
CARL NIELSEN AND KNUD JEPPESEN

Connections and Collaborations, Influences and Significances

By Thomas Holme Hansen

As is nearly always the case in a teacher-student-relation, the influence of the teacher on the student is greater than the other way around. This is also the case with regard to Carl Nielsen and the Danish musicologist Knud Jeppesen, a student of Nielsen's who became a permanent part of the composer's circle of musical friends and collaborators during the last 15 years of Nielsen's life. No doubt Carl Nielsen represented a very important 'chapter' in the life and work of Jeppesen, while on the other hand, the Jeppesen paragraph in the narrative of Carl Nielsen is – at least so far – of relatively modest proportions.

Knud Jeppesen (1892-1974) occupied a prominent position in modern musicology during several decades of the twentieth century. In addition to his path-breaking dissertation on *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance* (1923; Engl. 1927), the world-known textbook on *Counterpoint* (1930; Engl. 1939) and his articles and scholarly editions, he served as long-time editor of *Acta musicologica* (1931-53) and President of the International Musicological Society (1949-52). He also was a prolific composer throughout most of his life and in that capacity he was awarded the 'Ancherske Legat' in 1946 and won several national competitions.

Having been fascinated by the music of Carl Nielsen from very early in his life, Jeppesen became one of Nielsen's pupils in 1915, and subsequently served as a sort of assistant to Nielsen, being marginally involved in Nielsen's work on some of his compositions. In addition to his employment as an organist, Jeppesen became a substitute teacher for Nielsen at the Royal Danish Academy of Music and he remained in contact with Nielsen's relatives many years after the composer's death in 1931.

Actually, the first published writing of Jeppesen's was a review of Nielsen's and Thomas Laub's "En snes danske Viser", published in *Ugens Tilskuer* in May 1915. Later in life, he wrote the weighty and important articles on Nielsen in the second and third editions of the *Danish Biographical Dictionary* (1939, rev. 1982), as well as in the fifth edition of *Grove's Dictionary* (1954).¹ Jeppesen gave many lectures on Carl

1 For a comprehensive outline of the writings of Knud Jeppesen, see Thomas Holme Hansen, 'Knud Jeppesen Katalog. Skriftlige arbejder, kompositioner

Nielsen,² he was one of the principal organizers in the establishment in 1935 of the Carl Nielsen Archive at the Royal Library, Copenhagen,³ he participated in several radio broadcasts on Nielsen, and he gave the speech at the Carl Nielsen Festival in Copenhagen in 1953,⁴ as well as at the presentation of the Carl Nielsen Prize in 1955, also in Copenhagen, and in London in 1956. Towards the end of his life Jeppesen even held the post of president of the Danish Carl Nielsen Society 1966-72.⁵ This outlines just some of the most important events and achievements of Jeppesen, to whom Carl Nielsen remained a life long inspiration and model.

In the process of dealing with the archival heritage of Knud Jeppesen various documents have emerged – among other things, hitherto unknown Jeppesen correspondence with the Nielsen family after the composer's death – that no doubt can contribute to ongoing research on Carl Nielsen, his life, influence and legacy. Hence, in what follows, some lesser known or even uncharted areas of the Nielsen-Jeppesen-connection will be addressed, for example Jeppesen's earliest experiences with Carl Nielsen's music and his studies with Nielsen. Since the majority of new pieces in this puzzle are located in letters, the presentation will start with a general outline of the Jeppesen-Nielsen letter exchanges, and later goes into greater depth, partly concerning the correspondence between Jeppesen and Carl Nielsen, partly the post-Nielsen correspondence between Jeppesen and Nielsen's wife and two daughters. The presentation is rounded off with some considerations touching on the 'missing' Jeppesen book on Carl Nielsen, and the overall relationship between the two men, as teachers as well as students.

