
C A R L N I E L S E N A N D T H E R A D I O

By Knud Ketting

Only a few places in Europe took up the newly developed radio as quickly and as widely as Denmark. In 1930, when the public Danish radio organisation had five years behind it, Denmark was statistically leading in European terms and had been there for some time.

At this point in Denmark there were 119.5 registered radio listeners per 1000 inhabitants, and a long way behind lay Sweden with 79, and the UK, Austria and Germany with 77.5, 63.4, and 56.2 respectively.¹ There were certainly also some 'pirate listeners', or 'plankeværkslyttere' as they were known in Denmark, which is to say, listeners who did not pay the statutory fee. But the Danish weekly radio magazine, which published the figures, maintained that the highest number could be found at the bottom of the European table, in Romania, where the official figure was 2.8.

Radio broadcasting was of crucial importance for the development of musical life in Denmark, and therefore also for Carl Nielsen, without doubt the leading composer in Denmark at the time. As in a series of other European nations, the development of radio broadcasting began with a private war of the air waves, in which politicians then intervened. Relatively swift legislation led to the creation of a national licence-paid broadcasting authority on 1 April 1925, at first as a trial and then, within a year, on a permanent basis.

It was hardly a coincidence that the first manager of the Danish broadcasting authority to be chosen was a man already involved with music, namely the bass singer Emil Holm (1867-1950), who, after a career in German opera houses² returned to Denmark at the outbreak of the First World War. He was a good friend of Carl Nielsen, and had already helped in the dissemination of Nielsen's music in Germany. It was thanks to him, for instance, that Nielsen came to conduct his *Sinfonia Espansiva* in Stuttgart in 1913.³

1 Following the note in the weekly radio magazine *Radiolytteren*, 8 November (1931), 2.

2 After working at the opera in Breslau and Düsseldorf, from 1901 Emil Holm was engaged by the Hofoper in Stuttgart, where in 1913 he was promoted to *Kammersänger* (in Danish *Kammersanger*), a title of which he was very proud.

3 Cf. Torben Meyer & Frede Schandorf Petersen, *Carl Nielsen, Kunsteren og Mennesket*, vol. 2, Copenhagen 1948, 28ff.

After his return home, Holm had taken part in the performance of the music that Nielsen wrote for the festivities at Kronborg castle in Helsingør in 1916 in connection with the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's death. He was also involved around 1918-9 in an unrealised project, publicly backed by Nielsen, to create a large new symphony orchestra in Copenhagen (which would have been accommodated in a large new hall). Furthermore, he had been the leader of an association of Danish singers and musicians known as the Soloist Union (*Solist-Forbundet*) that sought to improve working conditions for its members.

Before Emil Holm returned to Denmark, it was Nielsen who was in greater need of Holm's influence and prestige. Now the situation was to a certain extent reversed.

Nielsen and the milestones

Holm, in daily conversation never addressed as anything other than *Kammersangeren* (the Court Singer), very much wanted to give classical music a central position in the new medium. As newly appointed director he was entirely responsible for overseeing the broadcasting schedule, in principle state-controlled but in practice rather Holm-controlled. Thanks to the Radio Council's accommodating leader, *kammerherre* Christian Lerche, he succeeded by and large in running the daily business without appreciable intervention from above.⁴

Holm concentrated hard on the establishment of a radio orchestra. Launy Grøndahl (1886-1960) was appointed *kapelmester* on 1 April 1926, and on 1 October 1927 Emil Reesen (1887-1964) was appointed assistant conductor. Holm certainly felt that Nielsen could also be a serious ally, so he engaged the conducting composer every time a milestone was passed in the new orchestra's development.

The first such milestone was reached when Holm with the radio orchestra at the centre arranged the public radio broadcast of an orchestral concert from the Odd Fellow Palæ on 14 January 1927. There were no fewer than 83 musicians on stage, with the most popular Danish violinist of the time, composer Fini Henriques (1867-1940) and Nielsen's own son-in-law Emil Telmányi (1892-1988) as leaders. In view of the fact that the orchestra's usual manning at this point was 26 musicians, it was a significant gamble.

Royal *Kapelmester* Georg Høeberg (1872-1950) conducted Danish classics in the first half of the concert, and Nielsen took over thereafter with the prelude to act 2 of *Saul og David*, the second part of the Violin Concerto (with Telmányi as soloist) and in conclusion the *Sinfonia Espansiva*. The gamble paid off with the public, and the critics also responded favourably towards the initiative. *Politiken* wrote, for example:

4 On this topic see, for example, Felix Nørgaard, Harald Krebs and Waldemar Wolsing (eds.), *De musiske udsendelser DR 1925-75* ['The Musical Broadcasts, Radio Denmark 1925-75'], vol. 1, Copenhagen 1975, and on the Radio Orchestra music in particular, see Martin Granau, *Holms Vision*, vol. 1, Copenhagen, 2000.

Not only has one quit the studio's more modest accommodation on Købmagergade, where the usual transmissions take place, but also thereby opened access for the concert public – in other words, killed two birds with one stone: an ordinary public concert and simultaneously a magnificent radio broadcast. For those concerned that the radio will negatively affect attendance, for example at concerts, it was a pleasant surprise to see every seat taken in the Great Palæsal at the Radio Authority's own concert.⁵

A few years later Holm forged a completely corresponding plan when 'his' orchestra, now 54 musicians strong, would move into the so-called Stærekasse ['Nest Box'] in 1931, which once a week took time out from its function as the Royal Theatre's newly created annex-stage and instead hosted the Radio Symphony Orchestra's concerts.

The first major concert in the Stærekasse would be held on 1 October. Here Launy Grøndahl conducted works by Niels W. Gade in the first half, and after the interval Nielsen would direct performances of the prelude to Act 2 of *Saul og David*, the Violin Concerto with Peder Møller (1877-1940, soloist at the work's premiere in 1912) as soloist, and three of the orchestral numbers from *Aladdin*. Holm also indicated 'so as to avoid any misunderstanding' that Nielsen would receive payment for the compositions as well as the agreed fee for conducting.⁶

It never took place. Shortly before the concert Nielsen was admitted to the Rigs-hospital with heart problems – a confinement that he never recovered from – and so Emil Reesen had to undertake the conducting duties at short notice while Nielsen listened via the radio and headset at the hospital, apparently disappointed by Møller's interpretation; but he was barely fully concentrated.⁷

Nielsen was therefore involved with the development of Danish radio until his final hours. But he had also been there right from the very beginning.

Carl Nielsen as pedagogue

Even before the official establishment of the radio trial, Nielsen had supported Holm's music educational efforts by giving a radio lecture on good and bad music on 24 January 1925.

At this point Holm was associated with the private Danish Radio Club as artistic director. Unfortunately, the lecture's text has not survived, but the following day *Politiken* published a short report that can give us an idea of its contents:

5 Signed Ax. K. (Axel Kjerulf), *Politiken*, 15.1.1927.

6 Letter dated 24.7.1931, now in DK-Kk, Carl Nielsen Arkivet (CNA).

7 Cf. Meyer & Schandorf Petersen, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 335, where it is mistakenly indicated that Carlo Andersen was the soloist in the violin concerto.

By demonstrating his own thoughts at the piano he was able to give an accessible as well as instructive representation of the unwritten yet unfailling tonal rules which lie as the foundation of all music, and show through brilliant parables the connections between art and nature. Carl Nielsen would not be the staunch musician that he is, if he had not energetically used this opportunity, when he had 30 000 listeners, to discuss with glaring examples his aversion to these modern times' intellectually impoverished jazz and other musical wickedness. His talk concluded with the desire to awaken people's critical awareness, so that they can distinguish between wrong and right.⁸

In the days immediately preceding this lecture Nielsen was probably also actively involved in an attempt to secure the radio conflict safely in the state's embrace and its daily leadership under Holm. In any case he noted in his diary on 22 January: 'At the traffic minister Friis-Skotte regarding Emil Holm and the radio matter', and on 23 January, 'Conversation with general director Krarup reg. E. H. and the radio matter.'⁹ Perhaps it was due to Holm that the microphones were switched on in the Odd Fellow Palæ, Copenhagen's largest concert hall, before the State Radio began to function, when Carl Nielsen conducted the Music Society's performance of Haydn's oratorio *The Creation* on 31 March.

The radio's role in Danish musical life

Nielsen must quickly have realised that his own music could not be said to have been under-represented in the broadcasts. His Danish songs in particular were often included among the thematic broadcasts with singing and speech which Holm was fond of presenting. The topic could be a Danish place, a Danish poet or simply Danish poetry in general. In every case it was live musical performances in the studio, because for technical as well as professional reasons Holm opposed the broadcasting of gramophone records completely until 1929, and even then it was the exception rather than the rule.

Holm had therefore shown himself prepared to fire in Nielsen's direction, and had arranged a direct transmission from the Royal Theatre, when Nielsen himself returned on 25 November 1925 to conduct the 50th performance of his opera *Maskarade*.

8 Signed H. S. (Hugo Seligmann) in *Politiken* 25.1.1925.

9 *Hos Trafikminister Friis-Skotte angaaende Emil Holm og Radiosagen. Samtale med Generaldirektør Krarup ang: E.H. og Radiosagen.* Cf. Torben Schousboe (ed.), *Carl Nielsen. Dagbøger og brevveksling med Anne-Marie Carl Nielsen*, Copenhagen, 1983, vol. 2, 477. T. F. Krarup was general director of the Telegraph department, which was responsible for the radio transmissions.

Nielsen seems, at this point at any rate, to appreciate that Holm was in the process of developing a radio-based orchestra, which in the long term could mean new performance opportunities for his own orchestral music.

Of course, one of Holm's strongest opponents, Tivoli's chief conductor Frederik Schnedler-Petersen (1867-1938), had belonged to Nielsen's circle of friends ever since they were students together at the conservatoire in Copenhagen. Nevertheless the composer trod with caution when, after eighteen months with the new radio system, as part of a broader enquiry in *Berlingske Tidende's* weekly magazine *Radiolytteren*, he offered an opinion on the new medium and its role in musical life:¹⁰

It is actually difficult for me to express myself, says Mr Carl Nielsen, when I am part of the issue in a way – and therefore wish that the so-called 'higher' music should be strongly represented in the radio programmes. But – this viewpoint is of no use, it is necessary for us to find a common denominator for the many listeners who are found in this country. I must therefore discount my own wish and try and find the most practical solution.

According to my previous acquaintance with the Radio's programmes, I believe that every side is reasonably favoured, yet I believe that to my joy the programme selection appears to be aimed towards a favouring of the so-called higher music. It is not always that this so-called higher music is synonymous with good music – much lies hidden under that cloak – and rather than the poorer 'higher' music I much prefer the most entertaining and best music of the 2nd and 3rd classes ...

