsen answered promptly, that the critics from their perspective were justified in some of their opinions. He did not go into more detail about the criticism, but drew attention to the fact that his best performances had taken place in the Royal Theatre, and that he had also received recognition as conductor in the Music Society. In addition he 'could work 8 to 10 hours a day as conductor' and had often done it – even without preparation – when Svendsen and Rung had been ill. The letter finished with: 'Dear Friend! Do not take any other decision until you hear from me. I want to be your substitute and do us both honour!!!'³²

Later Nielsen wrote again to Stenhammar and elaborated his work and his abilities as conductor.³³ The letter revealed that he was very aware of the mistakes he had made, and the lengthy report concluded that he hoped to be able to use his abilities and experience as conductor in Gothenburg without 'the theatre lies and intrigues as signs of ignorance'.³⁴ From the letters it seems as though Nielsen pressed for Stenhammar's acceptance, and that he felt a strong desire to get away from Copenhagen, with which at this time he had a rather strained relationship. Stenhammar took note of Nielsen's report, and finally in February 1918 a compromise was proposed which Carl Nielsen accepted:

For my part, I would say that I am very keen to work in Gothenburg and wish that I might be given the opportunity – either in a few months or whenever it suits you – to be your substitute. I say this sincerely, selfish heart! But I only

31 Possibly, before Carl Nielsen had come to Gothenburg, there had been uncertainty about him as conductor. A review of his first concert, on 30 October 1918, where there was apparently only a small audience, mentions: 'In case anyone in their quiet way wonders whether it was entirely fortunate that the Society's committee appointed *Karl Nielsen* as substitute for Wilhelm Stenhammar during his sabbatical in their service, he would certainly have been convinced by yesterday's symphony concert that no more worthy substitute could be found. We have long known and appreciated Karl Nielsen as a brilliant composer and succesful interpreter of his *own* works. Now we can learn to recognise him as an exceptionally tactful and distinguished interpreter of *other's* works'. DK-Kk, CNA I.E.b.2., scrapbook.

32 *Kære Ven! Tag ingen anden Bestemmelse for Du hører fra mig. Jeg har lyst til at være Din Vikar og gøre os begge Ære!!!* DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 5.12.1917; on Carl Nielsen's conducting technique, see Niels Bo Foltmann, 'Dirigenten Carl Nielsen og Musikforeningen' [Carl Nielsen, the conductor and the Music Society], *Fund og Forskning* 43 (2003), 302-12.

33 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 16.12.1917, published in Møller & Meyer (eds.), *op. cit.*, 167-70.

34 *Theaterløgne og Intriger i Vankundighedens Navn.*

accept your compromise with full pleasure, if it really suits you. In that case, it would give me the *greatest pleasure* and satisfaction to come over whenever and for as long or as short as you wish.³⁵

The correspondence between Nielsen and Stenhammar is unfortunately incomplete since many of Stenhammar's letters are not preserved, among others those that might indicate what the compromise was concerned with. Neither does the so-called contract, which should have been dated 26 August 1918, appear to have been preserved;³⁶ perhaps it was an oral agreement or an appendix to a letter. It is most likely, however, that the secondary sources have misdated the agreement: the letter from Nielsen to Stenhammar about the contract is dated 26 February 1918 and not 26 August 1918. It is also doubtful whether a contract ever actually existed, and it should be emphasised that Nielsen was paid by Stenhammar personally, and received a third of his salary (4,000 kroner in all). In the first instance he was engaged for three months, presumably as a kind of probationary period; the three months corresponded to a third of Stenhammar's salary,³⁷ and the Society was apparently not involved directly in the agreement between the two. It must also have been an advantage that Nielsen already knew the Society's treasurer, director Herman Mannheimer, who had often visited Copenhagen with his wife Lisa.³⁸ It seems likely that all the important decisions regarding the orchestra were taken by Mannheimer and Lamberg without consulting the committee, which might also explain why there are apparently no official minutes from this period in the Society's history.³⁹

Carl Nielsen very quickly became a well-liked conductor both among the audience and among members of the orchestra. Rehearsals ran without problems and the

35 *Hvad mig selv angaar siger jeg: Jeg har den største Lyst til at virke i Göteborg og jeg vil ønske, at jeg maa faa Lejlighed til – enten i nogle Maaneder eller ganske som det passer Dig – at være Din Stedfortræder. Jeg siger det oprigtigt, egoistisk Hjerte! Men Dit Kompromis-Forslag gaar jeg kun med fuld Glæde ind paa, ifald det virkelig passer Dig. Isaaftald vil det være mig den største Glæde og Tilfredsstillelse at komme naar og saalænge eller saa kort Du ønsker det. DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 26.2.1918, published in Møller & Meyer (eds.), *op. cit.*, 173.*

36 Cf. Steensen, *op. cit.*, 257, and Meyer & Schandorf Petersen, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 155.

37 Cf. DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Thorvald Aagaard, 26.12.1918; DK-Kk, CNS CII, 10, Carl Nielsen to Emil Telmányi, 18.4.1925: 'My circumstances in Gothenburg were not generous, because I was engaged by Stenhammar who in reality got 12,000 Kr and gave me (I think) 4,000'.

38 Meyer & Schandorf Petersen, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 155; Schousboe (ed.), *op. cit.*, 416.

39 It was in 1920-21 that the Orchestral Society's administration first appointed Erik Petersson as secretary to maintain the committee's official minutes and their correspondence; from hereafter the archive material is more complete, *Festschrift 1915-1925*, 29.

contract was extended until January 1919 at least.⁴⁰ He apparently thrived on the work, for in a letter to his friend Thorvald Aagaard he wrote:

You bet it has been entertaining for me. Every day rehearsals with the splendid orchestra, and twice a week symphony concerts with the literature's masterworks. I was fortunate that both the orchestra and the city's music enthusiasts were excited by my conducting, and the rich cultivated musical city would now have me at any price and I am now thinking that in future I should arrange things so that once in a while I can spend 14 days at a time up here. Stenhammar and I will divide up the work. Stenhammar is usually the absolute idolised person up here, but he is just as certain of me as the others, and completely ideally disposed; without jealousy or small-mindedness he has been constantly pleased with his competitor during all that time, and you know, indeed, that the audience is always most excited with all that comes from the outside, hence also for me, which would have irritated a lesser man than Stenhammar.⁴¹

Even though he expressed great enthusiasm for the work in Gothenburg, he gradually became less satisfied with the financial arrangements. At the end of the first season in April 1919 he wrote to Stenhammar and remarked that, if he had not been able to stay with Stenhammar or the Mannheimer family, it would have been expensive – so much so that he would not have been able to earn anything from conducting, rather

40 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.b., Wilhelm Stenhammar to Carl Nielsen, 23.11.1918: Nielsen had already become an institution in Gothenburg, and Stenhammar asked what they should do after 1 January.