The Jeppesen-Nielsen letter exchanges

Four collections in Denmark contain correspondence between Knud Jeppesen and Carl Nielsen and his wife and daughters.⁶

og editioner – diskografi og bibliografi' (*Fund og Forskning*, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 2011). Online publication, http://www.kb.dk/da/publikationer/online/fund_og_forskning/download/kjkatalog.pdf. Jeppesen's articles on Nielsen are listed under the heading 'Danmark', 50.

2 At the University of Copenhagen as early as 1925, in his capacity as professor at the University of Aarhus in the 1950's, and to the American Musicological Society in 1956, to mention but a few. The last of these lectures – 'Carl Nielsen, a Danish Composer' – was given on 12.5.1956 at the University of North Carolina in connection with Jeppesen's visits and lectures at other American universities that year.

3 When the official call regarding the archive was issued in 1935 – on the occasion of Nielsen's 70th anniversary on 9 June – the enclosed questionnaire was to be returned to Jeppesen; DK-Kk, Acc. nr. 1995/55 (9.6.1935).

4 *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 28 (1953/3), 62.

5 Torben Schousboe, *Carl Nielsen. Dagbøger og brevvæksling med Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen*, vols. 1-2, Copenhagen 1983, 533.

6 The author will be grateful for any information as to whether correspondence between Jeppesen and Nielsen exists outside these four collections.

First and foremost is the Carl Nielsen Archive at the Royal Library, Copenhagen [DK-Kk, CNA], to which Jeppesen donated his entire correspondence with Nielsen, that is around 45 cards and letters, along with several important manuscript scores by Nielsen.⁷ In addition to the CNA, the main materials pertaining to Jeppesen at the Royal Library are the manuscripts of his own compositions forming the Knud Jeppesen Archive [DK-Kk, KJ-A], and a collection of correspondence bearing the number Acc. 1974/105. None of these, though, contain correspondence related to Nielsen.

The second collection is the Jeppesen Collection at the State and University Library in Aarhus [DK-A, KJ-S], including his musicological notes and manuscripts and his large collection of microfilms.⁸ Among the documents related to Jeppesen's musicological activities a great number of letters are preserved⁹ and among these are two from Nielsen's daughters to Jeppesen.

The third collection is the private collection of Jeppesen's son, Kristian Jeppesen [LKJ-S], former professor of archaeology at the University of Aarhus. Among many substantial items related to Jeppesen it includes a vast family correspondence with, among others, 18 letters from Nielsen's wife and daughters to Jeppesen and, in a few instances, to Jeppesen's wife.¹⁰ Furthermore, the collection includes one particular document that Jeppesen apparently chose to keep private, namely a congratulatory telegram sent by Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen and his wife, Alice, on the occasion of their wedding day on 8 July 1923.¹¹

The fourth collection is also located at the Royal Library, although its existence has been somewhat concealed. It is a so-called 'inaccessible' collection bearing the number 'Utilg. 635' [DK-Kk, 635], with a proviso making it inaccessible until

7 Cf. DK-Kk, Journalsager 4802. Here one finds, amongst other things, a questionnaire filled in by Jeppesen himself and dated 30.5.1935, with an overview of what he has donated to the archive, 34 items in all, most of them letters. The outline closes with the remark: 'Nr. 3, 26, 32, 34 and 34 [sic] I give over to the Archive now. I wish to give the other numbers to the Archive after my death.' (Nr. 3, 26, 32, 34 og 34 [sic] overgiver jeg nu til Arkivet. De øvrige Numre ønsker jeg overgivet til Arkivet efter min Død).

8 Cf. Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, 'Knud Jeppesen's Collection in the State and University Library (Århus, Denmark). A Preliminary Catalogue'; *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning*, 7 (1973-76), 21-49. The collection is searchable online at www.statsbiblioteket.dk (search for 'Knud Jeppesens Samling').

9 Due to the fact that none of the letters are registered by the State and University Library, the author has made a preliminary registration.