– What do you think about the broadcasting of operas and concerts?

– I do not think that, in the long run, it will harm theatre and concerts if they are broadcast. Right now it may have some influence, but I am certain that in 4 or 5 years' time I will be proved right that they have not been damaged. People will still come and see what is happening. Solely by sitting with a receiver to the ear and listening to what comes across the ether from the distance – that is something very abstract. People would rather be there themselves – and when they attend a performance of musical works which they have heard on their radio, then they will feel the pleasure of recognition when they see everything which they have already heard. It is hard to say what people want; but I think it is splendid that there is criticism from the listeners' side, for it shows that they are active.

¹⁰ *Radiolytteren* 27 November (1926), 2.

A new Danish transmitter

Nielsen became engaged as musical consultant for the Danish radio on a single occasion. When in 1926 with a new radio law it was also decided to build a new Danish transmitter at Kalundborg, discussions took place regarding the type of transmitter. Should it be a so-called machine-type [maskinsender] (which could be made by a Danish manufacturer), or a valve transmitter [rørsender] (which would have to be purchased overseas). As on the whole with everything else regarding the newly established radio the issue became a political one, and even the politicians had a sense that the difficult decisions at times and with good reason could be taken by specialists.

The traffic minister, who then had responsibility for the radio, therefore decided to send off a little ad hoc commission to listen to European transmissions from both types. A committee was appointed at short notice and without publication of the experts names;¹¹ it consisted of Nielsen, his younger composition colleague and earlier pupil, Poul Schierbeck (1888-1949), Emil Holm, and head engineer Kay Christiansen, who had already beforehand recommended a machine transmitter to the Radio Authority and was therefore impugned by the papers. The two composers were formally appointed by the General Director of the Telegraph Department, but Nielsen's involvement in any case was certainly at Holm's request.¹²

The group departed on 14 August 1926, and already before they had returned home the participants' names had slipped out to the expectant public.¹³ When they had finished the listening work, partly in Munich itself, and partly in the small town Prien, about 100 km away, Nielsen used the opportunity to change the return journey into cash. He went straight to San Gimignano in Tuscany, where part of his family were on vacation, and where he stayed to compose the Flute Concerto, which was to be performed in Paris later in the same autumn.

By the middle of October, when the group's report¹⁴ in favour of a receiving transmitter had been published, Carl Nielsen was back in Denmark where he was questioned by *Politiken*:

11 See for example *Radiolytteren*, 14 August (1926).

12 See Felix Nørgaard, Harald Krebs and Waldemar Wolsing, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 262.

13 *Politiken*, 22.8.1926. On the more detailed circumstances of the tour's organisation and implementation, see Emil Holm, *Erindringer og Tidsskildringer* ['Recollections and Pictures of the Time'], vol. 2, Copenhagen 1939, 78-9.

14 In Felix Nørgaard, Harald Krebs and Waldemar Wolsing, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 262-3, chief engineer N. E. Holmblad is cited with the undoubtedly correct opinion that it was characteristic of the time that judgement was based upon direct listening, supposedly on receivers whose reproduction quality there was no control over, instead of attempting a measurement of the frequency range etc., which would give a much better comparison of transmitter types. Fortunately the right result was reached, for in the long run valve transmitters were preferred almost everywhere.

It is really amazing, what it has achieved and how powerful the development of radio has become. And even as an artist I was struck – think, what public one can reach out to, now everyone sits with their little receivers. If a composer has a thought, a feeling, something quite special within their heart – which one must have to produce good art – then it is remarkable that he can awaken the same within hundreds of thousands, even millions, not only by notes, not only by concert hall performances, but through the song of the radio across the world ...

I learnt for the first time how phenomenal the development of radio has become. I heard orchestral music and could distinguish every single instrument out of the whole. There were many tests that we had with almost all of Europe's most important stations, but what struck me most was that the best transmitters reproduced the instruments with the correct colour and tone in the greatest accuracy.¹⁵

The interviewer, editor Svend Carstensen, knew the Danish radio from the inside, because he had been employed as announcer for a while, and he tried therefore to tempt the country's leading musical personalities finally to express themselves more generally on Danish radio and its manning. He asked what Carl Nielsen saw as being the most important thing in 'Radio-art', as Carstensen called it, and Nielsen answered:

Isn't the most important thing, as in all other art, that the radio artist, whether he is a conductor or soloist, is in harmony with the creative spirit which conceived the work he performs. That applies generally with artistic output, but perhaps most in the Radio, where only the pure character emerges and where nothing irrelevant, settings, orchestral arrangement, conducting style and everything else can distract. The radio must not be a machine – because radio machinery has developed so well that it reveals every mechanical artistry. It is hugely important that the technician, who directs the radio station with his handle, is an artist himself.¹⁶

Tivoli and the radio

One of the most important Danish platforms for the performance of Carl Nielsen's music was Tivoli's concert hall, which, as noted above, had the conductor Frederik

15 Interview in *Politiken*, 24 October 1926 with editor Svend Carstensen. Also reproduced in John Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin samtid*, vols., 1-3, Copenhagen 1999, vol. 2, 399-402.

16 *Ibid.*

17 On Carl Nielsen's music in the Tivoli repertoire, see Knud Ketting, 'Carl Nielsen og Tivoli', *Fund og Forskning* 41 (2002), 233-60, or in a slightly revised English version in *Carl Nielsen Studies* 1 (2003), 82-101.

Schnedler-Petersen as director.¹⁷ It is therefore all the more regrettable that the newly-founded radio did not manage to agree on a transmission arrangement with Tivoli until after the festivities in connection with Carl Nielsen's Tivoli-centred 60th birthday on 9 June 1925 were over.¹⁸

The first Nielsen work transmitted from Tivoli was the overture to his opera *Maskarade*, which Schnedler-Petersen had programmed as the evening's introductory work on 14 July, over a month after the composer's birthday. The following summer, listeners hoped that the microphones would be switched on at Tivoli. But negotiations between the newly created radio authority and Tivoli's director were not successful.

Behind the breakdown of negotiations no doubt lay the personal opposition between Holm and Schnedler-Petersen. They were or had been (Holm had had to step down when he became the Radio's manager) leaders of two of the rival Danish soloist societies, and as a member of the new State Radio's first programme committee, Schnedler-Petersen criticised Holm (with justification) for favouring his own members. Schnedler-Petersen, who in addition had been a fellow candidate for the position of manager, obviously could not look on favourably if the continual development of the radio orchestra took over the best of the Tivoli orchestra's musicians.

Only in 1928 did the two partners succeed in reaching a certain understanding between themselves, so that transmissions began again on a more sporadic basis. With 19 radio transmitted works out of around 100 overall (see Appendix 2), in numerical terms Tivoli still weighed relatively heavily. But it was more by sheer weight of numbers than by the size of works, for the only large-scale Nielsen works transmitted from Tivoli were the *Sinfonia Espansiva*,¹⁹ *Pan og Syrinx*²⁰ and the Flute Concerto (with Holger Gilbert-Jespersen, and conducted by Nielsen himself in June 1931, his final appearance at Tivoli's concert hall).

New Nielsen works on the radio

Nielsen managed to write music directly for performance on the new medium. None of the works count among his largest or most important, perhaps because his relation-

18 After Holm had failed to do anything in the studio in connection with the 60th birthday celebrations, he attempted to compensate the following year in connection with the 61st birthday, when on 10 June he arranged a large-scale broadcast including the Prelude to Act 2 of *Saul og David*, songs with orchestral and piano accompaniment, an excerpt from *Maskarade*, the Suite for Strings, the Romance for oboe and piano, and four of the orchestral numbers from *Aladdin*. Launy Grøndahl conducted the Radio Orchestra with, among others, the soprano Sylvia Schierbeck. In his own concert diary, Grøndahl observed that the composer was away, which was true: Nielsen was at Damgaard, where it was not possible to hear the radio.

19 3.6.1930, conducted by Schnedler-Petersen.

20 19.6.1930 with the Berlin Police Symphony Orchestra conducted by Camillo Hillebrand.

ship with the radio was rather equivocal. Had it occurred to Holm to commission a new symphony or perhaps a new violin concerto with Nielsen's son-in-law Emil Telmányi as soloist, he would possibly have received it. But it never happened.

The six performances discussed below either took place in the studio or at publicly transmitted events elsewhere in Copenhagen. Only one of them was directly commissioned by the State Radio.

The first new Nielsen work which listeners were offered was a short overture, written for a Faroese festival performance at the Royal Theatre on 27 November 1927 and entitled *En Fantasirejse til Færøerne*. Nielsen himself stood at the helm of the Royal Chapel.²¹ The whole performance was transmitted, but since the rest mostly consisted of line dances, performed by Faroese specially shipped over for the occasion, the whole event must have had only an incomplete effect on the radio.

On 1 November 1928 the radio orchestra under its Czech guest conductor Jaroslav Krupka performed Carl Nielsen's *Bøhmisk-dansk Folketone*, which Emil Holm had asked him to write. This was part of an exchange between Krupka and Launy Grøndahl, where Grøndahl conducted music by Nielsen, Kuhlau, Gade, Lange-Müller, Fini Henriques, Peder Gram and Riisager in Prague, while Krupka at the Axelborg concert (where the orchestra was augmented with extra musicians) presented Nielsen's new work, written for strings alone, and conducted music by Josef Suk, Dvorák and Smetana. Nielsen's score was dated 'Copenhagen 24th October 1928', and Krupka first received the music when he arrived in Copenhagen to lead rehearsals before the transmission itself.²²

In the following day's papers the critics were taking a bow. On the other hand, we know nothing about Krupka's reaction to the new work, and from the Czech radio programmes which are known from Danish radio magazines, he did not conduct the work at home in Prague. Grøndahl did perform the work when he conducted in Prague. Perhaps no-one thought ahead to prepare an extra Prague copy of the handwritten parts, which Grøndahl took home with him. The piece was not printed until a long time after Nielsen's death.²³ On the other hand the work entered the Danish Radio Orchestra's permanent repertoire under both Grøndahl's and Reesen's direction.²⁴

When the Danish Technical University, Polytechnic College, was to celebrate its 100th anniversary with a large installation in the Copenhagen exhibition hall Forum on

21 In Nielsen's lifetime the work was only performed in connection with the aforementioned visit from the Færøes.

22 Cf. reports in *Politiken*, 31.10.1928, reproduced in John Fellow, *op. cit.*, vol. 2., 499-501.

23 Skandinavisk og Borups Musikforlag, Copenhagen, 1942.

24 The work was played again on 14.8.1929, 6.3.1930, 30.7.1930, and 12.6.1931 under the unauthorised title *Czekisk-dansk Folketone*. In Nielsen's lifetime it was only the Radio orchestra who played the piece within Denmark, and Grøndahl's performance in Prague is the only known of internationally.