41 *Du kan tro det har været morsomt for mig. Hver Dag Prøve med det herlige Orkester og to Gange om Ugen Symfonikoncert med Litteraturens Mesterværker. Jeg havde den Lykke at baade Orkester og Byens Musikfolk begejstredes for min Dirigentgerning og den rige kultiverede Musikby vil nu knytte mig til sig for enhver Pris og nu tænker jeg at kunne ordne mig saaledes at jeg af og til kan tage derop i Fremtiden 14 Dage ad Gangen. Det bliver Stenhammar og mig der kommer til at dele Virksomheden. Stenhammar er jo ellers den eneherkende forgudede Mand deroppe, men han er lige så sent for mig som de øvrige, og fuldkommen idealt anlagt; uden Skinsyge og Smaalighed har han glædet sig over sin Konkurrent i al den Tid, og Du ved jo nok at Publikum altid er mest begejstret for det fremmede, saaledes ogsaa for mig, hvad der nok kunde iretere et ringere Menneske end Stenhammar.* DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Thorvald Aagaard, 26.12.1918. In the following season, Nielsen was also enthusiastic about the orchestra: 'Now I have just had a rehearsal with the orchestra and it is a great artistic satisfaction to play with such people; for they obey my every command and show me such great respect, that I am almost ashamed.' (*Nu har jeg lige haft en prøve med Orkesteret og det er en stor kunstnerrisk Tilfredsstillelse at spille med de Folk; for de lystre mit mindste Vink og viser mig saa stor Respekt, at jeg næsten bliver helt fløved.*) Schousboe (ed.), *op. cit.*, 424.

the contrary. Nielsen would happily continue in Gothenburg, but is aware that it would probably be too expensive for the Orchestral Society.⁴² Even if at first he only intended to substitute for Stenhammar for a year, it appears that he was nevertheless interested in continuing.

Gradually as Carl Nielsen became a permanent part of Gothenburg's music life he sought to extend his influence, so that when the Society committee in Autumn 1919 discussed the possibility of appointing a successor for another of the associated conductors,⁴³ Nielsen manoeuvred his son-in-law, violinist Emil Telmányi, into position as a possible candidate. Musical life in Gothenburg had received many visits from Telmányi, and Nielsen found it natural to suggest his son-in-law, who wished to display his abilities as conductor.⁴⁴ Nevertheless the committee opted in the first instance to offer the position to Ture Rangström instead, and Nielsen wrote to Telmányi:

There have been a good deal of negotiations here about the new conductor. Everyone on the committee is well disposed towards you, but there is a protectionist mood running through the Swedish musical world at the moment, so it must therefore be handled with care. Now you must hear: the position will be offered to Rangström one of these days; but R. will probably not accept it... A number

42 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 9.4.1919.

43 According to Wallner, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, 475, Meissner retired in the Spring 1919, but Nielsen indicates that Meissner left from 1 January 1920, DK-Kk, CII,10, Carl Nielsen to Emil Telmányi, 24.10.1919.

44 Telmányi took part in the concerts on 10 December 1918 and 15 December 1918, cf. Appendix, tables 1 and 2. In February 1919 Nielsen asked whether Gothenburg would be interested in a concert of works by Bartók, Dohnányi and Leo Weiner conducted by Telmányi. A similar concert was being planned in Copenhagen and would awaken much interest (cf. DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 19.2.1919 and 26.2.1919). Presumably because of Nielsen's powerful backing – and perhaps particularly because Telmányi's fee was not an important issue – it was decided to accept his offer in Gothenburg: 'To talk frankly, it is because on the one hand Telmányi is making his debut (as a conductor) and so he should not receive a fee – he says – but on the other he is also playing two solos and since he must earn money to live, he asks whether you think that 400 Kr for the whole is too much? He says that to have the opportunity to demonstrate his ability for you and your orchestra is the main thing for him, and that you could even give him whatever you think, even if it is less than that sum. So that side of matter is easy enough.' *Men oprigtigt talt, saa er det jo saaledes at paa den ene Side er Telmanyi jo Debuttant (som Dirigent) og som saadan skal han intet Honorar have – siger han – men da han altsaa ogsaa skal spille to Gange Solo og da han jo maa tjene Penge for at leve, spørger han om man synes at 400 Kr for det hele er for meget? Han siger at naar han faar Lejlighed for at vise sine Evner for Dig og Dit Orkester er det for ham Hovedsagen, og I kunde saa selv give ham hvad I synes, selvom det gik under denne Sum. Saaledes ordnes den Side af Sagen jo let.* (Nielsen to Stenhammar, 26.2.1919). The concert took place on 19 March 1919 (cf. *Festskrift 1915-25*, 80), two weeks after the event in Copenhagen.

of both Swedish and foreign musicians have applied for the post here, but I can now report from the committee that, if Rangström does not accept (as he will *certainly* not do) then you will be invited to conduct a number of concerts in the three final months of the season (February, March and April) as a trial. If you approve of this arrangement, and the committee approves of you, then next season will be organised so that you get the position and will conduct half of the concerts (about 30) while the rest are divided between Stenhammar and me. I would rather have been completely free next season, but as I may come over when I wish and perhaps stay with you and Søs [Anne Marie Telmányi] I'll accept, especially when it seems to further the matter. I can be of use to you here, particularly with my knowledge of the orchestra and how one should handle the 'gentlemen', and also the people here in the various social layers; for one learns that art is not a separate matter but is dependent on living beings, and this is the matter first and foremost that should be understood. – Mayor Lamberg travels to Stockholm tomorrow; he has promised to telegraph me in case there is any result regarding Rangström ... *Do not talk about this matter until we have a result.*⁴⁵

45 *Der har været en hel Del Forhandling her angaaende den nye Dirigent. Alle i Styrelsen er Dig velvilligt sindet, men der gaar for Tiden gennem den svenske Musikerverden en protektionistisk Stemning, derfor maa der gaas meget forsigtigt frem. Nu skal du høre: Stillingen vil blive tilbudt Rangström i disse Dage; men R. kan vist ikke tage imod den... Nu har der meldt sig en Del baade svenske og udenlandske Musikere til Pladsen her, men jeg kan nu meddele Dig saa meget fra Styrelsen, at ifald Rangström ikke tager (hvad han sikkert ikke gør) saa vil Du blive opfordret til at dirigere en hel Del Konserter i de tre sidste Maaneder af Saisonen (Februar, Marts og April) som Prøve. Ifald Du synes om denne Virksomhed og Styrelsen synes om Dig, saa vil den næste Saison blive ordnet saaledes at Du faar Stillingen og kommer til at dirigere det halve Antal Konserter (circa 30) medens Resten fordeles paa Stenhammar og mig. Jeg vilde helst være fri næste Saison, men da jeg kan komme naar jeg vil og maaske saa kan bo hos Dig og Søs, gaar jeg med dertil, især da det synes at fremme Sagen. Jeg kan være Dig til nytte her, navnlig med mit Kendskab til Orkestret og hvorledes man skal omgaaes Dhrr: og ogsaa Menneskene her i de forskellige Lag; thi det lærer man jo, at Kunsten er ikke en Sag for sig men er afhængig af de levende Mennesker og den maa man først og fremmest forstaa. – Borgmester Lamberg rejser imorgen til Stockholm; han har lovet at telgrafere til mig ifald der er noget Resultat angaaende Rangström ... Tal ikke om Sagen før vi har et Resultat. DK-Kk, CNA CII, 10, Carl Nielsen to Emil Telmányi, 30.10.1919; Schousboe (ed.) op. cit., 425: 'I am working for Emil here ... but it is not easy, when the Swedish musicians naturally will first pass in review'. (Jeg arbejder for Emil her ... Men der er ikke let, da de svenske Musikere naturligtvis først skal passere Revy.) The committee was careful to appoint foreign musicians. The letters refer to earlier problems with the establishment of the orchestra. In 1905 over half of the orchestra's members were from other countries including Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Belgium and Denmark. This drew criticism, especially from Swedish music circles who suffered great unemployment. Cf. Wallner, op. cit., vol. 2, 451; Edström, op. cit., 79-81; Festschrift 1905-1915, 34; Schousboe (ed.), op. cit., 427.*

The same day Nielsen also wrote a long letter to Stenhammar about filling the conducting position, from which it appears that Nielsen became more and more involved in the attempt to appoint Telmányi in Gothenburg; but his wording makes the letter appear as an ultimatum, particularly the ending, 'You can appreciate how the whole matter interests me even more than before, as the grouping Stenhammar – Carl Nielsen – Telmányi is decisive for me, with our collaboration in the future'.⁴⁶ Nielsen suggests that he does not have a strong desire to be in Gothenburg the forthcoming season 1920-21;⁴⁷ this could be the reason why he felt that, through Stenhammar, he could pressurise the Society into accepting Telmányi. Rangström was at this point apparently not interested in taking up the position at the beginning of 1920, and the matter was therefore postponed until the Spring, but Telmányi was not offered the conducting post or a three-month trial period, as Carl Nielsen had hoped.⁴⁸

The conducting question was still not resolved in Spring 1920; and after some conflict between the musicians and the committee on the one side, and the news-

46 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 30.10.1919.