10 Thanks to the kind permission of Kristian Jeppesen and his wife, Lotte Jeppesen, the author has had access to the collection and made a registration of its contents.

11 This telegram is not registered in vol. 7 of the Carl Nielsen Letter Edition (which covers the years 1921-1923), but – admittedly – it represents a borderline case in this respect. Nevertheless, it bears witness to the close relationship between the two families.

2024.¹² Jeppesen's widow transferred the collection to the Royal Library in 1979 and 1981, and since then, due to its special character, apparently no one has paid attention to it.¹³

This collection can best be characterized as the private archive of Knud Jeppesen, compiled over a period of 40-50 years. It is a very large collection, containing prints, business papers, newspaper clippings, and not least a vast number of letters. Except for an overall sorting of the materials, the collection is not registered nor catalogued.¹⁴

'635' has turned out to be the biggest single collection of letters pertaining to Knud Jeppesen, and among the more than 6,000 letters encompassed in the collection 28 hitherto unknown letters from Nielsen's wife and daughters to Jeppesen (and in a few instances from Jeppesen to them) have been located.

In addition to these letters '635' has revealed at least one piece of genuine Carl Nielsen autograph, namely a recommendation of the composer Olaf Söby, dated 16 March 1929 (Fig. 1). It is written on the same half of a piece of paper that also contains Jeppesen's recommendation of Söby, dated two and a half years earlier, on 22 September 1926. Although this dating apparently is not in the hand of Jeppesen it corresponds to Söby's studies at the Royal Academy of Music from 1923 to 1926.¹⁵

The numbers, the author/recipient, the location and the period of dating of the letters contained in these four collections are summed up in *Table 1*.¹⁶ Regarding the correspondence between Carl Nielsen and Jeppesen the matter – thanks to Jeppesen, it will turn out – is pretty simple, but not particularly satisfactory. Not counting the above mentioned wedding telegram, all in all 38 letters are preserved, all of them in the Carl Nielsen Archive, and all published or going to be published in the Carl Nielsen Letter Edition [CNB]. They date from 1918, when Nielsen asked Jeppesen to serve as a substitute for him at the Royal Academy of Music, to a few months prior to Nielsen's death in 1931.

That the case is not particularly satisfactory is due to the fact that whereas 31 of the 38 letters are written by Nielsen, only seven of those written to Nielsen by

12 Utilg. 635. Jeppesen, Knud, 1892-1974, komponist og professor. Indlemmet i *DK-Kk*, 1979 (Acc. 1979/47).

13 Despite the proviso the author has had access to this collection by kind permission of Kristian Jeppesen.

14 Thus the author has produced a detailed mapping of the collection, including a database registration of the correspondences. In the following references to the collection the folders are sequentially numbered for convenience.

15 Cf. Sigurd Berg, *Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium 1917-1953*, Copenhagen 1959, 147. The recommendation will appear in a forthcoming volume of the CNB.

16 In addition to my own findings, I have profited greatly by several letter registrations generously shared with me by John Fellow, to whom I owe great thanks. Likewise, it was Fellow who in December 2008, by sheer coincidence, made me aware of the existence of *DK-Kk*, 635.