30 August 1929, Carl Nielsen was asked to set music to verses by L. C. Nielsen (1871-1930), with whom he had worked previously.²⁵ The author ended up abandoning the project, and at short notice the young Hans Hartvig Seedorff Pedersen (1892-1986) was selected to take his place.

The whole jubilee festival was transmitted on the radio, and apart from the cantata, a wind orchestra version of Nielsen's *Festpræludium* (originally written for piano in connection with the turn of the century) was played as an introduction, and a concluding hymn was sung by the whole assembly with the orchestra's accompaniment. This also had a text by Seedorff Pedersen ('Vort lyse Land, du Drømmens Syn'), and was written so that it could be sung to Nielsen's melody 'Du danske Mand', which at this time had become common Danish property.²⁶

To the great Danish Arts Rally held in the Copenhagen Forum in October-November 1929, the author Sophus Michaëlis (1865-1932) wrote a *Hymne til Kunsten* (Hymn to Art), which Nielsen was to set to music. Where he otherwise had difficulty in finding inspiration for such everyday tasks, here the composer was seized by a burst of divine inspiration and wrote more than he was asked for. He composed a complete little cantata with solo strophes for a soprano and a tenor, which was premiered at the inauguration with direct radio transmission before an invited and enthusiastic audience with the king at its head.

The critics were also positive: 'the music events at the Arts Rally received their worthy introduction in the afternoon with Carl Nielsen's Hymn for Choir and Orchestra to Sophus Michaëlis's poem on all the branches of art that combined here in the Rally. The stately constructed fugue, which concluded with the musically transmitted hurrahs – the Rally's festive prelude.'²⁷ All in all it was so obviously a success that it was decided to repeat it at one of the Rally's later concerts.²⁸

To the poem 'Island' by the Danish commander and part-time poet Otto Lagoni (1882-1949), Nielsen had written a piano accompaniment in 1929 (dated 29 January), which Emil Reesen then orchestrated. The orchestral version²⁹ was then performed with the actor Aage Garde as narrator at the studio broadcast on 27 June 1930 which marked the 1000-year anniversary of the Icelandic parliament, the *Alting*. Emil Reesen conducted on this occasion.

25 The other works are the music to the play *Willemoes* (1907-8), *Kantate ved Musikfesten paa Københavns Raadhus i Anledning af 250 Aars-Dagen for Stormen paa København* (1909), *Kantate ved Aarhus Lands-Udstillings Aabning den 18. maj 1909* (1909), *Kantate til Mindefesten for P. S. Krøyer* (1909), and a couple of songs.

26 Programme booklet in the Musikhistorisk Museum, Jürgen Balzer's Archive.

27 Kai Flor in *Berlingske Tidende*, 13.10.1929.

28 3.11.1929, when Nielsen again himself conducted it, but without radio transmission.

29 It is conceivable that the piano version had been performed in one context or another previously, but such a performance is not yet documented.

Carl Nielsen was asked to set music to stanzas, again by Sophus Michaëlis, by the Dansk Ligbrændingsforening (Danish Crematorium Society) in connection with its 50-year jubilee. This time the composer was satisfied with a strophic setting for a *capella* chorus, which he completed while staying at Damgaard around the end of February and beginning of March 1931. If the piece did not become any more than was necessary, it should be remembered that at the same time he was struggling to finish the great organ work *Commotio*, which certainly occupied him more.

The premiere took place on 23 March in a studio broadcast, which finished with the choral song. It was not announced in the radio programmes who the singers were, and neither did the papers make a fuss of Nielsen's music. 'The broadcast finished with a five-part choral song', wrote *Berlingske Tidende* in its review, which concentrated on Prof. L. S. Fridericia's lecture on this particular kind of burial which had had some difficulty in penetrating Danish ground.³⁰

Nielsen and the radio theatre

Nielsen had repeatedly composed music for the stage – always to commission – ever since his youth, and over the course of time he had written scores not just for most of the major Copenhagen theatres, including the national stage of the Royal Theatre, but also the open-air theatre in the Deer Park north of Copenhagen and for the Aarhus Theatre. The Odense Theatre would also enter into this field. That still lay in future, however (in connection with the Hans Christian Andersen festivities in 1930), when Emil Holm began to realise the possibilities that lay in radio performances of drama. And yet further in the future lay the composition of new music commissioned by the radio theatre. It was the first generation of Nielsen's pupils who received that pleasure.

When the State Radio was going to test out the combination of drama and music for the first time, Holm chose to start by playing a safe card, namely Heiberg's national festival play *Elverhøj* (The Elf Hill) from 1828 with music by Friedrich Kuhlau. This performance took place on 8 January 1927, and in the preceding days there were intensive rehearsals at the Købmagergade studio in the heart of old Copenhagen. It was not so simple to balance everything, when, crudely seen, one only had the individual actors' and musicians' distance from the head microphone as the means of regulation. Casting came from the Royal Theatre, and the success was so great that it was necessary to arrange a repeat performance on 14 April 1927.

On 23 June the same year a large extract of Adam Oehlenschläger's *Sct. Hansaftens-Spil* (Midsummer Night's Play) was broadcast, for which Nielsen had written music in connection with a 1913 performance in the Deer Park. The radio however chose to use a stitching together of other composers' music. On 26 September 1927 it was Nielsen's

³⁰ *Berlingske Tidende*, 24.3.1931.

turn. Again it was Oehlenschäger who was the subject, but on this occasion it was his tragedy *Hagbarth og Signe*, which in 1910 had received its opening performance in the Deer Park with newly composed music by Nielsen.

The casting corresponded with those who had recently performed the piece at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, and Grøndahl conducted Nielsen's score with wind players from the Radio Orchestra. Nielsen was at the Damgaard estate in east Jutland, where there was no radio, and he does not appear to have heard the performance.

Yet it is more curious that we do not know his reaction when the State Radio broadcast *Aladdin* on a really fine broadcast evening, Maundy Thursday 28 March 1929, with a large part of the music which, in Nielsen's opinion, the Royal Theatre had so profoundly maltreated at the premiere ten years earlier. Here one would otherwise have thought that Nielsen would have been interested in a musical revenge, even if in 1926 he had had the opportunity to conduct a virtually complete concert performance in Dansk Koncertforening (the Danish Concert Society).

Two of the period's leading young actors, Else Skouboe and Eyvind Johan-Svendsen, played the lead roles in the radio performance. Again it was Grøndahl who conducted the orchestra and specially engaged chorus. Precisely how much music was included is no longer clear; but overall the performance lasted two and three quarter hours.

The following Easter the performance was repeated, but now on Easter Sunday itself, 20 April 1930. There seems to have been talk of the same musical and dramatic organisation.³¹ Nielsen did not express an opinion on this occasion either, perhaps because he had still not heard the broadcast. We can perhaps seek an explanation in the shift that took place his fundamental attitude to the radio medium as such.

Nielsen's new signals

In Spring 1931 the author Prof. Karl Larsen (1860-1931) wrote a series of features in the newspaper *Politiken* where he called for a battle in aid of live music. They were published in book form at the request of the Danish Composers' Society with a preface by Carl Nielsen, and even though it was Larsen himself who stood in the line of fire, Nielsen's statement cannot any longer be seen as whole-hearted support for the *Kammersanger* and his radio:

We will hope that the Head of Programming and the Board will not give up and drop the educational moment which mechanical music *can* include. Not for my sake, not for your sake, but for the sake of the eternal beautiful values which have been bequeathed to us from the past and which can still give nourish-

31 A large part of the cast list was the same, and so was the conductor.

ment and impulse to new artistic products in our own time. The content of the present book sets out from a clarification of the difference between live music and mechanical music and their highly varied modes of communication, and it champions live music. That we musicians and composers battle for this is so obviously banal that it is not worth mentioning. It is extremely heartening therefore that Karl Larsen with his superb pen has cast himself into the conflict. That such a person, who has hitherto remained outside the professional circle, should take the side of music with such deep understanding and affection, is of much greater significance than even the best contributions from those who have a professional part in the matter.³²

Did Nielsen hide behind Larsen so as not openly to challenge Holm? Perhaps. But shortly before he had openly taken sides in the year-long dispute between Schnedler-Petersen and Holm when the former at the beginning of 1931 had been forced to discontinue the series of popular orchestral concerts on Sunday afternoons in the Winter season, called the Palace Concerts because they took place in the Odd Fellow Palæ.³³ For help with the faltering economy Schnedler-Petersen had sought support from the Radio Distribution Fund in 1929. He had also, in vain, asked for the concerts to be broadcast.³⁴

In an open letter to Schnedler-Petersen, which Nielsen sent to the papers in connection with the last concert on 1 March 1931 (where four pieces of his *Aladdin* music were part of a so-called National Festival Programme), the Radio is not directly named. But *Kammersanger* Holm can barely have had any doubt that he was among the accused, when Nielsen stated that ‘the whole of our musical life in the past year has gone swiftly down a slippery slope’, and talked of ‘the icy indifference which is now cast over good music across the whole country.’³⁵

From a personal perspective, he could not otherwise reasonably complain about indifference from the Radio’s side. Out of all the 5,802 Nielsen performances that the author of the current article has found documented up until the composer’s death, no less than 922, or almost one sixth, took place before microphones and radio transmitters!

Memorial broadcasts

While Nielsen was about to depart life on the evening of 2 October 1931, the Royal Theatre’s new production of *Maskarade* went on stage for the second time. And the

32 Here cited after John Fellow, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 597.

33 The concert series was established by his Tivoli predecessor, Joachim Andersen (1847-1909), and Schnedler-Petersen had taken them over after his death.

34 See, for example, Martin Granau, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 98.

35 The whole of the open letter can be found in John Fellow, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 593-94.

same evening Norwegian listeners were also reminded of his existence, since the Norwegian Radio orchestra had the cheerful ‘Hanedans’ (Cockerel’s Dance) on its evening programme.

Shortly after midnight he passed away, and already newspapers the following day could print the first great obituaries. Holm reacted in the first instance by clearing the scheduled programme so that the next performance of *Maskarade* from the Royal Theatre could be transmitted. That took place on 5 October, when the theatre provided an elevated introduction to an otherwise light-hearted evening in the form of the prelude to the seventh tableau from Nielsen’s music to the play *Moderen* (The Mother) and a short, but emphatic memorial speech by the singer Poul Wiedemann.