47 DK-Kk, CNS CII, 10, Carl Nielsen to Emil Telmányi, 30.10.1919.

48 During Winter 1925-26, Telmányi was guest conductor of four concerts. The reason given was that the committee – after a polemic in the press – decided not to renew Rangström's contract. This created uproar among the orchestra members and even among the audience, which stayed away from the concerts not conducted by Rangström (Edström, *op. cit.*, 616-20). Therefore guest conductors were engaged, including Telmányi, who was not very successful because the musicians apparently had complained about his direction: 'You will see, Emil, that the orchestra will probably respect your great abilities, but not too many details at the beginning' (*Du skal se, Emil, at Orkestret skal nok respektere Dine store Evner, men ikke for mange Detailler i Begyndelsen*), DK-Kk, CNS CII, 10, Carl Nielsen to Emil Telmányi, 1.1.1926; On 16 January Nielsen wrote: 'I wish I could be with you at this moment and could encourage you. I know what it means to be in this orchestra situation. I have experienced exactly the same, but from a different starting point. When I was *Kapelmester* at the Royal Theatre I could not bear it any more until I offered my resignation. But it was foolish of me; I should have held out, then much in our musical life would have been different. *You must not give up for heavens' sake*; eventually the fools in the orchestra will be forced to acknowledge your eminent musical gifts, *and you conduct splendidly*. The single thing is to win over these gentlemen's opposition, and that will happen the more concerts you conduct. Have the confidence to do your work as you have begun and follow it through until the final date for the agreement. Have you asked the gentlemen what is wrong?

Are the gentlemen able to say that you cannot conduct or merely claim that, for example, you cannot follow a soloist etc.? If they *cannot* say that, then you have the right and the obligation to demand musical works performed in the way you wish. Naturally you will also learn from experience – however, you must not admit too much to them. You must stand firm and not lose courage; there is never any reason for it!!'. (*Jeg vilde ønske jeg var hos Dig i denne [Tid] og kunde opmuntre Dig. Jeg ved hvad det vil sige [at] være i denne Orkester-situation. Jeg har oplevet nøjagtig det samme, men med et andet Udgangspunkt. Da jeg var Kapelmester ved det kgl: Theater kunde jeg ikke mere holde det ud tilsidst, men tog min Afsked. Men det var dumt af mig; jeg burde [have] holdt ud, saa havde meget*

papers on the other, it was decided to appoint the Russian violinist and professor Michael Press. From Autumn 1920 until Spring 1921 Press therefore took up the temporary job, and during this period Nielsen had no concerts in Gothenburg.⁴⁹ In connection with the expiry of Press' temporary job in Spring 1921, the Society turned again to Nielsen and asked whether he wanted to return.⁵⁰ Nielsen asked for time to think it over, but was positive about the proposal:

I have been very preoccupied with various work demands, otherwise I would have answered straight away; I would now say that that I will *presumably* be able to help you next season, but since I cannot yet see the whole situation, I need more time to think. – It is neither that urgent, surely, that a few weeks more make any difference? I want to do it, assuming that you will still be in Gothenburg so that we can get on and enjoy intellectual benefits of each other as before. In case, later on, I come to a positive result, it would presumably be best if I came over and visited you so that we can talk it all through.⁵¹

Nielsen's refusal to commit himself was due to an offer he had received from the Concert Society in Stockholm which did not expect to reappoint Georg Schnéevoigt. In

*i vort Musikliv nu været anderledes, Du maa for Himlens Skyld ikke give op; tilsidst vil de Fæhoveder i Orkestret blive nødsaget til at bøje sig for Din eminente Musikerbegavelse, og Du dirigerer udmærket. Det eneste Punkt er blot at overvinde Dhrr's Modstand og den vil høre op jo flere Konserter, Du dirigerer. Bliv trøstig ved at gøre Dit Arbejde som Du har begyndt og før det igennem til sidste Dato efter Overenskomsten. Har Du spurgt Dhrr hvad der er iverjen? Kan Dhrr komme og sige at Du ikke kan dirigere eller blot paastaa at Du F. Expl ikk[e] kan følge en Solist o.s.v.? Kan De ikke sige det saa har Du Ret og ogsaa Pligt til at forlange Musikværkerne udført paa den Maade Du ønsker. Naturligvis skal Du ogsaa gøre Erfaringer – dog, Du skal ikke indrømme for meget overfor dem. Du maa staa fast og ikke tabe Modet; der er aldeles ingen Grund til det!!) Telmányi's problems should also be seen in the light of the conflict between the audience, the musicians and the committee over Rangström's employment at the institution. Regarding Telmányi's engagement in Gothenburg, see also the correspondence between Mannheimer and Telmányi, *Gothenburg Town Archive*, Göteborgs Orkesterförening, BI, 2.*

49 There appears to be no further correspondence between Nielsen and Stenhammar until 1921. The relationship between Carl Nielsen and Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen improved, and therefore he had less need to spend long periods in Gothenburg.

50 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 17.3.1921.

51 *Jeg har været stærkt optaget af forskelligt presserende Arbejde, ellers havde jeg strax svaret det, jeg nu vil sige, nemlig: at det er meget sandsynligt at jeg kan hjælpe Jer til næste Saison, men at jeg endnu ikke kan overse Situationen, hvorfor jeg beder faa Lov at tænke mig om i nogen Tid endnu. – Det haster vel heller ikke saa meget, at nogle Uger spiller en Rolle? Jeg har lyst dertil forudsat at Du stadig bor i Göteborg, saa vi kan omgaas og have aandeligt Udbytte af hinanden som før. Ifald jeg nu, noget senere kommer til et positivt Resultat, er det vel bedst jeg kommer op og besøger Jer, saa vi kunne Aftale det altsammen. Ibid.*

that connection, they asked Nielsen and Wilhelm Furtwängler if they would take over the position in collaboration with a Swedish assistant conductor. It involved between 20 and 30 concerts from Autumn 1921. With 20 concerts in Gothenburg, not including the concerts at the Concert Society in Copenhagen, Nielsen did not expect to have time to compose.⁵² In Stockholm they eventually decided to reappoint Schnéevoigt. At the end of April 1921 Nielsen wrote to Stenhammar that he would 'at all events be able to conduct 20 concerts ... next season' and would come to Gothenburg to talk about it nearer the time.⁵³

Carl Nielsen was happy to be back and working with the orchestra in Gothenburg; in a letter to his friends Carl Johan and Vera Michaelsen he wrote: 'I have just had my first rehearsal with the orchestra and we are already back into our good old contact, which is lovely.'⁵⁴ In the meantime, Stenhammar decided to wind up his conducting work in Gothenburg, and in Autumn 1923 he returned to Stockholm. This meant a temporary delay in Carl Nielsen's activity in Gothenburg – maybe not so much because the committee did not want him, but more because one of the most important reasons why he had returned to Gothenburg was to be with Stenhammar and gain an 'intellectual benefit'.⁵⁵ As new chief conductor and *kapelmester* the Society chose Ture Rangström, who would work together with a second associate conductor, Tor Mann, who arrived in Autumn 1922. Carl Nielsen watched continually from the sidelines, as the music critic Julius Rabe wrote about and introduced the new conductors.⁵⁶ In 1926 he decided – following strong medical advice – to cut back both his conducting in the

52 Schousboe (ed.), *op. cit.*, 442-43 (31.3.1921).

53 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 19.4.1921.