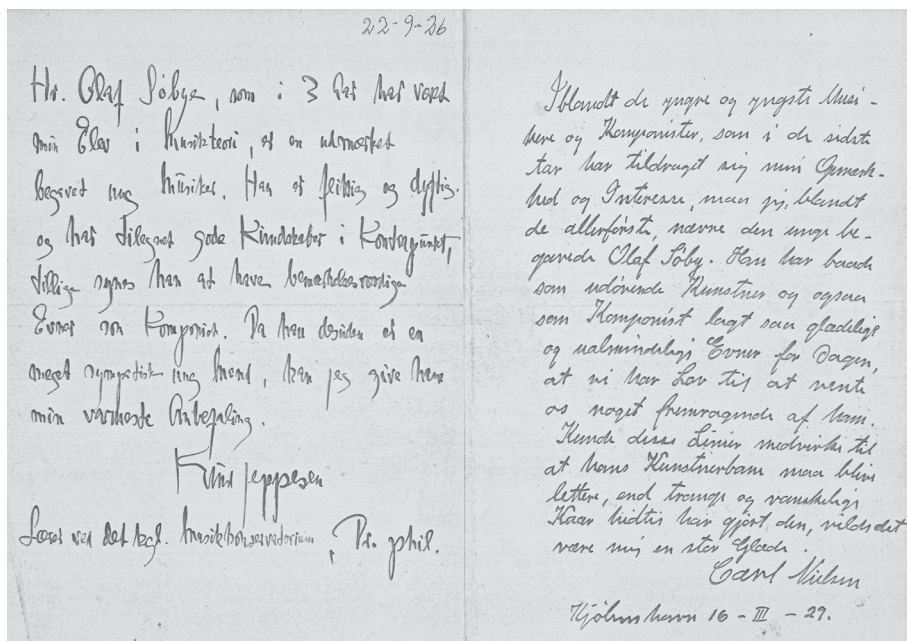


Fig. 1. Knud Jeppesen's and Carl Nielsen's recommendations of Olaf Söby, 22 September 1926 and 16 March 1929, respectively; DK-Kk, 635, 1.

Jeppesen are extant. There is no doubt that Jeppesen treasured his relation to Nielsen, and that he was very proud of being both a pupil of Nielsen and having earned – as Jeppesen himself puts it – “Nielsen’s confidentiality in many musical matters”.¹⁷ For that reason Jeppesen was no doubt extremely careful to take care of the letters he received from Nielsen over the years.

Indirect proof of this is provided by Jeppesen himself. He marked many of the letters that he received during his life with an ‘X’, often followed by a date, indicating when he had answered the letter in question, doubtless to keep order in his very extensive correspondence. Even if Jeppesen did not remember always to mark the letters he responded to, it is striking that none of the letters he received from Nielsen bear his usual ‘X’ and a date. This could perhaps indicate that in this particular case Jeppesen knew from the outset that precisely these letters had to be preserved exactly as they were. Consequently, it is highly probable that only a very few or none of

17 ‘The times when I ... nearly daily saw Carl Nielsen and talked with him, first as pupil but really quickly also as his trusted one in many musical questions’ (... de Tider, da jeg, ... næsten daglig, saa Carl Nielsen og talte med ham, først som Elev, men ret hurtigt ogsaa som hans Fortrolige i mange musikalske Spørgsmaal); Knud Jeppesen, ‘Carl Nielsen paa Hundredeaarsdagen. Nogle Erindringer’, *Dansk aarvog for musikforskning*, [4] (1964-65), 137.

Author / recipient	Total	DK-Kk, CNA	DK-A, KJ-S	LKJ-S	DK-Kk, 635	Period
Carl Nielsen to Jeppesen	32	31		1 ¹⁸		1918-1931
Jeppesen to Carl Nielsen	7	7				1918-1931
subtotal	39					
Anne Marie C.-N. to Jeppesen	14			6	8	1931-1943
Anne Marie C.-N. to Alice Jeppesen	2			2		1932-1933
Jeppesen to Anne Marie C.-N.	6	4			2	1931-1937
subtotal	22					
Irmelin E.M. to Jeppesen	17		1	3	13	1924-1972
Irmelin E.M. to Alice Jeppesen	1			1		1974
Jeppesen to Irmelin E.M.	6	3		1	2	1949-1972
subtotal	24					
Anne Marie T. to Jeppesen	5		1	3	1	1946-1965
Anne Marie T. to Alice Jeppesen	1			1		1974
Jeppesen to Anne Marie T.	1				1	1965
subtotal	7					
Total	92	45	2	18	27	1918-1974