The State Radio organised its own memorial evening on 19 October, which was a blend of orchestral music, chamber music, song, recitation and lecture.³⁶ In *The Radio Listener* Prof. Erik Abrahamsen wrote that ‘Carl Nielsen’s memorial concert ran with dignity and was beautiful’, but at the same time added that ‘perhaps the choice of works was a little haphazard, it lacked direction, so that the impression in the final analysis was a bit too varied.’³⁷ And *Berlingske Tidende*’s radio headline characterised the evening as ‘a clear and beautiful picture of the deceased composer’s extensive and many-sided compositional activity’, but also permitted itself to remark of the *Sinfonia Espansiva* that it ‘on the whole came effectively into its own under Launy Grøndahl’s leadership.’³⁸

European Radio Exchange

From the 1928-29 season onwards, Emil Holm began to organise an exchange with other European radio’s permanent conductors. At that time, the Danish Radio Orchestra was housed in Axelborg, centrally placed in Copenhagen directly opposite Tivoli’s main entrance. Here the large former banking hall could not only be used as a studio, but had the additional capacity to house 300 listeners and so could be used for broadcasts with an audience, which could operate as ordinary public concerts.

In every case it was such concerts with their country’s repertoire that Holm offered to his foreign guest conductors. Grøndahl and Reesen therefore expected the same when they set off with Danish music in their suitcase; but this doesn’t always appear to have been the case. As already mentioned, Grøndahl was in Prague, where in a studio broadcast on 28 January 1929 apart from the *Bøhmisk-dansk Folketone* he also conducted three orchestral excerpts from *Aladdin* and the overture to *Maskarade*. ‘The orchestra

36 After an introductory half-hour speech by Kai Aage Bruun followed the *Andante lamentoso*, the *Sinfonia Espansiva*, a couple of popular songs, 35 minutes of readings of extracts from *Min fynske Barndom* (My Childhood), some songs for male chorus, the F major string quartet, a few more popular songs, and finally the march from *Moderen*.

37 *Radiolytteren*, 1.11.1931, 11.

38 Unsigned review in *Berlingske Tidende*, 20.10.1931.

was fairly good, in any case 'routine', but apart from a personally warm reception my visit turned up absolutely nothing, not even so much as a picture in the radio magazine!' he wrote in his diary.³⁹

As an unwritten rule, one or other of Nielsen's works always stood on the programme of such exchange engagements. On 27 March 1929 Reesen conducted the Radio orchestra in Hamburg in three orchestral numbers from *Maskarade*. On 29 November 1929 Grøndahl was in Stockholm, where he performed the Prelude from Act 2 of *Saul og David* and *Saga-Drøm*. On 20 December 1929 Reesen conducted *Pan og Syrinx* in Leipzig. Grøndahl was in Berlin on 24 January 1930, where he conducted the First Symphony, and on 28 October⁴⁰ the same year he was in Warsaw, where he had Nielsen's opus 1, Suite for Strings, on the programme. Only when Reesen was in Vienna in 1930 did he not have music by Nielsen on the programme.

As can be seen, for the most part the two radio conductors kept to the lesser or rather not so orchestrally demanding Nielsen works. Grøndahl took only a single symphony – and that expressly the earliest – with him when he conducted the comparatively experienced Berlin orchestra.

The Great Danish Day

European collaboration was being practised already from the very first months of Danish radio. It was partly the result of the need to meet and attempt to divide the wavelengths evenly between themselves, and the ether became more and more crowded, and the transmitters more powerful.

For Holm it was as much the programming work that was of interest. A European agreement was made that national days would be held at intervals, where a single country's literature and music would be presented by as many different stations as possible. In practice it should fit into the local programme schedules, and therefore individual stations would sometimes fulfil their obligations on the day before or after the arranged date. The main thing was that it took part.

The larger nations did not exactly stand at the back of the queue, but it was nevertheless possible on two separate occasions in Nielsen's lifetime to experience such European broadcast days featuring Danish music. The first took place on 14 November 1928 (with a Swedish 'anticipation' on 13 November). Sweden's contribution was *Helios*, in Poland they played four orchestral excerpts from the *Aladdin* music and

39 Cited after Martin Granau, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 80. Here can also be found a summary overview over these exchange concerts, though Launy Grøndahl's 1930 visit to Warsaw is missing.

40 In his own concert notes, taken down later and now preserved in the Radio Symphony Orchestra's archive, Grøndahl gives the date as 29 October. But all of the contemporary radio programmes indicate that 28 October is the correct date.

the Theme and Variations for piano, in Leipzig Georg Zottmayr sang three Nielsen songs in German, in Berlin the Danish orchestral leader Henry Holst was soloist in the Violin Concerto, both in Königsberg and Langenberg the Fourth Symphony was performed by the local radio orchestra, in Hamburg they combined the Suite for Strings with the 'Hanedans' from *Maskarade*, while the Silesian Philharmonic in Breslau was satisfied with the 'Hanedans' alone. Finally Czech radio in Brno contributed with a performance of the E flat major String Quartet.⁴¹

It was even better in 1931, the year of Nielsen's death, when the official Denmark Day was 11 March. Here the geographical diffusion was even greater. In Finland the pianist Sigrid Holst-Kuosma played the Symphonic Suite, in Holland performances included the Suite for Strings, in Milan the 'Hanedans' was played, and in Warsaw a trio played some Nielsen arrangements. The German stations stood nicely in the picture as usual: again it was the Violin Concerto, now from Langenberg with Rudi Rhein as soloist, Heilsberg sent *Helios* and Munich two movements from the F minor String Quartet. There was probably more from Germany, but unfortunately the Danish programme magazines economised just a little on space that day. Finally, Swedish radio chose not to do something of their own – instead, the *Sinfonia Espansiva* was transmitted from the new concert hall in Stockholm with Adolf Wiklund. One could also have chosen to open a line to Gothenburg, where the Norwegian Olav Kielland that evening conducted the local symphony orchestra, Nielsen's Swedish favourite orchestra, in the Fifth Symphony.

Was Nielsen at all clear about how far and wide his music had travelled in this way? We lack in any case a reaction from his side, as there is neither a letter nor a diary entry. The vast majority of his current works were printed, and publishers did not register who they sold them to. Since a serious system of royalty payments was not in operation for musical authors when works were broadcast on the radio, Nielsen could not have kept track of performances of his music in this way.

Nielsen on foreign radio

In addition to these Danish-Days performances which all the foreign countries broadcast, it has been possible to track performances via Danish papers and programme magazines (which were considerably better when it came to radio programmes than for example the German papers), listed in Appendix 3.

⁴¹ There could possibly have been even more music by Nielsen, since from Norway, Zürich, Stuttgart, Lithuania and Daventry in England (which broadcast a Danish programme on 16 November) there are no programme details. The Daventry broadcast must have been planned at the last minute, since even the *Radio Times* contains no details about the content, which could as well have been spoken word as music. On the contrary, we know that Nielsen was not represented in the broadcasts from Finland, Dutch Hilversum, Budapest and Vienna.

Here the many Danish songs, of which only very few existed in German translation, could not play any special role. It is therefore the shorter orchestral numbers of relatively popular appearance from *Maskarade* and *Aladdin* which came to dominate. They amount to about a half of the barely 200 performances it has been possible to find. The only other work to approach these is the Suite for Strings, which received 13 performances altogether in 4 different countries.

For a couple of nations more specific commentary is necessary. It is surprising that it has not been possible to find a single British broadcast, not least considering how strong interest in Nielsen is today in the Anglo-Saxon world. But this entirely corresponds with Nielsen's own experience of English musical life.

When Henry Wood conducted his Second Symphony, *The Four Temperaments*, on 13 September 1921 in the Queen's Hall, London, Nielsen did not attend the concert himself, because 'I cannot speak English and therefore cannot talk with Wood about the performance. He cannot speak anything other than English'.⁴² But 1923 should have been the big breakthrough. Danish-born Queen Alexandra stood as patron for a concert on 22 June in Queen's Hall with the London Symphony Orchestra, which Nielsen himself conducted. On the programme apart from the Fourth Symphony, *The Inextinguishable*, were the Violin Concerto with Emil Telmányi as soloist, and some smaller orchestral works including extracts from *Aladdin*.⁴³

However, the concert apparently left no immediate trace in British musical life, and it was many decades before serious interest first began to be shown in Nielsen's music. By the middle of the 1920s already the BBC had certainly worked hard for contemporary music, though at intervals Nordic or Scandinavian music was also broadcast on some of the British stations. But in any case Denmark was overlooked, and in general the British radio preferred English music first and foremost, with a solid subsidy of Wagner, Mendelssohn and the great Viennese Classics.⁴⁴

42 Letter to his wife, 3.9.1921, cited in Torben Schousboe, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 446.

43 Telmányi also gave two recitals with piano. At the last of these he premiered the *Præludium og Thema med Variationer* for solo violin, which was completed only three days before the concert.

44 When Aberdeen broadcast a 'Scandinavian Night' on 5 June 1925, the composers' names were Svendsen, Grieg, Sibelius, Sigurd Lie, Peterson-Berger and Kjerulf. On 4 September the same year Bournemouth played Scandinavian music by Sibelius, Jensen, Grieg, Halvorsen, Järnefelt and Svendsen, and a week later Dundee called a Swedish-Finnish-Norwegian programme with a Norwegian soprano and an English piano trio Scandinavian. Possibly a complete survey of the *Radio Times*, which the BBC published weekly from September 1923, could reveal Nielsen performances which have not been found in Danish sources, and which have neither appeared through a survey of selected numbers of the *Radio Times* corresponding to about one volume. So far the search has only underlined the scant interest in Nielsen's music in Britain at the time. The Danish pianist Johanne Stockmarr (1869-1944), who

As is shown in Appendix 3, after Denmark the country that broadcast the most Nielsen works was Sweden, both from studios in Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö and from the country's churches and concert halls. This large representation certainly reflects that Nielsen himself was a well-regarded guest conductor in Swedish musical life, and that he counted Swedish composers such as Wilhelm Stenhammar, Bror Beckman and Ture Rangström among his personal friends.

His Swedish conducting appearances are reflected decisively also across the ether, even to a much greater degree than in his homeland. If we compare the summaries at the end of the article, we can see that on Danish radio he conducted 14 works by himself out of total of 726 radio performances, while the corresponding number on Swedish radio was 14 out of 106.