54 DK-Kk, acc.1995/55, Carl Nielsen to Carl Johan Michaelsen, 11.11.1921; DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Vera Michaelsen, 29.11.1921: 'I have also had so much to do here. Last week I've had 3 concerts, including two with Adolf Busch who is a fine violinist. It takes a great deal out of me to work with this remarkable orchestra. That is to say: it amuses and exercises me artistically.' (*Jeg har nu ogsaa haft meget at gøre her. I forrige Uge havde jeg 3 Konserter hvoraf de to med Adolf Busch, som er en storartet Violinkunstner. Det tager meget paa mig at arbejde med dette udmærkede Orkester. Det vil altsaa sige at det mører mig og optager mig kunstnerisk*).

55 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 20.3.1922: 'I will come around the 12 April up to you in Gothenburg and indeed still have 5 concerts to conduct. You know how much I missed you while I was over there. The condition for me at the time when I undertook the work as your substitute was the belief that I should see you now and again and mix with you as the artist you are for me and all those who understand. Therefore I look forward to being with you again in April.' (*Jeg kommer omkring den 12 April til Dig i Göteborg og har jo endnu 5 Konserter at dirigere. Du kan tro jeg har savnet Dig meget i den Tid jeg var deroppe. Forudsætningen var for mig i sin Tid at jeg tog den Virksomhed som Din Vikar i den Tro at jeg skulde se Dig af og til og omgaa med Dig som den Kunstner Du er for mig og alle som forstaar. Jeg glæder mig derfor til at være sammen med Dig igen i April*).

56 CNA I.A.d., Julius Rabe to Carl Nielsen, 21.12.1922, 9.3.1923.

Music Society and his work at the Music Conservatory in Copenhagen.⁵⁷ In return he wrote to Mannheimer that he was on the way to a health resort in Nauheim in March 1926, and that, if Gothenburg were interested, he would ‘next season ... conduct some concerts in Gothenburg. Not many, 3 or 4 or as it suits you’.⁵⁸ However, he came to conduct just a single concert in Gothenburg in 1927, and in later years (1929 and 1930) Nielsen appeared only a few times as guest conductor at the Society, while at the city theatre he attended and conducted a few performances of his two operas *Saul og David* (1902) and *Maskarade* (1906).

Programme planning

At the beginning of the temporary post in 1918-19, Carl Nielsen had a series of other engagements in Denmark and Sweden, which involved a heavy amount of travelling. Another consequence of this level of activity was that he naturally sought to relieve the burden of work by programming the same works on different occasions, especially in Copenhagen and Gothenburg. In Autumn 1918, after he had just conducted Beethoven’s Violin Concerto with his son-in-law Emil Telmányi as soloist, Nielsen arranged that the concerto would be played at subscription and popular concerts in Gothenburg.⁵⁹ In May 1918 he decided that the Music Society would perform Debussy’s *La Mer*, and in November 1918 the work was performed in Gothenburg whereas the performance in Copenhagen would take place in January 1919. Also later Nielsen took advantage of the fact that he was employed in both cities. Thus when problems emerged concerning an item in a programme for the Music Society (24 February 1920), he decided in a letter to the business manager Alfred Nielsen that they would play Sibelius’ *En Saga* instead; the work had just been presented in Gothenburg on 15 February – nine days earlier.⁶⁰

When one disregards the general distinction between concert categories (symphony, subscription and popular concerts), Carl Nielsen’s programme choice may seem somewhat casual. The most important reason for this was probably that the programmes would often be planned from event to event – the consequence necessarily being a pragmatic approach to the choice of works. Nielsen was also influenced to a high degree by sudden impulse, so for example if he had just heard a piece of music he liked which fitted in, he would think about performing it in Gothenburg. The immediate opportunities for engaging a soloist – a task that was likewise part of the conductor’s

57 Cf. Schousboe (ed.), *op. cit.*, 492-93.

58 *gerne til næste Saison ... dirigere nogle Koncerter i Göteborg. Ikke mange 3 a 4 eller som det passer dig. Gothenburg Town Archive, Göteborg Orkesterforening, Bl, 2, Carl Nielsen to Herman Mannheimer, 12.3.1926.*

59 See Appendix, tables 1 and 2.

60 Cf. Foltmann, *op. cit.*, 297.

duties – also played an important role in working out the programmes. The easiest solution was for Nielsen to ask someone from his own circle of acquaintances. Hence one often finds Telmányi in Gothenburg, as soloist in works including Beethoven's Violin Concerto (10 December 1918), Max Bruch's Violin Concerto, Op. 26 (15 February 1920) and Nielsen's own Violin Concerto (11 February 1920 and 19 January 1927). Nielsen's daughter Irmelin Eggert Møller appeared as a vocal soloist (27 and 28 April 1922), as well as the pianist Johanne Stockmarr, whom Nielsen had known since student days (5 March 1918), his friends the couple Poul and Sylvia Schierbeck (12 February 1922), and the student Rudolph Simonsen (4 February 1920).⁶¹ There are many examples of Nielsen's sudden ideas concerning a choice of programme: when in Stockholm, Nielsen visited Ture Rangström who played his *Little Suite for String Orchestra* on the piano; apparently Nielsen liked the work and performed it six weeks later in Gothenburg. In November 1921 he performed his friend Victor Bendix's symphony *Fjeldstigning (Mountain Climbing)* at the Music Society in Copenhagen, which he thought so well of that it was played around three weeks later in Gothenburg. At the beginning of 1920 he was in the process of planning the second half of the 1919-20 season and engaged Rudolph Simonsen as soloist in Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto and on the same occasion performed Simonsen's new symphony, which he thought was 'a very talented and particularly effective work in a concise and genuinely symphonic form'.⁶² The day after the event Nielsen wrote to Stenhammar and told him about the somewhat belated impulse:

The symphony was a success and there were rather a lot of people. As [Simonsen] wished to attend, I got the idea on the way over to ask him whether while he was here he would be willing to play Beethoven's G major, which he'd played the year before with the orchestra in Copenhagen. He agreed and it was very successful, even though I do not find his playing particularly good.⁶³

The thought of performing Simonsen's newest symphony dated back to Autumn 1919, when Nielsen asked Simonsen to take over a choral rehearsal at the Music Society in

61 See Appendix, tables 1 and 2.

62 *et meget talentfuldt og særdeles virkningsfuldt Arbejde i en knap og ægte symfonisk Form.* DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 5.2.1920; see also the correspondence between Carl Nielsen and Rudolph Simonsen, DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c. and I.A.b.

63 *Symfonien gjorde Lykke og der var ret mange Folk. Da [Simonsen] selv vilde komme tilstede fik jeg paa Vejen herop den Ide at spørge om han, naar han dog var her, havde Lyst at spille Beethovens G-dur som han for et Aar siden har spillet med Orkester i Kjøbenhavn. Det gjorde han saa og havde en betydelig Succes, skøndt jeg ikke finder hans Spil særlig godt.* DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 5.2.1920.