Table 1. The author/recipient, the number, the location, and the period of dating of letters between Jeppesen (and his wife) and Carl Nielsen (and his wife and daughters) in the four collections DK-Kk, CNA, DK-A, KJ-S, LKJ-S, and DK-Kk, 635.¹⁹

Nielsen's letters have been lost, and that the 31 preserved letters come close to what Nielsen wrote to Jeppesen in all.²⁰

On the other hand it can be considered virtually certain that, regretfully, the seven remaining letters from Jeppesen only represent a small part of his full correspondence to Nielsen. Perhaps Nielsen (or his descendants) did not take care in preserving his letter exchanges? In any case, this actually corresponds to the relationship between Jeppesen and the organist and composer Thomas Laub, Jeppesen's

¹⁸ Wedding telegram, cf. note 11.

¹⁹ The tally is certainly preliminary, but still gives a reliable statement of what has been preserved. When letters by Knud Jeppesen can be found in DK-A, KJ-S, LKJ-S and DK-Kk, 635, the reason is that there is talk of drafts, eventually copied out, of the letters to be sent.

²⁰ In DK-Kk, CNA there are in any case preserved two empty envelopes which Nielsen has addressed to Knud Jeppesen. Since only one of these can have held one of the preserved letters to Jeppesen, it points towards there having been at least one Nielsen letter lost.

other important teacher. It has been possible to locate nearly 50 letters from Laub to Jeppesen whereas not one of the many letters Jeppesen without question wrote to Laub has apparently survived.

The Carl Nielsen Archive furthermore contains seven letters written by Jeppesen to Nielsen's wife and his daughter Irmelin (four to Anne Marie and three to Irmelin), making it the largest single collection of letters exchanged between the Nielsen and Jeppesen families respectively. Nevertheless, the number of letters in the Carl Nielsen Archive (45) is complemented by yet another 47 – most of which hitherto unknown – from the three other collections, that is, at least a doubling.²¹ The majority of these letters stem from the '635'-collection, while a third of them come from the private collection of Kristian Jeppesen.

As regards Jeppesen's 'X's, mentioned earlier, a survey of all the letters from Nielsen's wife and daughters reveals 14 dated 'X's that do not correspond to the preserved letters sent to them from Jeppesen, indicating what are, in this context, 'phantom letters'.²² Added to the number of missing letters from Jeppesen to Carl Nielsen – that is, at least 25, and probably more – around 40 letters must be considered lost.

While the letters to and from Nielsen and Jeppesen cover the period 1918-1931, the other letters – with a single insignificant exception²³ – date from 1931 and onwards. So, apparently written contact between Jeppesen and the wife and daughters of Nielsen did not occur until after Nielsen's death. These letters – listed in *Appendix* (pp. 145-147) – are spread evenly through the decades, ending with two letters on the occasion of Jeppesen's death in 1974, where the two daughters, Anne Marie and Irmelin, offer their condolences to Jeppesen's wife.

Knud Jeppesen's earliest experiences with Carl Nielsen's music

Knud Jeppesen's very early fascination with Nielsen is described vividly in his article on the occasion of Nielsen's centenary in 1965, first published in three parts in *Berlingske Tidende*, and later in *Dansk aarbog for musikforskning*.²⁴

21 Here can also be added five letters between the violin virtuoso Emil Telmányi and Knud Jeppesen (preserved in LKJ-S and DK-Kk, 635), but they are all written after Telmányi's divorce from Anne Marie in 1936.

22 Six letters to Nielsen's wife together with six to Irmelin and two to Anne Marie.

23 The single exception is an undated letter-card in which Jeppesen is thanked for 'the remarkable lectures' (*de udmærkede Forelæsninger*). The senders are 'Irmelin and Frida Møller, née Heiberg', who express 'regrets about the outcome!' (*Beklagelse over Udfaldet!*), and the context can only be the much discussed competition for a music lectureship at Copenhagen University in 1924 – a competition which Knud Jeppesen lost.