Works	Danish radio	Swedish radio
<i>Aladdin</i> : six extracts	x	
<i>Aladdin</i> : three extracts		x
<i>Andante lamentoso</i>		x
Clarinet Concerto	x	
<i>En Fantasirejse til Færøerne</i>	x	
Flute Concerto	x	x
<i>Hymne til Kunsten</i>	x	
'I Aften' (with orchestra)		x
'I Seraillets Have' (with orchestra)		x
<i>Maskarade</i> (whole opera)	x	
<i>Maskarade</i> , Overture		x
<i>Saul og David</i> , Prelude to Act 2	x	
<i>Studie efter Naturen</i> (with orchestra)		x
<i>Suite for Strings</i>		x
<i>Suite for Strings</i> , 1 st and 2 nd movements		x
Symphony no. 1		x
Symphony no. 3	x	x
'Sænk kun dit Hoved, du Blomst' (with orchestra)		x
Violinconcerto, Second Part	x	
'Æbleblomst' (with orchestra)		x

worked hard for Nielsen's music and appeared regularly on the BBC, played on a direct broadcast from the radio station *London Regional* only three weeks after Nielsen's death. But in the *Radio Times* she was called Dutch and was still not given permission to play Nielsen.

In addition to this, it was only owing to practical difficulties on Nielsen's own part, that he had to turn down the leadership of the performance of his opera *Saul og David* at the Great Theatre in Gothenburg, which Swedish radio transmitted on 13 December 1928 (minus the first act).

We can therefore say without exaggeration that the Swedish listeners were certainly not more poorly served than their Danish counterparts when it came to Nielsen's interpretations of his own works. And into the bargain a powerful transmitter in Malmö made it possible for the whole of Eastern Denmark to hear Swedish Radio with good sound quality.

'The Gentle Day'

In 1930 Swedish radio arranged a composition competition for orchestral works written specially for radio performance.⁴⁵ No corresponding event took place in Denmark during Nielsen's lifetime. And whether in such a case, as the country's most established composer, he would have ultimately become involved as anything other than a well-paid member of the jury is a highly hypothetical question.

Swedish radio's obvious interest in Nielsen's music did not result in an actual memorial broadcast, but found its place in another, equally beautiful solution, when the Music Academy's annual meeting was transmitted on 15 November 1931.

Here the Academy's secretary, conductor Olallo Morales, remembered the deceased member⁴⁶ in his annual report, after which the orchestra and choir from the conservatory in Stockholm under his direction performed the string piece *Andante lamentoso*, written for the young painter Oluf Hartmann's burial, followed by *Springtime on Funen*, in which it was no less than the tenor Jussi Björling who sang the beautiful stanzas on 'the gentle day, which is so light and long'.

For Nielsen's part, the day was gone. Did he need the radio? Perhaps initially, in the way he experienced its development on Danish soil. But thereafter to a lesser and lesser degree. But in return it seems to have needed him and also helped in the dissemination of his music, both nationally and internationally. And more than he ever realised himself!

45 It was the composers Gunnar de Frumerie, Eric Westberg and Oskar Lindberg, who shared the prizes.

46 Carl Nielsen was a member of the Musical Academy and had, for instance, in connection with his election to the illustrious society, 'secretly' premiered the first movement of his Sixth Symphony, and also conducted the Prelude to Act 2 of *Saul og David* at the Academy's annual meeting on 1 November 1925, then without radio transmission.

APPENDIX 1

Studio Broadcasts on Danish Radio with Carl Nielsen's music in his lifetime

- 'Af Stambogsstykker' (Blicher) (unspecified Nielsen work) 5/9 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Aftenstemning' 29/11 1925, 25/10 1928, 3/1 1930, 19/10 1931, in total 4 times.
- Aladdin* (radio theatre broadcast) 28/3 1929, 20/4 1930, in total 2 times.
- Aladdin*, 'Aladdins Dream and Dance of the Morning Mists' 14/11 1925, 9/4 1926, 10/6 1926, 25/3 1927, 11/10 1927, 9/7 1928, 31/7 1928, 29/1 1929, 2/6 1930, 9/7 1931, in total 10 times.
- Aladdin*, 'Above all the moon ascending' 31/7 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- Aladdin*, 'Prisoners' dance' 24/10 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- Aladdin*, 'Hindu dance' 14/11 1925, 9/4 1926, 10/6 1926, 20/6 1926, 25/3 1927, 11/10 1927, 9/7 1928, 31/7 1928, 2/6 1930, 9/7 1931, 1/10 1931, in total 11 times.
- Aladdin*, 'Negro dance' 14/11 1925, 9/4 1926, 10/6 1926, 25/3 1927, 11/10 1927, 1/12 1927, 31/1 1928, 9/7 1928, 31/7 1928, 3/9 1928, 4/1 1929, 29/1 1929, 21/2 1929, 8/3 1929, 14/8 1929, 24/10 1929, 21/11 1929, 2/6 1930, 21/7 1930, 29/5 1931, 9/7 1931, 24/8 1931, 1/10 1931, in total 23 times.
- Aladdin*, 'Oriental Festival march' 14/11 1925, 9/4 1926, 10/6 1926, 13/6 1926, 25/3 1927, 11/10 1927, 9/7 1928, 31/7 1928, 21/2 1929, 24/10 1929, 2/6 1930, 21/7 1930, 4/2 1931, 29/5 1931, 9/7 1931, 1/10 1931, in total 16 times.
- Aladdin*, 'The square in Ispahan' 31/7 1928, 21/2 1929, 24/10 1929, 2/6 1930, in total 4 times.
- Aladdin*, 'Lullaby' 31/7 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- Amor og Digteren* 'Vi elsker dig, vort høje Nord' 2/11 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- Amor og Digteren* 'Italiensk Hyrdearie' 5/1 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
- Andante lamentoso* 14/8 1928, 2/1 1929, 13/3 1929, 6/10 1929, 17/12 1929, 12/6 1930, in total 6 times.
- 'Ariels Sang' 11/6 1925, 13/7 1929, 2/2 1931, in total 3 times.
- 'Blomstervise' 5/11 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- Bøhmisk-Dansk Folketone* 1/11 1928*, 14/8 1929, 6/3 1930, 30/7 1930, 12/6 1931, in total 5 times.
- Chaconne* 5/12 1927, 1 broadcast in total.
- Christianshavn. Ved 300-Aarsfesten* 24/4 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Danmark, du kornblonde Datter' 29/3 1927, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Danmark, nu blunder den lyse Nat' 19/2 1930, 28/7 1930, in total 2 times.
- 'Dansk Arbejde' 13/6 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'De Refsnæs Dreng, de Samsø Piger' 5/12 1925, 5/10 1927, 17/09 1928, in total 3 times.
- 'De Snækker mødtes' 22/1 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Den danske Sang' 16/10 1927, 6/7 1928, 19/9 1928, 23/3 1929, 5/7 1929, 31/12 1929, in total 6 times.
- 'Den første Lærke' 5/12 1927, 19/5 1929, 28/4 1930, in total 3 times.
- 'Den jenn å den anden' 13/1 1925, 22/10 1925, 16/11 1929, 7/3 1931, in total 4 times.
- 'Der dukker af Disen' 27/2 1926, 7/6 1928, 12/5 1930, in total 3 times.
- 'Der er en gammel Rønne' 30/3 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Der er et yndigt Land' 24/9 1925, 3/1 1926, in total 2 times.
- 'Der meldes om Storm fra Syd og Nord' (mel. Du danske Mand) 15/12 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Derfor kan vort Øje glædes' 12/5 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Det bødes der for' 13/8 1929, 28/5 1930, in total 2 times.
- 'Du danske Mand' 1/9 1926, 21/10 1927, 11/3 1928, 20/11 1928, 31/12 1928, 19/4 1929, 1/5 1929, 5/6 1929, 19/11 1929, 9/3 1930, 11/7 1930, 16/11 1930, 23/11 1930, 31/12 1930, in total 14 times.
- 'Du høje Arbejd' (mel. Du danske Mand) 1/5 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'En Moder med sit Barn paa en Bænk' 13/3 1927, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Farvel, min velsignede Fødeby' 23/8 1928, 7/4 1929, 7/1 1930, in total 3 times.

- Fem Klaverstykker*, op. 3 4/10 1926, 12/8 1929, in total 2 times.
- Fem Klaverstykker*, op. 3: Humoreske 17/5 1931, 13/7 1931, in total 2 times.
- Festpræludium* 23/1 1927, 7/6 1927, 24/7 1927, 22/11 1928, in total 4 times.
- 'Forunderligt at sige' 23/12 1925, 25/12 1929, 24/12 1930, in total 3 times.
- 'Fredlys din Jord' 25/9 1927, 21/10 1927, in total 2 times.
- 'Frydeligt med Jubelkor' 18/5 1928, 4/7 1928, 30/4 1929, in total 3 times.
- Fynsk Foraar*, 'Den milde Dag er lys og lang' 3/6 1925, 3/10 1927, 23/10 1927, 2/5 1928, 19/9 1928, 2/5 1931, 25/6 1931, in total 7 times.
- 'Genrebillede' 5/12 1927, 26/4 1928, 19/9 1928, 27/12 1928, 13/8 1929, 28/5 1930, in total 6 times.
- 'Glæde over Danmark' 13/3 1927, 23/8 1928, in total 2 times.
- 'Godnat' 22/5 1928, 3/2 1931, in total 2 times.
- 'Gry' 18/9 1925, 25/3 1926, in total 2 times.
- 'Grøn er Vaarens Hæk' 27/9 1930, 7/3 1931, in total 2 times.
- 'Guds Engle i Flok' 23/12 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- Hagbarth og Signe* (radio theatre broadcast) 26/9 1927, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Hedelærke, du liden Fugl' 11/6 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
- Helios* 19/10 1928, 7/5 1929, in total 2 times.
- 'Hjemstavn' 2/11 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Himlen mørkner' 23/12 1929, 24/12 1930, in total 2 times.
- Humoreske-Bagateller* 12/8 1927, 3/2 1928, 19/4 1929, 10/11 1929, in total 4 times.
- 'Husvild' 22/5 1928, 6/7 1929, 3/2 1931, in total 3 times.
- 'Hvad synger du om' 12/5 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Hvor sødt i Sommeraftenstunden' 14/11 1925, 22/6 1926, 15/11 1929, 30/6 1930, in total 4 times.
- 'Hør hvor let dens Vinger smækker' 24/9 1925, 23/2 1928, 9/12 1928, 5/9 1929, 23/5 1931, in total 5 times.
- 'I Aften' 7/6 1926, 16/10 1927, in total 2 times.
- 'I Seraillets Have' (with orchestra) 10/6 1926, 1 broadcast in total.
- Interview with Carl Nielsen on H. C. Andersen Festivities 2/4 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Irmelin Rose' 5/12 1927, 26/4 1928, 19/9 1928, 1/3 1929, in total 4 times.
- 'Island' (orch. Emil Reesen) 27/6 1930*, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Jeg bærer med Smil min Byrde' 2/6 1925, 30/1 1926, 13/6 1926, 5/2 1927, 22/5 1927, 2/10 1927, 19/2 1928, 21/5 1928, 21/9 1928, 6/7 1929, 12/5 1930, 5/8 1930, 10/1 1931, 21/3 1931, 26/8 1931, in total 15 times.
- 'Jeg lægger mig saa trygt til Ro' 19/9 1928, 12/5 1929, 18/7 1930, in total 3 times.
- 'Jeg ved en Lærkerede' 10/6 1926, 22/1 1928, 23/2 1928, 16/7 1928, 9/12 1928, 8/2 1929, 1/2 1930, 27/9 1930, 24/10 1930, 26/11 1930, 7/3 1931, 8/9 1931, in total 12 times.
- 'Jens Vejmand' 30/1 1926, 6/3 1928, 7/6 1928, 8/9 1929, 26/10 1929, 21/4 1930, 12/5 1930, 29/6 1930, in total 8 times.
- 'Julesang: Himlen mørkner' 23/12 1929, 24/12 1930, in total 2 times.
- Kantate til Grosserersocietetet: Købmandsvise* 13/6 1928, 10/8 1929, in total 2 times.
- Kantate til Grosserersocietetet: Danmark i Tusind Aar* 13/6 1928, 10/8 1929, in total 2 times.
- Kantate til Ligbrændingsforeningens Jubilæum* 23/3 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Kom blankeste Sol' 25/5 1926, 1 broadcast in total.
- Lecture with music examples from *Maskarade* 15/5 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- Maskarade*, Duet (with piano) 19/19 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- Maskarade*, Hanedans 20/7 1925, 26/10 1926, 19/12 1926, 13/2 1927, 11/3 1927, 26/4 1927, 12/6 1927, 29/8 1927, 28/10 1927, 29/11 1927, 7/1 1928, 22/3 1928, 15/7 1928, 13/10 1928, 27/11 1928,