Copenhagen.⁶⁴ At the same time he promised Simonsen that he would listen to the new symphony, and that if he liked it, he would try and get it performed in Gothenburg in the new year.⁶⁵ Another example of a late impulse is the following: the final symphony concert in the 1918-19 season was scheduled for 2 April 1919, but by the end of February the programme was still not finalised in all its details. He decided to contact the singer Aage Branner to see whether he could be persuaded to sing. He wrote to Stenhammar:

Thanks for your letter. Yes, I must come over and see you on 2 April. So it will be Berlioz 'Fantastique'. I had actually thought of concluding this concert with the dances (some of the dances) from 'Aladdin', only now you have not just played the 'Inextinguishable' but will also have the 'Maskarade' Overture – which I am very pleased [about] – there is no need for me to push myself further as a composer. I'm thinking about using Aage Branner; I'll hear what he will sing, and when we have a programme, I will send it to Meisner.⁶⁶

Two weeks later Nielsen wrote back with an altered programme: the Berlioz was still there but the other works were replaced by two orchestral songs by Lange-Müller and Beethoven's *Leonora* Overture No. 3, which Nielsen had performed at an earlier subscription concert.⁶⁷ The final programme eventually contained Mozart's *Idomeneo* Overture, an adagio from one of Mozart's string quintets and Beethoven's Fifth Symphony; Branner chose to sing an aria from Haydn's *Creation*.

Carl Nielsen's role as visiting conductor also led to problems with the preparation of works, particularly when not much time had been set aside for rehearsal. The fact that they played several concerts per week meant that the timetable was necessarily tight: for a symphony concert on Wednesday 22 October 1919, for example, Carl Nielsen arrived on Monday evening and the first rehearsal took place the following day.⁶⁸ It is, however, likely that the orchestra began the preparation without the conductor's

64 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Rudolph Simonsen, 27.10.1919.

65 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Rudolph Simonsen, 10.2.1920; Carl Nielsen also wanted to perform the work at the Music Society.

66 *Tak for Brev. Jo, jeg maa op og se Jer den 2den April. Saa bliver det altsaa Berlioz 'Fantastique'. Jeg havde egentlig tænkt at slutte denne Concert med Dansene af (nogle af Dansene) fra 'Aladdin', men da Du nu ikke blot har spillet det 'Uudslukkelige' men nu ogsaa vil have 'Maskarade' Ouverturen – hvad jeg er meget glad [for] – saa gaar det ikke at jeg ogsaa trænger mig yderligere paa som Komponist. Jeg tænker nok, at anvende Aage Branner; nu hører jeg hvad han vil synge og naar vi saa har et Program, sender jeg det til Meisner. DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 11.2.1920.*

67 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 26.2.1919.

68 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 12.10.1919.

contribution, since Stenhammar mentioned several times that he would begin the preparation and that Nielsen could take up the work when he arrived.⁶⁹ Normally only two days were set aside for rehearsals, and each rehearsal would usually last 3 hours (excluding break). The symphony concerts' rehearsals were held on Monday and Tuesday, while rehearsals for the popular concerts were held on Friday and Saturday.⁷⁰

When one considers the relatively large number of concerts in Gothenburg conducted by Nielsen, it is interesting to note how little the programme planning is reflected in his correspondence with Stenhammar. For example, it is only the programme for the first concert of the 1918-19 season that is discussed in letters from this period – the programmes for the Autumn's remaining concerts are not mentioned at all.⁷¹ This seems to indicate that the programmes were discussed and finalised more or less while Carl Nielsen stayed in Gothenburg from around 22 October until 5 November.⁷² Even if this is indicative of Carl Nielsen's first season, it is nevertheless a general trend for the whole of the period he worked in Gothenburg.

From the correspondence one can see that Nielsen sought advice and instruction from Stenhammar on which works should be performed, and it indicates that he often had to gain Stenhammar's approval before the final programme could be published. For the Autumn 1919 concerts, Carl Nielsen began the planning in August by writing to Stenhammar,⁷³ but in spite of this early start, the programme for the first concert on 22 October was not finalised until ten days before. At this symphony concert Nielsen proposed to play the overture of Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, his own *Saga-Drøm*, a work chosen by Stenhammar, which he considered to be festive, not too modern and would not require much rehearsal time; then came the interval and finally Beethoven's Eighth Symphony.⁷⁴ Stenhammar chose Berlioz's 'Queen Mab' Scherzo from *Romeo and Juliet*, which the orchestra had played on an earlier occasion.⁷⁵ In connection with the planning of the 1919-20 season, Nielsen wrote to Stenhammar and remarked that he had engaged Telmányi as soloist.⁷⁶ This unfortunately meant that another soloist had to be moved, which he hoped would not be a problem. Likewise, it appears that even at this rather late stage Carl Nielsen did not know whether Gothen-

69 See for example DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 2.12.1913.

70 Edström, *op. cit.*, 621; Nielsen remarked, however, that he 'had long rehearsals' (*har lange prøver*), e.g. DK-Kk, CNA III.A.a., Carl Nielsen to Irmelin Eggert Møller, 12.11.1918.

71 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 11.9.1918.

72 It should be pointed out that this short-sighted planning was probably due to an outbreak of the Spanish flu across Europe. In Gothenburg they decided to abandon the concerts for the whole of October.

73 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 9.8.1919.

74 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 12.10.1919.

75 Cf. *Festschrift 1915-1925*, 76.

76 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 15.1.1920.

burg had engaged a soloist for the year's first symphony concert on 4 February 1920. He asked to be informed so that he could send the final programme. The letter to Stenhammar suggests that Nielsen had not consulted Stenhammar in advance about the programme details or later changes. In this case he therefore had a freer hand; but with Telmányi's engagement, he obviously felt that he had to seek approval from both the committee and Stenhammar. On 20 January Stenhammar replied with a list of the concert dates for which a soloist had been engaged.⁷⁷ He also mentioned which works Nielsen ought to avoid performing because of the violinist and conductor Henri Marteau, who would arrive in March, and who wished to perform Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*, for example – a work Carl Nielsen had earlier said that he would present. Stenhammar suggested that he perform his own (Nielsen's) Second Symphony, which he chose to do instead.

Regarding the planning of the concert in April 1919, in which Branner would take part, Nielsen mentioned that he would send the final programme to Hjalmar Meissner, who was the second permanent conductor in Gothenburg. Meissner was presumably also consulted regarding the composition of programmes. In April 1921 the programming took place not only in collaboration with Stenhammar but also with Michael Press, who would direct the concerts until November, after which Nielsen would take them over.⁷⁸ In a letter to Stenhammar in September 1921 he presented an overview of programme requests 'with various Danish novelties', and remarked that the programme depended on Press, and which works he had decided to perform.⁷⁹ After Stenhammar left Gothenburg in 1923, Tor Mann was engaged, and from then on the latter together with Mannheimer approved the proposed programmes.

The Repertoire and Carl Nielsen

Carl Nielsen's administrative responsibilities in Gothenburg were minimal compared with the jobs which he had to perform in the Copenhagen Music Society.⁸⁰ The procurement of suitable performance material (unless it was for his own as yet unpublished works), the payment of fees and publicity were not part of his work, but at the same time it should be noted that Carl Nielsen was just one among several conductors associated with the orchestra in Gothenburg, and that he did not have a special position among them. From the Orchestral Society's regulations it appears that they aimed at both 'classical and modern compositions and that in all concerts do-

77 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.b., Wilhelm Stenhammar to Carl Nielsen, 20.1.1920.

78 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 17.9.1921, printed in Møller & Meyer (eds.), *op. cit.*, 209.

79 DK-Kk, CNA I.A.c., Carl Nielsen to Wilhelm Stenhammar, 17.9.1921; the overview is apparently lost.

80 On the Music Society and Carl Nielsen, see Foltmann, *op. cit.*, 277-340.

mestic music must be furthered as far as possible through the presentation of older and younger Swedish composers as a matter of course.⁸¹ Generally the concert repertoire consisted of Classical and Romantic works of, among others, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Schubert, Liszt, Schumann, Berlioz, Tchaikovsky, Wagner, Glazunov, Saint-Saëns, and Brahms.⁸² Of Nordic composers it was particularly works by Sibelius, Grieg, Johan Svendsen, and Nielsen that were performed. They also chose to perform music by Swedish Romantic composers (Berwald, for instance) as well as by composers such as Alfvén, Sjögren, Stenhammar, Hallén, and Söderman influenced by late Romanticism. Interest in Nordic repertoire was apparent particularly in the subscription concerts, but was also seen to a lesser degree in the other concert categories.