24 Knud Jeppesen, 'Optakt', 'Den store lærer', 'Geniets alsidighed'; *Berlingske Tidende* (Kronik), 5.6, 8.6 and 9.6.1965; Knud Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 137-150. Jeppesen also presented the text in the form of a lecture delivered on 5.5.1965 at the Danish Musicological Society (University of Copenhagen) and later on 4.6.1965 at Aarhus University.

Due to the character of Jeppesen's narrative style on this occasion – and considering that it was written more than fifty years after some of the events had taken place – it comes as no surprise that the article lacks precise datings. From the information given, it is nevertheless possible to establish a rough chronology for Jeppesen's earliest experience of Carl Nielsen's music. In this connection it can be seen – maybe more surprisingly – that Jeppesen's account can be corrected on a series of points.

Jeppesen tells us that the first Nielsen work he remembers having heard discussed was *Saul and David*, and his estimate of having been 10-11 years old when the opera was first put on is in tune with the date of the opera's first performance at the Royal Theatre on 28 November 1902.²⁵ Jeppesen's next memory was "Grasshopper" ("Grasshopper sits in the meadow").²⁶ This song became popular immediately after its publication in 1899,²⁷ and Jeppesen remembers it as having been well known during his school days at Rungsted Boarding School – where he started in August 1904, and where he passed his Middle School Exam in 1908 and his Student Exam in 1911²⁸ – even though Carl Nielsen's songs "only much later ... won entry to the schools".²⁹

While Jeppesen still went to Middle School, he wrote a letter, at 15 years old, to the chief conductor Joachim Andersen, with the wish that one of Carl Nielsen's compositions might be played at one of the so-called 'Palæ Concerts', which Andersen directed. Whether Andersen took any notice of Jeppesen's letter is certainly doubtful, but nonetheless Nielsen's "1st Symphony ... was put in the programme and moreover under the leadership of the composer himself", a concert which can be dated to Sunday 9 February 1908 in the Odd Fellow Palæ.³⁰

Jeppesen mentions that this was the first time he experienced Carl Nielsen as a conductor. Nevertheless, the next concert experience which Jeppesen writes about (as the account of Nielsen's last concert at the Odd Fellow Palæ is discussed later) represents a step – or maybe two – back in time.

That Jeppesen's first proper meeting with Carl Nielsen stood clearly in his memory is not surprising. Jeppesen relates that, as he was only a schoolboy, in order to get access to an evening performance of Carl Nielsen's compositions at the Student

25 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 138; Niels Bo Foltmann, Peter Hauge and Niels Krabbe, 'Foreword'; *Saul og David*, CNU-I, 4 (2002), xvii-xviii.

26 *Græshoppen (Græshoppen sidder paa Engen)*.

27 The song was published in the second collection of J. Mikkelsen's *Skolesange. 52 tostemmige Sange* (WH, 1899); Niels Bo Foltmann, Peter Hauge, Elly Bruunshuus Petersen and Kirsten Flensborg Petersen, 'Foreword'; *Songs*; CNU-III, 7 (2009), 138.

28 *Rungsted Kostskole, Gymnasium, Mellem- og forberedelsesskole, 1908-1909* (Copenhagen, 1909), 12, 15, 57; *Meddelelser om Rungsted Kostskole, Gymnasium, Mellem- og forberedelsesskole, 1911-1912*, Copenhagen 1912, 16-18.

29 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 138.

30 *Ibid.*, 139. The date of the concert has been kindly provided to the author by Knud Ketting. The symphony was first performed on 13.3.1894.