- 10/1 1929, 18/1 1929, 11/2 1929, 29/12 1929, 4/2 1930, 19/2 1930, 2/11 1930, 22/11 1930, 25/11 1930, 29/5 1931, in total 25 times.
- Maskarade*, Magdelone's Dance scene 14/4 1925, 26/5 1925, 20/9 1925, 30/12 1925, 27/6 1926, 10/7 1926, 2/1 1927, 29/8 1927, 18/10 1927, 3/11 1927, 7/1 1928, 15/1 1928, 7/5 1928, 16/6 1928, 17/10 1928, 22/10 1928, 10/1 1929, 26/1 1929, 18/4 1929, 8/5 1929, 21/11 1929, 25/1 1930, 23/2 1930, 10/5 1930, 8/7 1930, 14/7 1930, 17/10 1930, 4/11 1930, 9/3 1931, 19/5 1931, 25/7 1931, 21/9 1931, in total 32 times.
- Maskarade*, Overture 24/7 1926, 2/9 1926, 3/12 1926, 29/8 1927, 7/1 1928, 27/9 1928, 31/10 1928, 5/12 1928, 10/1 1929, 2/5 1929, 23/10 1930, 11/12 1930, in total 12 times.
- Maskarade*, Excerpt 15/2 1926, 10/6 1926, 3/7 1926, 1/8 1926, 6/2 1927, 21/2 1927, 30/6 1927, 8/10 1927, 19/10 1927, 14/8 1928, 2/9 1928, 17/1 1929, 6/6 1929, 2/11 1929, 2/2 1930, 21/2 1930, 21/8 1930, 2/5 1931, 10/5 1931, 5/6 1931, 19/8 1931, in total 21 times.
- Maskarade*, Jeronimus' Song (with piano) 26/4 1927, 1 broadcast in total.
- Maskarade*, Jeronimus' Song 22/7 1929, 29/9 1929, 30/11 1929, 17/4 1930, 10/8 1930, 4/1 1931, 11/1 1931, 23/8 1931, in total 8 times.
- Maskarade*, Pernille's Aria 17/4 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- Maskarade*, Henrik and Pernille's Duet 17/4 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- Moderen*, Prelude to 7th Tableau 22/4 1929, 15/10 1929, in total 2 times.
- Moderen*, March 31/12 1928, 14/8 1929, 11/5 1930, in total 3 times.
- Moderen*, 'Min Pige er saa lys som Rav' 26/5 1925, 11/6 1925, 27/8 1928, 23/3 1929, 13/7 1929, 8/9 1929, 1/1 1930, 16/9 1930, 25/7 1931, in total 9 times.
- Moderen*, Song (unspecified) 18/9 1925, 1 broadcast in total.
- Moderen*, 'Som en rejseysten Flaade' 11/6 1925, 25/3 1926, 14/6 1928, 27/8 1928, 5/6 1929, 13/7 1929, 8/9 1929, 19/11 1929, 1/1 1930, 9/3 1930, 11/7 1930, 29/9 1930, in total 12 times.
- Moderen*, 'Saa bittert var mit Hjerter' 27/8 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Mors Rok' 5/12 1927, 19/9 1928, in total 2 times.
- 'Morgendug, der sagte bæver' 26/5 1929, 3/11 1929, in total 2 times.
- 'Morten Børups Majvise' 25/5 1926, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Nu er da Vaaren kommen' 21/7 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Nu er Dagen fuld af Sang' 20/9 1925, 27/2 1926, 10/8 1926, 25/6 1927, 2/10 1927, 5/12 1927, 27/5 1928, 6/1 1929, 19/5 1929, 20/5 1929, 26/5 1929, 15/11 1929, 30/12 1929, 18/7 1930, 24/7 1930, 5/8 1930, 27/9 1930, 5/5 1931, in total 18 times.
- 'Nu lyser Løv i Lunde' 3/1 1926, 27/5 1928, in total 2 times.
- 'Nu springer Vaaren fra sin Seng' 6/4 1931, 18/4 1931, in total 2 times.
- 'Naar jeg betænker ret den Stund' 7/3 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Naar Smaaabørn klynker' 22/1 1928, 1/2 1930, 26/11 1930, 8/9 1931, in total 4 times.
- 'O, hvor er jeg glad i Dag' 19/9 1928, 19/5 1929, 13/5 1930, 18/7 1930, 12/5 1931, 5/7 1931, in total 6 times.
- Pan og Syrinx* 10/10 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Paa det jævne' 29/6 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- 'Paa Vaarengen' 3/1 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- Radio lecture on good and bad music 24/1 1925, 1 broadcast in total.
- Romance for Oboe and Piano 10/6 1926, 21/11 1927, in total 2 times.
- Romance for Violin and Piano 29/3 1925, 9/11 1927, 15/11 1927, in total 3 times.
- Romance for Violin and Orchestra 21/9 1928, 18/5 1929, 22/12 1929, 21/8 1930, in total 4 times.
- 'Rosen blusser alt i Danas Have' 13/7 1926, 1 broadcast in total.
- Saga-Drøm* 29/1 1929, 1 broadcast in total.

- ‘Sang bag Ploven’ 24/7 1926, 2/10 1927, 16/10 1927, 25/4 1928, 22/2 1929, 5/7 1929, 20/7 1929, 2/2 1931, in total 8 times.
- Song/songs without specification 23/10 1924, 2/5 1925, in total 2 times.
- Sankt Hansaftensspil*, ‘I Skyggen vi vanke’ 14/11 1925, 22/8 1926, in total 2 times.
- Saul og David*, Duet (with piano) 19/10 1928, 23/10 1930, in total 2 times.
- Saul og David*, Prelude to Act 2 10/6 1926, 20/8 1926, 19/11 1926, 4/7 1927, 20/1 1928, 15/2 1928, 9/9 1928, 1/1 1929, 19/2 1929, 28/8 1929, 8/2 1930, 20/12 1930, 13/8 1931, 1/10 1931, in total 14 times.
- Saul og David*, Prelude to Act 3 10/8 1927, 24/9 1928, 17/11 1928, 25/12 1928, in total 4 times.
- ‘Se dig ud en Sommerdag’ 27/2 1926, 22/7 1926, 10/8 1926, 3/10 1927, 7/6 1928, 22/6 1929, 18/8 1929, 30/3 1930, 23/5 1930, 22/6 1930, in total 10 times.
- Serenata in vano* 4/4 1927, 2/1 1929, in total 2 times.
- ‘Silkesko over gylden Læst’ 7/6 1926, 7/10 1927, 26/4 1928, 13/8 1929, 20/11 1929, 28/5 1930, in total 6 times.
- ‘Skal Blomsterne da visne’ 27/8 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Snedronningen’ 28/2 1926, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Solen er saa rød, Mor’ 10/6 1926, 7/6 1927, 25/6 1927, 16/7 1928, 1/2 1930, 26/7 1930, 24/10 1930, 26/11 1930, 7/3 1931, 8/9 1931, in total 10 times.
- ‘Solnedgang’ 31/10 1928, 1/3 1929, 28/5 1930, in total 3 times.
- ‘Sommersang’ 5/12 1927, 24/7 1930, 4/7 1931, in total 3 times.
- ‘Sov ind mit lille Nusseben’ 5/9 1929, 9/3 1931, in total 2 times.
- ‘Spurven sidder stum bag Kvist’ 7/6 1928, 14/2 1930, 27/9 1930, 29/6 1931, in total 4 times.
- String Quartet, E flat major 21/4 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
- String Quartet, F major 5/9 1927, 1 broadcast in total.
- String Quartet, f minor 18/12 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- Studie efter Naturen* 3/1 1926, 3/4 1926, 27/5 1928, 2/4 1930, 8/9 1931, in total 5 times
- Studie efter Naturen* (with orchestra) 10/6 1926, 1 broadcast in total.
- Suite for Strings* 6/6 1926, 10/6 1926, 20/8 1926, 29/8 1926, 24/7 1927, 25/11 1927, 25/7 1928, 1/9 1928, 22/11 1928, 28/6 1929, 21/3 1930, 26/8 1930, 20/3 1931, 9/6 1931, in total 14 times.
- Symphony no. 2 14/11 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Sænk kun dit Hoved, du Blomst’ 25/12 1924, 20/9 1925, 17/10 1925, 11/11 1926, 5/12 1927, 23/8 1929, 9/1 1930, 9/2 1930, 16/11 1930, 10/1 1931, 27/1 1931, 11/8 1931, in total 12 times.
- ‘Sænk kun dit Hoved, du Blomst’ (with orchestra) 10/6 1926, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Tidt er jeg glad’ 20/9 1925, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Til Asali’ 28/5 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Til min Fødeø’ 15/1 1930, 1 broadcast in total.
- Tove*, ‘Der stod en Engel hos mig’ 14/10 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- Tove*, ‘Jægersang’ 26/10 1926, 20/11 1927, 23/9 1928, 22/2 1929, 20/7 1929, 2/6 1930, 31/3 1931, in total 7 times.
- Tove*, ‘Vi Sletternes Sønner’ 6/3 1928, 22/2 1929, 20/7 1929, 31/8 1929, 2/6 1930, in total 5 times.
- ‘Trøst i Modgang’ 16/1 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Tyst som Aa i Engen rinder’ 27/8 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Ud gaar du nu paa Livets Vej’ 30/10 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
- Ulvens Søn*, ‘Gamle Anders Røgters Sang’ 1/7 1926, 15/12 1928, in total 2 times.
- Ulvens Søn*, ‘Kommer I snart, I Husmænd’ 7/6 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
- ‘Underlige Aftenlufte’ 13/6 1926, 13/3 1927, 3/10 1927, 5/12 1927, 19/2 1928, 19/9 1928, 25/10 1928, 22/12 1929, 17/4 1930, 23/5 1930, 30/6 1930, 18/7 1930, 27/9 1930, in total 13 times.