Nielsen's work as conductor during the whole period 1914-30 included all three concert categories: the same number of popular concerts (21) and symphony concerts (21), but only six subscription concerts.⁸³ The programmes for the popular concerts which Carl Nielsen was responsible for show that he followed the general principle that the programmes should appeal to a general audience with lighter classical pieces of shorter duration. Accordingly he performed overtures, preludes and arias from various operas, from Handel to Mozart and Weber to Wagner and Rossini. Among larger orchestral works he performed the well-known classical symphonies of Mozart and Haydn; he also played Beethoven's *Leonora* Overtures and movements from Mendelssohn's popular *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and Brahms' *Hungarian Dances*. In common with other conductors, Nielsen also chose to attach particular importance to Nordic works at the popular concerts (20% of the complete repertoire), so that on average a piece by a Nordic composer was played at every concert.⁸⁴

At the symphony and subscription concerts Carl Nielsen favoured late Romantic influenced Nordic composers even more strongly. Even if it is immediately clear that he performed many works by contemporary colleagues at the symphony concerts,

81 *Festschrift 1905-1915*, 26.

82 Cf. the programmes given in the three *Festschriften* cited in note 6.

83 However, the subscription series contained the smallest number of concerts each year (5); in the 1917-18 season there were 5 subscription concerts, 23 symphony concerts and 34 popular concerts. In addition there were two choral concerts, which Nielsen together with Stenhammar presented in Spring 1922 with their own works; not listed in the programme overview in the *Festschrift 1915-25* (see, however, p. 25). Cf. The Concert Hall's programme collection and Appendix, table 2.

84 It is notable that Nielsen's Clarinet Concerto, which belongs among the least accessible parts of his music, was performed at a popular concert in 1929 and not in a symphony or subscription concert. In a letter to Irmelin, Nielsen indicated that the concert took place on Sunday because of the soloist Aage Oxenvad, 'who would otherwise not have been engaged', *DK-Kk*, CNA I.A.a., Carl Nielsen to Irmelin Eggert Møller, 4.4.1929. The reception among the critics was not particularly positive, but the audience's favour for Carl Nielsen might have been of a different order than the critics'.

it appears that out of the total number of works by Nordic composers, 35-40% were his own, including three performances of *Aladdin* and the Violin Concerto and two performances of other pieces. As in the popular concerts, Carl Nielsen often performed symphonies by Mozart, Beethoven and Brahms, whose Second Symphony, along with Beethoven's Second and Fifth together with various larger works by French composers such as Berlioz and Franck, were among the most popular. Among the more unusual composers that Carl Nielsen introduced at the symphony and subscription concerts was Debussy. In Autumn 1918 he compiled a French-inspired programme including César Franck's *Les Éolides*, Debussy's *La Mer*, his own *Pan og Syrinx* from 1918 (a work which is particularly inspired by French impressionism) and concluded the concert with Horneman's overture to *Aladdin*. These three latter works were being given their first Gothenburg performance. In 1921 he programmed Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* in Gothenburg. It is also notable that Nielsen presented the work of Slavic composers such as Tchaikovsky, Smetana, and Dvorák even though he did not feel particularly committed to them. That he nevertheless played these works is presumably explained by his need to take account of the Society's expectation that such repertoire should be presented to the audience, and not rely exclusively on his own taste, and much indicates that he was instructed accordingly by the committee. The same was presumably also true for the works of the late Romantic German composers – principally Wagner – which Nielsen conducted in Gothenburg.⁸⁵

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Carl Nielsen highly valued his time in Gothenburg, and that it functioned as a kind of refuge, especially at the beginning when relations between him and Anne Marie were difficult and painful. Throughout the period when he was substitute for Stenhammar (and also when he appeared as a guest conductor), he felt great respect for the orchestra and loved working with them. Moreover his close relationship with Stenhammar was no less important for his presence in Gothenburg, and it is clear that when Stenhammar left the city, Nielsen's enthusiasm to come waned. At the beginning of the temporary post, Nielsen attempted to improve his working conditions including his pay, and particularly he tried to promote Telmányi as a co-conductor. Even though Carl Nielsen's views were listened to within the committee, his proposal was not followed through, presumably because of the orchestra's opposition to the appointment of more foreign conductors.

The programming was, among other things, characterised by the large number of concerts that were played each season, which meant that repertoire expansion was necessarily given a lower priority. Even though Carl Nielsen began planning for the

85 Cf. Foltmann, *op. cit.*, 299-301.

season's concerts at an early stage, the outcome was usually that the programme was only finalised at the last moment. Nielsen often behaved impulsively, but it should be noted that he had to work with the other conductors, especially with Stenhammar. Many programme alterations were due to the fact that Nielsen had to take other conductors' wishes into consideration; he even agreed to perform works by composers he perhaps did not feel committed to, by which he had even fewer possibilities to set his own completely personal stamp upon the concerts.

One cannot therefore conclude that every work that Carl Nielsen performed in Gothenburg correspond with his conducting repertoire and with those works he enjoyed working with. Nevertheless, overall one can say that the Classical composers (for example Mozart and Beethoven) stood particularly close to his heart; apart from Nordic music he also valued French composers such as Berlioz, Franck, and Ravel. At the same time, it is evident that he avoided Mahler, Bruckner, and Richard Strauss, together with Scriabin, Reger, Elgar, Mussorgsky, Schoenberg, and Bartók – composers, who were performed by other conductors in Gothenburg. Indeed, these composers were part of the Orchestral Society's repertoire but apparently not part of Carl Nielsen's. Nielsen's repertoire can be seen as conservative and not as versatile as that of the younger conductors. He did not show any greater curiosity in the many new musical directions, which is all the more remarkable when one considers his position at the time as one of Denmark's most radical and modern composers.

A P P E N D I X

Concerts Conducted by Carl Nielsen at the Gothenburg Orchestral Society

The programmes are listed in two tables: Table 1: Popular concerts, and Table 2: Symphony and Subscription concerts, arranged in chronological order. The tables are transcribed from the Gothenburg Orchestral Society's Programme Collection using the *Festskrift 1915-1925* and *Festskrift 1925-1935*.