Society, it was necessary to attend with his then piano teacher, Paul Hellmuth. Hellmuth, who later came to work together with Carl Nielsen on their *Psalms and Spiritual Songs* (Salmer og Aandelige Sange; published 1919), was at this point studying composition with Nielsen,³¹ and could evidently arrange that Jeppesen got access to the concert even though it was not open to the general public. According to Jeppesen's vivid account it sounds as though he and Hellmuth actually stood and awaited Carl Nielsen's arrival, as Nielsen is reported as having said to the ticket inspector that "this gentleman is with me" – important words for the young man in question – with reference to Jeppesen.³²

Jeppesen remembers the programme for the evening very precisely: the F major String Quartet, the Symphonic Suite for piano together with the first performance of *Jens Vejmand*. However, the problem is that there never was a concert with that content at the Student Society. In the Odd Fellow Palæ, on the other hand, or more exactly in the palæ's smaller hall, there was one of Carl Nielsen's public composition evenings on Saturday 30 November 1907 at which the works named by Jeppesen – that is, the quartet opus 44, the piano suite opus 8 and the strophic songs opus 21 including *Jens Vejmand* as well as two *a capella* choral pieces – were performed, all first performances except for the piano suite.³³

Knud Jeppesen therefore certainly attended the concert in the Odd Fellow Palæ in November 1907. At the same time he has a convincing memory of an evening dedicated to Carl Nielsen compositions at the Student Society, and has evidently connected these two experiences, and perhaps consciously described them as one event. In looking for a similar event at the Student Society, the most likely candidate is a concert held on Saturday 15 December 1906, the third of a series of "Student Society Composition Evenings".³⁴ Apart from the fact that the programme for this concert also contains a string

31 For a more detailed examination of the collaboration between Nielsen and Hellmuth see Torben Schousboe, 'Barn af huset – ? Nogle tanker og problemer omkring et utrykt forord til Carl Niensens *Salmer og Aandelige Sange*'; *Dansk Kirkesangs Årsskrift*, 1969-70, 75-91.

32 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 139.

33 Knud Ketting, 'Carl Niensens københavnske kompositionsaftener. Et delstudie i komponistøkonomi og receptionshistorie'; *Musikvidenskabelige kompositioner. Festskrift til Niels Krabbe 1941-2006*, Copenhagen 2006, 526-528. Niels Bo Foltmann, Peter Hauge, Elly Bruunshuus Petersen and Kirsten Flensborg Petersen, *op. cit.*, 30-32; Lisbeth Ahlgren Jensen, 'Foreword'; *Chamber Music 1*; CNU-II, 10 (2004), xlv.

34 Programme for the concert is held by the Student Society's archive at The Royal Library Copenhagen, which I have inspected with the kind permission of Anne Ørbæk Jensen. Cf. Schousboe, *Carl Nielsen. Dagbøger og brevvæksling med Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen*, 231-232. The composition evening is not discussed in Ketting's article, probably because it – as well as the concerts at the Music Society – was not public.

quartet – though it is the quartet in F minor, opus 5³⁵ – there is no resemblance to the concert a year later at the Odd Fellow Palæ, and therefore no programme-related explanation for why Jeppesen should have blended the two events together in his memoirs.

Thus, the evidence points towards there having been two completely separate events in 1906 and 1907. Moreover Paul Hellmuth apparently accompanied the 14-15 year old Jeppesen to both concerts. As well as functioning as an access-provider to the concert at the Student Society, according to Jeppesen, Hellmuth pronounced after the performance of the “symphonic piano suite”, that “I could also make such a thing, but I wouldn’t care to write it down: I would improvise it”,³⁶ which can only have been said in connection with the concert at the Odd Fellow Palæ.

As neither Carl Nielsen nor someone else acted as conductor of these two concerts, it may support Jeppesen’s memory that the first time he experienced Nielsen as a conductor was at the 1908 concert with the 1st Symphony, but it does not explain why Jeppesen names the two concerts in 1906 and 1907 *after* his discussion of the concert in the Odd Fellow Palæ in February 1908.