Violin concerto 1/10 1931, 1 broadcast in total.
Violin sonata no. 1 6/6 1929, 1 broadcast in total.
Vise af "Mogens" 27/12 1928, 1 broadcast in total.
'Vor Verden priser jeg tusindfold' 23/8 1928, 7/4 1929, 7/1 1930, in total 3 times.
Willemoes, 'Sangen om Havet' 5/5 1926, 12/12 1926, 17/6 1928, 2/8 1928, 6/7 1929, 19/11 1929, 23/3 1930, 29/5 1930, in total 8 times.
Wind Quintet 1/12 1926, 7/4 1930, in total 2 times.
Wind Quintet (complete?) 2/5 1925, 1 broadcast in total.
Wind Quintet, Menuet 16/2 1925, 1 broadcast in total.
'Wo dætter' 22/10 1925, 1 broadcast in total.
'Æ lastræ' 17/8 1928, 7/3 1931, in total 2 times.
'Æbleblomst' 20/9 1925, 10/6 1926, 5/12 1927, 22/2 1929, 10/5 1929, 20/7 1929, 30/12 1929, 28/4 1930, 16/11 1930, 9/3 1931, in total 10 times.

*premiere

Total number of studio performances: 621

Division by year: 1924: 2, 1925: 37, 1926: 67, 1927: 77, 1928: 118, 1929: 127, 1930: 119, 1931: 74

Most frequently studio-performed works

Maskarade, Magdelone's Dance scene, 32 times
Maskarade, Hanedans, 25 times
Aladdin, Negro dance, 23 times
Maskarade, Extract, 21 times
'Nu er Dagen fuld af Sang', 18 times
Aladdin, 'Oriental Festival march', 16 times
'Jeg bærer med Smil min Byrde', 15 times
'Du danske Mand', 14 times
Saul og David, Prelude to Act 2, 14 times
Suite for Strings, 14 times

APPENDIX 2

Transmissions on Danish radio of concerts/opera performances with music by Carl Nielsen in his lifetime

'Aftenstemning' 29/5 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
Aladdin, Aladdin's Dream and the Morning Mists 30/7 1925, 27/8 1925, in total 2 broadcasts.
Aladdin, Aladdin's Song at his mother's grave 11/10 1926*, in total 1 broadcast.
Aladdin, Hindu dance 11/10 1926*, in total 1 broadcast.
Aladdin, Funeral March 11/10 1926*, in total 1 broadcast.
Aladdin, Negro dance 30/7 1925, 11/10 1926*, in total 2 broadcasts.
Aladdin, Oriental Festival march 30/7 1925, 12/8 1925, 11/10 1926*, 6/9 1931, in total 4 broadcasts.
Aladdin, The square in Ispahan 11/10 1926*, in total 1 broadcast.

- Clarinet concerto 10/12 1928*, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'De Snækker mødtes' 22/6 1930, 7/6 1931, in total 2 broadcasts.
- 'Den danske Sang' 12/4 1928, 8/12 1929, in total 2 broadcasts.
- En Fantasirejse til Færøerne* 27/11 1927** in total 1 broadcast.
- Fantasi over Motiver fra *Maskarade* 15/8 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- Festpræludium* 19/3 1929, 30/8 1929, 1/6 1930, 23/6 1931, in total 4 broadcasts.
- Flute concerto 10/6 1931*, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Foraarssang' 6/4 1926, in total 1 broadcast.
- Fynsk Foraar* 30/3 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Gry' 12/4 1928, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Guds Engle i Flok' 18/12 1929, in total 1 broadcast.
- Hymne til Kunsten* 12/10 1929** in total 1 broadcast.
- Hymnus Amoris* 8/12 1930, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Jeg bærer med Smil min Byrde' 28/4 1925, 10/9 1926, 26/4 1930, in total 3 broadcasts.
- 'Jeg ved en Lærkerede' 10/3 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Jens Vejmand' 26/4 1930, in total 1 broadcast.
- Kantate til Grosserersocietetet*, Excerpt 19/3 1929, in total 1 broadcast.
- Kantate til Polyteknisk Lærestalts 100-Aars Dag* 30/8 1929, in total 1 broadcast.
- Kantate ved Foreningen til unge Handelsmænds Uddannelse* 23/2 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- Kantate ved Radiumstationens Indvielse* 4/3 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Kvadet om Nordens Harpe' 29/5 1931⁴⁷, 31/5 1931, in total 2 broadcasts.
- Maskarade* (compelte opera) 25/11 1925*, 15/3 1928, in total 2 broadcasts.
- Maskarade*, Hanedans 14/9 1924, 16/7 1925, 27/9 1926, 8/8 1926, 7/8 1927, 1/7 1928, 15/8 1928, 14/7 1929, 15/8 1929, 19/6 1930, 3/8 1930, 15/8 1930, in total 12 broadcasts.
- Maskarade*, Kehraus 10/3 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- Maskarade*, Magdelone's Dance scene 2/9 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- Maskarade*, Overture 14/7 1925, 16/8 1925, 20/8 1925, 27/7 1928, 4/6 1929, 16/7 1929, 21/8 1929, 10/6 1931, in total 8 broadcasts.
- Maskarade*, Excerpt 29/8 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- Moderen*, Prelude to 7th Tableau 28/7 1929, 27/5 1931, in total 2 broadcasts.
- Moderen*, Min Pige er saa lys som Rav 4/4 1930, in total 1 broadcast.
- Moderen*, Som en rejselysten Flaade 12/4 1928, 17/6 1928, 13/8 1929, 4/4 1930, in total 4 broadcasts.
- 'Morgendug, der sagte bæver' 21/4 1928, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Nu er Dagen fuld af Sang' 21/4 1928, 8/6 1930, in total 2 broadcasts.
- Organ Prelude no. 24 og 21 26/5 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- Pan og Syrinx* 19/6 1930, in total 1 broadcast.
- Sankt Hansaftensspil*, I Skyggen vi vanke 23/6 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
- Saul og David* (complete opera) 23/5 1929, in total 1 broadcast.
- Saul og David*, Prelude to Act 2 14/1 1927*, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Se dig ud en Sommerdag' 5/4 1927, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Sjølunds Sangere' 24/6 1928, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Solen er saa rød, Mor' 9/3 1926, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Spurven sidder stum bag Kvist' 21/4 1928, in total 1 broadcast.
- Symphony no. 1 (with revisions by Ebbe Hamerik) 13/2 1928, in total 1 broadcast.
- Symphony no. 3 14/1 1927*, 3/6 1930, in total 2 broadcasts.

47 The transmission possibly finished before this work, which stood last on the programme. It was the premiere of this short occasional work.

'Udrundne er de gamle Dage' 24/6 1928, in total 1 broadcast.

'Underlige Aftenluftte' 21/4 1928, 27/9 1931, in total 2 broadcasts.

Universitetskantate 25/11 1926, in total 1 broadcast.

Violin concerto, Part 2 14/1 1927*, in total 1 broadcast.

Willemoes, *Sangen om Havet* 9/3 1926, 13/6 1926, 23/6 1931, in total 3 broadcasts.

*conducted by the composer himself

**premiere broadcast conducted by the composer himself

Total number of transmitted works: 102

Division by year: 1924: 1, 1925: 11, 1926: 15, 1927: 6, 1928: 15, 1929: 17, 1930: 15, 1931: 22

Of which in total 14 conducted by the composer himself

Most frequently transmitted works

Maskarade, *Hanedans* 12 times

Maskarade, *Overture* 8 times

Aladdin, *Oriental Festival march* 4 times

Festpræludium 4 times

Moderen, *Som en rejsestylen Flaade* 4 times

APPENDIX 3

Foreign radio broadcasts with music by Carl Nielsen in his lifetime⁴⁸

Aladdin, *Hindu dance* 14/2 1927 N, 10/4 1927 N, 14/7 1927 S, 26/3 1928 S, 12/8 1928 N, 6/9 1928 S, 14/11 1928 P, 7/12 1928* S, 22/4 1929 S, 4/5 1930 S, 17/6 1930 N, 28/10 1930 P, 8/1 1931 S, 4/6 1931 S, 27/9 1931 S, in total 15 broadcasts.

Aladdin, *Chinese Dance* 14/7 1927 S, 5/3 1928 N, 6/9 1928 S, 14/11 1928 P, 22/4 1929 S, 4/5 1930 S, 17/6 1930 N, 8/1 1931 S, 4/6 1931 S, 27/9 1931 S, in total 10 broadcasts.

Aladdin, *Negro dance* 14/7 1927 S, 3/9 1927 S, 27/8 1928 N, 6/9 1928 S, 14/11 1928 P, 28/1 1929 T, 4/5 1930 S, 17/6 1930 N, 28/10 1930 P, 8/1 1931 S, 4/6 1931 S, 27/9 1931 S, in total 12 broadcasts.

Aladdin, *Oriental festival march* 10/4 1927 N, 3/9 1927 S, 26/3 1928 S, 6/9 1928 S, 27/10 1928 N, 14/11 1928 P, 7/12 1928* S, 28/1 1929 T, 22/4 1929 S, 15/9 1929 Ha, 3/10 1929 S, 5/10 1929 Ha, 4/5 1930 S, 5/11 1930 N, 21/11 1930 S, 8/1 1931 S, 4/6 1931 S, 27/9 1931 S, in total 18 broadcasts.