Table 1: Popular concerts

Date	Composer	Work
10.11.1918	Weber Grieg Svendsen Tchakovsky Brahms	<i>Euryanthe</i> , overture <i>Hjertsår and Våren</i> <i>Norwegian Rhapsody in A major</i> <i>Alla polacca and Elegy</i> Three Hungarian Dances
17.11.1918	Rossini Beethoven Mendelssohn Stenhammar Grieg Sibelius	<i>The Barber of Seville</i> , overture String Quartet Op. 18 No. 5, theme and variations arr. for string orch. <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> , nocturne and wedding march <i>Sverige</i> Two Norwegian Dances <i>Finlandia</i> , symphonic poem
8.12.1918	Henry Litolff Schubert Tor Aulin Mozart Schubert Wagner	<i>Robespierre</i> , overture <i>Prometheus</i> , voice and orch., instr. by Nielsen (soloist: Jenny Enevoldsen) <i>Tre gottländska danser</i> , Op. 28 <i>Eine kleine Nachtmusik</i> , serenade 'An Silvia', 'Der Tod' und das Mädchen', 'Der Kreuzzug' and 'Der Eischer', voice and piano (soloist: Enevoldsen) <i>Tannhäuser</i> , entry of the guests into the Wartburg
15.12.1918	Beethoven J.S. Bach Saint Saëns Rossini	Symphony No. 2 Sonata in G minor, violin solo (soloist: Emil Telmányi) <i>Rondo capriccioso</i> , vl. and orch. (soloist: Telmányi) <i>William Tell</i> , overture
26.10.1919	Haydn Mozart	Symphony no. 1, E-flat major <i>The Magic Flute</i> , Pamina's aria (soloist: Hjärdis Wahlgren) <i>The Abduction from the Seraglio</i> , overture

	Strauss Wagner	<i>Frühlingsstimmen</i> , concert waltz (soloist: Wahlgren) <i>The Mastersingers of Nuremberg</i> , prelude
2.11.1919	Mozart F.A. Boieldieu Corelli Svendsen	Symphony No. 38 ('Prague') <i>La dame blanche</i> , overture <i>La follia</i> , theme and variations (soloist: Gösta Andreasson) <i>Norwegian Rhapsody</i> , No. 3
1.2.1920	Svendsen E. Sjögren Dvorak Wagner	Symphony No. 2, Op. 15 <i>Festpolonäs</i> Nocturne, string orch. <i>Tannhäuser</i> , overture
8.2.1920	Haydn Mozart Strauss Wagner Tjajkovsky Berlioz	Symphony No. 6, G major <i>The Magic Flute</i> , Queen of the Night's aria (soloist: Sabine Meyen) <i>Frühlingsstimmen</i> , concert waltz (soloist: Meyen) <i>Lohengrin</i> , prelude <i>The Nutcracker</i> , dances <i>Hungarian March</i> [from <i>La damnation de Faust</i>]
15.2.1920	F. Auber Max Bruch Sibelius Beethoven Saint-Saëns	<i>La muette de Portici</i> , overture Violin concerto, Op. 26 (soloist: Telmányi) <i>En Saga</i> , symphonic poem String Quartet Op. 18 No. 5, theme and variations arr. for string orch. <i>Danse macabre</i> , symphonic poem
13.11.1921	Rossini Lalo Mendelssohn Haydn Wagner	<i>The Barber of Seville</i> , overture <i>Symphonie espagnole</i> , vl. and orch. (soloist: Erna Fournes) <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> , scherzo String Quartet in G major, Op. 76 No. 3 ('The Emperor'), variations arr. for string orch. <i>Tannhäuser</i> , overture
20.11.1921	Cherubini Gade Berlioz Schubert Svendsen	<i>L'hôtellerie portugaise</i> , overture <i>Elverskuð</i> , 'Oluf's aria' (soloist: Anders Brems) <i>Le damnation de Faust</i> , three movements <i>Rosamunde</i> , entr'acte 'Der Wegweiser', 'Auf dem Wasser zur Singen', 'An mein Klavier', 'Der Erbkönig', voice and piano (soloist: Brems) <i>Karneval i Paris</i>
27.11.1921	Gade Brahms Haydn	<i>Efterklange af Ossian</i> , overture Violin Concerto in D major (soloist: Adolf Busch) Symphony No. 11, G major

4.12.1921	H. Marschner Stenhammar Carl Nielsen	<i>Hans Heiling</i> , overture Piano Concerto No. 2, Op. 23 (soloist: Zelmica Arplund) <i>Aladdin</i> , suite
11.12.1921	Mozart Wagner Boccherini Algot Haquinius Carl Nielsen	Symphony No. 40 <i>Der fliegende Holländer</i> , aria (soloist: Harald Falkman) Minuet, string orch. 'I passionsveckan' and 'Hälsning', voice and orch. (soloist: Flakman) <i>Maskarade</i> , overture
12.2.1922	Boieldieu Paradisi "Old French Master" Gluck Beethoven Riis-Magnussen Poul Schierbeck Carl Nielsen Weber	<i>La dame blanche</i> , overture <i>Quel ruscelletto</i> , voice and orch. (soloist: Sylvia Schierbeck) <i>Le beau séjour</i> , voice and orch. (soloist: Schierbeck) <i>Ballet suite II</i> , three movements (arr. Felix Mottl) String Quartet Op. 18, No. 5, theme and variations 'Himlen', voice and piano (soloists: Sylvia and Poul Schierbeck) 'Vaarregnen', 'Sang paa Floden', voice and piano (soloists: Sylvia and Poul Schierbeck) 'Tit er jeg glad', 'Studie efter Naturen', voice and piano (soloists: Sylvia and Poul Schierbeck) <i>L'invitation à la valse</i> (orch. by Berlioz)
5.3.1922	Spohr Verdi Tor Aulin Sibelius Weber	<i>Jessonda</i> , overture <i>Aïda</i> , aria (soloist: Margaret Adla-Scholander) <i>Tre gottländske danser</i> , Op. 28 <i>Scènes historiques</i> , Op. 25 <i>Oberon</i> , overture
16.4.1922	Beethoven S. Liaponov Chopin Liszt Gluck Wagner	<i>Leonore</i> No. 3, overture Piano Concerto in E-flat major (soloist: Leo Sirota) Two studies and waltz in F minor, piano (soloist: Sirota) Hungarian Rhapsody No. 6, piano (soloist: Sirota) <i>Orfeus</i> , 'Elysis's dance' and 'Dance of the Furies' <i>The Mastersingers of Nuremberg</i> , prelude
17.4.1922 ⁸⁶	Mozart Grieg Gade	Symphony No. 41 <i>Bergliot</i> (soloist: Gerda Lundequist-Dahlström) <i>Im Hochland</i> , overture
23.4.1922	Gluck Händel Beethoven	<i>Iphigenie en Aulis</i> , overture <i>Partenope</i> , aria (soloist: Ingeborg Steffensen) <i>The Ruins of Athens</i> , march

86 Both Nielsen and Stenhammar conducted at this concert.

	Wagner	<i>Lohengrin</i> , Prelude to Act 3
	Peder Gram	<i>Avalon</i> , voice and orch. (soloist: Steffensen)
	Bizet	<i>Carmen</i> , 'Gypsy song' (soloist: Steffensen)
	Verdi	<i>Aida</i> , marche triomphale
7.4.1929	Mozart	Symphony No. 40
	Carl Nielsen	Clarinet Concerto (soloist: Aage Oxenvad)
	Rossini	<i>The Barber of Seville</i> , overture
16.2.1929	Carl Nielsen	<i>Maskarade</i> , overture
	Beethoven	String Quartet [Op. 18] No. 5, theme and variations
	Händel	<i>Alcina</i> , aria (soloist: Margaret Abler) <i>Semele</i> , aria (soloist: Abler)
	Gluck	<i>Die Pilgrimme von Mecca</i> , cavatina
	Max Reger	'Mein Traum' and 'Des Kindes Gebet' (soloist: Abler)
	Joseph Marx	'Japanische Regenlied' and 'Hat dich die Liebe berührt' (soloist: Abler)
	Carl Nielsen	<i>Aladdin</i> , suite

Table 2: Subscription and Symphony concerts

(a): subscription concerts

(s): symphony concerts

Date	Composer	Work
6.2.1914 ⁸⁷ (a)	Carl Nielsen	Symphony No. 3 Violin Concerto (soloist: Peder Møller) <i>Saga-Drøm</i> <i>Maskarade</i> , overture
5.4.1918 ⁸⁸ (a)	Grieg Stenhammar Carl Nielsen	<i>Sigurd Jorsalfar</i> , three movements Piano Concerto No. 2, Op. 23 (soloist: Johanne Stockmarr) Symphony No. 4
30.10.1918 (s)	Brahms Berlioz	Symphony No. 2 <i>Roméo et Juliette</i> , symphony, Op. 17
13.11.1918 (s)	Franck Debussy Carl Nielsen C.F.E. Horneman	<i>Les Éolides</i> <i>La Mer</i> <i>Pan og Syrinx</i> <i>Aladdin</i> and 'Eine Märchen-Ouverture'