Aladdin, *Orchestral suite* (not specified) 1/12 1929 Ha, 7/2 1930 P, 11/3 1931 P, in total 3 broadcasts.

48 The list in this appendix appears less complete than the preceding two. This is because the Danish papers' and programme magazines' summarised titles for a broadcast (Orchestral music, Songs, etc.) were more swiftly adopted in the foreign programmes than in the Danish, and even more quickly in countries that were distant and where the radio signal was more difficult to catch. Apart from Danish papers it has been possible to go through selected issues of the *Radio Times* and undertake a spot-check of German papers. The number of Nielsen works performed is surprisingly high in itself; but any supplementary information will be gratefully received (address: ketting@email.dk).

- Aladdin*, The square in Ispahan 7/12 1928* S, 28/1 1929 T, 28/10 1930 P, in total 3 broadcasts.
- Allegretto giocoso* (the piano piece op. 3 no. 2 arranged for piano trio by N. Hansen) 19/8 1929 N, in total 1 broadcast.
- Amor og Digteren*, Italiensk Hyrdearie 25/11 1930 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Andante lamentoso* 7/12 1928* S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Bøhmisk-dansk Folketone* 28/1 1929 T, in total 1 broadcast.
- Chaconne* 20/9 1927 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Den danske Sang' 30/1 1930 Le, 27/3 1930 S, in total 2 broadcasts.
- 'Der er et yndigt Land' 11/3 1931 H, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Det bødes der for' 14/11 1928 Le, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Du danske Mand' 7/9 1929 S, 10/11 1930 S, in total 2 broadcasts.
- Fantasistykker for Oboe and Piano* 15/9 1927 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Fem Klaverstykker*, opus 3 7/11 1930 N, in total 1 broadcast.
- Flute concerto* 12/2 1930* S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Fynsk Foraar* 14/5 1927 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Genrebillede' 25/3 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Har Dagen sanket al sin Sorg' 14/11 1928 Le, in total 1 broadcast.
- Helios* 3/8 1927 Ho, 13/11 1928 S, 4/9 1929 S, 12/2 1930* S, 12/9 1930 U, 3/3 1931 S, 11/3 1931 He, In total 7 broadcasts.
- 'Hør hvor let dens Vinger smækker' 25/3 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'I Aften' (with orchestra) 7/12 1928* S, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'I Seraillets Have' (with piano) 25/3 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'I Seraillets Have' (with orchestra) 7/12 1928*, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Irmelin Rose' 14/11 1928 Le, 25/3 1931 S, in total 2 broadcasts.
- 'Jeg bærer med Smil min Byrde' 8/6 1929 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Jens Vejmand' 25/3 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Maskarade*, Prelude to Act 2 31/3 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Maskarade*, Hanedans 29/1 1926 N, 11/2 1927 N, 27/11 1927 S, 4/3 1928 S, 4/11 1928 S, 14/11 1928 Ha, 14/11 1928 Br, 21 /12 1928 N, 27/12 1928 T, 27/3 1929 Ha, 26/1 1930 Be, 7/2 1930 Ha, 14/10 1930 Ha, 21/11 1930 N, 6/2 1931 N, 11/3 1931 I, 15/3 1931 Mü, 10/5 1931 Be, 7/6 1931 S, 3/7 1931 S, 2/10 1931 N, in total 21 broadcasts.
- Maskarade*, Magdelone's Dance scene 12/1 1927 T, 14/10 1928 Li, 31/10 1928 N, 27/3 1929 Ha, 28/6 1929 S, 5/7 1929 Le, 26/8 1929 N, 8/5 1930 S, 7/10 1930 Br, 5/11 1930 N, 27/11 1930 S, 10/2 1931 N, in total 12 broadcasts.
- Maskarade*, Overture 7/12 1928* S, 28/1 1929 T, 27/3 1929 Ha, 14/2 1930 S, 23/3 1930 S, 10/3 1931 S, in total 6 broadcasts.
- Maskarade*, Extract 30/3 1931 U, in total 1 broadcast.
- Maskarade*, Unspecified excerpt 19/5 1930 N, in total 1 broadcast.
- Min Fynske Barndom*, text excerpt 25/3 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Moderen*, Prelude and Menuet 7/12 1928 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Moderen*, 'Som en rejselysten Flaade' 8/7 1927 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Moderen*, 'Taagen letter' 20/12 1928 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- 'Nu er Dagen fuld af Sang' 25/3 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.
- Organ preludes* (unspecified) 16/4 1931 N, in total 1 broadcast.
- Pan og Syrinx* 22/7 1927 Ho, 20/12 1929 Le, 20/12 1929 S, in total 3 broadcasts.
- Saga-Drøm* 3/4 1925 St, 29/11 1929 S, in total 2 broadcasts.
- Saul og David* (complete opera) 16/9 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.

Saul og David (minus first act) 13/12 1928 S, in total 1 broadcast.
Saul og David, Prelude to Act 2, 13/1 1929 S, 29/11 1929 S, in total 2 broadcasts.
'Solen er saa rød Mor' 8/7 1927, in total 1 broadcast.
'Sov ind mit lille Nussebarn' 25/3 1931, in total 1 broadcast.
String Quartet, E flat major 14/11 1928 T, in total 1 broadcast.
String Quartet, F major 14/5 1927 S, in total 1 broadcast.
String Quartet, f minor 13/10 1922 N, 22/10 1922⁴⁹, in total 2 broadcasts.
String Quartet, f minor: 3rd and 4th movements 11/3 1931 Mü, in total 1 broadcast.
String Quartet, g minor 2/3 1928 S, in total 1 broadcast.
Studie efter Naturen (with orchestra) 7/12 1928* S, in total 1 broadcast.
Suite for Strings 8/11 1927 S, 24/7 1928 Fr, 12/10 1928 S, 14/11 1928 Ha, 12/9 1929 Ha, 2/12 1929 S, 3/1 1930 Fr, 18/2 1930 N, 11/3 1931 N, 11/3 1931 Ho, ialt 10 broadcasts.
Suite for Strings, Præludium and Intermezzo 7/12 1928* S, 5/1 1930 S, in total 2 broadcasts.
Suite for Strings: Intermezzo (arr. for piano trio) 11/3 1931 P, in total 1 broadcast.
Symphony no. 1 14/5 1927 S, 7/12 1927* S, 24/1 1930 Be, in total 3 broadcasts.
Symphony no. 1: Andante 25/7 1930 S, in total 1 broadcast.
Symphony no. 3 3/4 1929* S, in total 1 broadcast.
Symphony no. 4 16/1 1928 Schw, 14/3 1928 S, 14/11 1928 La, 14/11 1928 Kö, 12/11 1930 Kö, in total 5 broadcasts.
Symphony no. 5 11/11 1927 Kö, in total 1 broadcast.
Symfonisk Suite 11/3 1931 Fi, in total 1 broadcast.
'Sænk kun dit Hoved, du Blomst' (with orchestra) 7/12 1928*, in total 1 broadcast.
Tema med Variationer 14/5 1927 S, 14/11 1928 P, in total 2 broadcasts.
'Tidt er jeg glad' 25/3 1931 S, in total 1 broadcast.
3 Motets, Benedictus Dominus 30/9 1931 Ha, in total 1 broadcast.
3 Motets, Dominus regit me 30/9 1931 Ha, in total 1 broadcast.
Ulvens Søn, Sang 21/10 1928 S, in total 1 broadcast.
'Underlige Aftenlufte' 8/6 1929 S, in total 1 broadcast.
Violin concerto 25/10 1926 Fr, 14/11 1928 Be, 11/3 1931 La, in total 3 broadcasts.
Wind Quintet 21/1 1930 S, 14/10 1930 Ha, in total 2 broadcasts.
'Æbleblomst' (with piano) 25/3 1931 S, 14/10 1930, in total 2 broadcasts.
'Æbleblomst' (with orchestra) 7/12 1928*, in total 1 broadcast.

* conducted by the composer himself, in total 14 works, all broadcast by Swedish radio.

Total number of broadcast works: 199

⁴⁹ The two broadcasts from Bergen mentioned above have only a good week between them, so the first was possibly cancelled and replaced by the second.

Broadcast works divided by country

Sweden (S): 106 broadcast works

Germany (at that time), included stations in Berlin (Be), Breslau (Br), Frankfurt-am-Main (Fr), Hamburg (Ha), Heilsberg (He), Königsberg (Kö), Langenberg (La), Leipzig (Le), München (Mü), Stuttgart (St): 36 broadcast works.

Norway (N): 29 broadcast works.

Poland (P): 11 broadcast works.

Czechoslovakia (T): 8 broadcast works.

Holland (Ho): 4 broadcast works.⁵⁰

Hungary (U): 2 broadcast works.

Lithuania (Li): 1 broadcast work.

Finland (Fi): 1 broadcast work.

Italy (It): 1 broadcast work.

A B S T R A C T

On 1 April 1925 Denmark introduced national control of its hitherto privately run and relatively chaotic radio broadcasting. Denmark would quickly show itself to be one of Europe's leading nations with regard to both the number of licence-paying listeners and the role of serious music in broadcasting policy. This situation was also reflected very directly in the case of Carl Nielsen. Out of the total of 5,802 performances of his work which the article's author has been able to document until Nielsen's death in 1931, 922 (or nearly a sixth) were either produced directly for radio (where in general all music was broadcast live), or broadcast via Danish and foreign radio. Nielsen's attitude to the new medium was ambivalent from the beginning and gradually cooled. Indeed, the head of the Danish State Radio, *kammersanger* Emil Holm, was one of his friends, and Nielsen readily accepted when he was asked to conduct his own works at the concerts, which marked milestones in the newly founded Radio Orchestra's development. He was also a member of the committee that decided in 1926 which type of transmitter the new radio station in Kalundborg would use. But he composed only a few, not especially important new works for radio use, and does not seem to have been clear about what the radio medium meant for his music at a European level. The article presents a series of hitherto unknown documents concerning Carl Nielsen's relationship to the radio medium, and includes a schematic chart in the appendix offering a detailed overview of which Nielsen works a listener could have heard, and when, on Danish and foreign radio stations up until the composer's death.

Translated by Daniel Grimley

⁵⁰ It has not been possible to ascertain from the available material whether or not Pierre Monteux's performances in Amsterdam with the Concertgebouw orchestra of the Violin Concerto and 5th Symphony (on 11 and 15 December 1927) were transmitted by Dutch radio. They are not included in the above.