87 This concert took place before Nielsen's substitution.

88 Nielsen conducted only his own symphony; the other works were directed by Stenhammar.

18.11.1918 (a)	Beethoven Mozart	<i>Coriolan</i> , overture Piano Concerto No. 5 (soloist: Wilhelm Stenhammar) Symphony No. 40
4.12.1918 (s)	Berlioz Stenhammar Beethoven	<i>King Lear</i> , overture Serenade Op. 29, for strings [arr. of String Quartet No. 5] Symphony No. 7
10.12.1918 (a)	Haydn Beethoven	Symphony No. 7, C major Violin Concerto (soloist: Telmányi) Overture, <i>Leonore</i> , No. 3
11.12.1918 (s)	Schubert Wagner	Symphony No. [9], C major <i>The Mastersingers</i> , prelude to Act 3 <i>Siegfried</i> , 'Forest murmurs' <i>Der fliegende Holländer</i> , overture
18.12.1918 (s)	Emilius Bangert Ture Rangström Svendsen	Symphony in C major <i>Divertiment elegiaco</i> , suite for strings <i>Karneval i Paris</i>
2.4.1919 (s)	Mozart Haydn Mozart Beethoven	<i>Idomeneo</i> , overture <i>The Creation</i> , aria (soloist: Aage Branner) Quintet in G minor, adagio, for strings Symphony No. 5
22.10.1919 (s)	Mendelssohn Carl Nielsen Berlioz Beethoven	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> , overture <i>Saga-Drøm</i> <i>Roméo et Juliette</i> , Queen Mab scherzo Symphony No. 8
29.10.1919 (s)	Brahms Beethoven Haydn Berlioz	Symphony No. 2 <i>Egmont</i> , overture 'Emperor' variations, for strings ⁸⁹ <i>Roman Carnival</i>
5.11.1919 (s)	Franck Mendelssohn Mozart Smetana	Symphony in D minor <i>Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage</i> , overture Adagio in E-flat major, for strings <i>From Bohemian Woods and Groves</i> , symphonic poem
4.2.1920 (s)	Gade Rudolph Simonsen Beethoven Berlioz	<i>Im Hochland</i> , overture <i>Zion</i> , symphony Piano Concerto No. 4 (soloist: Rudolph Simonsen) <i>Les Troyens</i> , march

⁸⁹ Probably String Quartet in G major, Op. 76, No. 3, variations arranged for string orchestra; see table 1, 13.11.1921.

11.2.1920 (s)	Mozart Carl Nielsen	Symphony No. 35 Violin Concerto (soloist: Telmányi) <i>Saul og David</i> , prelude to Act 2
13.2.1920 (a)	Mozart Gluck Verdi Beethoven	<i>Don Giovanni</i> , overture <i>Don Giovanni</i> , aria (Donna Anna) (soloist: Kaja Eide) <i>Paride ed Elena</i> , dance <i>La Traviata</i> , scene and aria (soloist: Eide) Symphony No. 7
18.2.1920 (s)	Cherubini Rameau Carl Nielsen	<i>Les deux journées, ou Le porteur d'eau</i> , overture <i>Les indes galantes</i> , airs de ballet (suite No. 1) Symphony No. 2
23.11.1921 (s)	Victor Bendix Brahms Sibelius	<i>Fjeldstigning</i> , Symphony No. 1, Op. 16 Haydn Variations <i>En saga</i> , symphonic poem
25.11.1921 (a)	Beethoven Busoni Carl Nielsen	<i>Coriolan</i> , overture Violin Concerto, Op. 35a (soloist: Adolf Busch) <i>Aladdin</i> , suite
30.11.1921 (s)	Brahms Franck Wagner	Symphony No. 2 <i>Le chasseur maudit</i> , symphonic poem <i>The Mastersingers of Nuremberg</i> , prelude
7.12.1921 (s)	Wagner Glazunov Peder Gram Debussy Liszt	<i>Lohengrin</i> , prelude Violin Concerto Op. 82 (soloist: Michael Press) <i>Ouvertura contrapunctica</i> <i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune</i> Polonaise No. 2
8.2.1922 (s)	Beethoven Wagner Ravel Beethoven	Symphony No. 5 <i>The Mastersingers of Nuremberg</i> , prelude to Act 3 <i>Ma mère l'oye</i> <i>Leonore</i> , No. 2, overture
15.2.1922 (s)	Schierbeck Mozart Berlioz	Symphony, No. 1, Op. 15 <i>Don Giovanni</i> , overture <i>The Marriage of Figaro</i> , aria (soloist: Sylvia Schierbeck) ' <i>Wiegenlied</i> ' (soloist: Schierbeck) <i>Roméo et Juliette</i> Op. 17, two movements
17.2.1922 (a)	Mendelssohn Haydn Mozart Svendsen David Popper Berlioz	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> , overture Cello Concerto in C major (soloist: Bror Persfelt) <i>Eine kleine Nachtmusik</i> , serenade Cello Concerto, andante (soloist: Persfelt) <i>Tarantella</i> , cello and orch. (soloist: Persfelt) <i>Roman Carnival</i>

8.3.1922 (s)	Berlioz Kurt Atterberg Mozart Weber Carl Nielsen	<i>King Lear</i> , overture <i>Härvard Harpolekare</i> , intermezzo (soloist: Margaret Adler-Scholander) String Quintet in G minor, adagio <i>Oberon</i> , aria (soloist: Adler-Scholander) Symphony No. 5
27.4.1922(a/s) 28.4.1922 ⁹⁰	Carl Nielsen Stenhammar	<i>Helios</i> , overture <i>Hymnus amoris</i> <i>Sången</i> , symphonic cantata
19.1.1927 (s)	Carl Nielsen	<i>Maskarade</i> , overture Violin Concerto (soloist: Telmányi) <i>Saga-Drøm</i> <i>Aladdin</i> , suite
3.4.1929 (s)	Carl Nielsen Mozart Beethoven	Symphony No. 3 <i>Eine kleine Nachtmusik</i> , serenade <i>Leonore</i> , No. 3, overture
12.2.1930 (s)	Beethoven Carl Nielsen	Symphony No. 2 Flute Concerto (soloist: Herman Muchow) <i>Pan og Syrinx</i> <i>Helios</i> , overture

A B S T R A C T

During his marital crisis, which started around 1917, Nielsen tried to get away from Copenhagen where he found the conditions gradually becoming more and more difficult. When he realised that Wilhelm Stenhammar – chief conductor in Gothenburg – wanted to spend more time on composing Nielsen wrote several times asking whether he could act as a substitute for Stenhammar. They agreed that Nielsen should relieve Stenhammar of some of the duties as conductor, initially just for one season. However, the Orchestral Society was so satisfied with Nielsen – and he with the conditions in Gothenburg – that he worked as a substitute for many years. Apparently Nielsen was able to decide which works to include in the programmes, as long as he followed the Society's guidelines. From a modern point of view, the programming may seem somewhat haphazard and impulsive but it was often dictated by many practical circumstances. Nielsen's repertoire in Gothenburg seems conservative and not as varied as that of younger conductors, and he does not seem to have had a particular interest in new musical trends. The article includes an appendix containing the programmes of those concerts which Nielsen conducted in Gothenburg.

Translated by Daniel Grimley

⁹⁰ Nielsen conducted his own works, while Stenhammar conducted his.