According to Jeppesen himself, he “naturally attended all first performances of Nielsen’s music” in the following years,³⁷ and by way of example discusses two works whose performances can be dated. One is Nielsen’s University Cantata, opus 24, which was performed for the first time at the University’s annual celebration on 29 October 1908. There is certainly no possibility that Jeppesen experienced the first performance, but he was in the audience when the cantata – with the University’s permission – was performed publicly on 17 November in Odd Fellow Palæ’s large hall.³⁸ The other work which Jeppesen refers to is the 3rd Symphony. The concert in which it was given was also held in Odd Fellow Palæ’s large hall, on 28 February 1912, with the title, “symphony concert with new compositions”, when Carl Nielsen himself conducted the Royal Chapel. As well as two extracts from *Saul and David*, which were not exactly new, the programme included the first performances of the Violin Concerto, opus 33, and 3rd Symphony, *Sinfonia Espansiva*, opus 27, which for Jeppesen was “unforgettable for me in the original meaning of that word, in that all its themes set themselves into me so that after just that one hearing I could remember the whole piece.”³⁹

35 The quartet closed the concert, which also included the Sonata No. 1 for violin and piano opus 9, four songs, the two Fantasy Pieces for oboe and piano opus 2, and three further songs.

36 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 139-140 (*saadan noget kunde jeg ogsaa lave, men det behøvede jeg ikke at skrive ned, det kunde jeg improvisere*).

37 *Ibid.*, 140.

38 *Ibid.*, 140. Cf. Elly Bruunshuus Petersen, ‘Foreword’; *Cantatas 2*; CNU-III, 2 (2008), xix.

39 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 140 (*uforglemmelig for mig i Ordets egentligste Forstand derved, at alle dens Temaer bed sig saa fast i mig, at jeg saa at sige kunde huske det hele efter blot denne ene Overhøring*); Niels Bo Foltmann, ‘Foreword’; *Symphony no. 3 opus*

Perhaps yet another first performance can supplement those mentioned by Jeppesen. One document found amongst Jeppesen's many surviving Nielsen-related papers and documents, probably that with the earliest date, is a concert programme for the Music Society's "Third Concert" (72nd season, 1907-1908) for 6 and 8 April 1908. In addition to two works by Mozart and Weber, Carl Nielsen's *Saga-Drøm*, opus 39, and *Hymnus Amoris*, opus 12, were performed, both with Nielsen as conductor.⁴⁰ Regarding *Saga-Drøm* there is talk of a first performance, but it is doubtful (comparing the discussion above of the concerts in 1906-7) whether Jeppesen would have been able to gain access to a concert that was not open to the public, although not unthinkable.

To round off his memories of Carl Nielsen's work, Knud Jeppesen states that he also attended the last concert that Nielsen conducted in the Odd Fellow Palæ. This took place almost exactly 20 years after Jeppesen's first experience of Nielsen as conductor in February 1908, and by coincidence the programme on this occasion also included the 1st Symphony in G minor. This concert is also not dated in Jeppesen's article, but it can only be the concert which took place on 26 February 1928.⁴¹ The symphony had also been performed a few weeks earlier, in the presence of Carl Nielsen, at the Music Society under Ebbe Hamerik, in relation to which performance Hamerik had "made a number of corrections in the score", corrections which are supposed to have prompted Nielsen to conduct the next performance of the work himself.⁴² This concert was clearly a special experience for Knud Jeppesen. He evidently also attended Hamerik's performance, perhaps with Nielsen, as Nielsen's experience of it is woven into Jeppesen's memory of the concert on 26 February:

C.N., who so to speak didn't recognise the symphony, felt compelled to make sure once more that the work, despite everything, still lived ... he gave himself time to dwell and so to speak look around in the work; it was as if his proud youth streamed into him again, a youth he felt he could be rather proud of.⁴³

27, *Sinfonia Espansiva*; CNU-II, 3 (1999), xiv; Ketting, *op. cit.*, 528-529. Cf. also Schousboe, *op. cit.*, 326.

40 DK-Kk, 635, 20. Cf. Peter Hauge, 'Foreword'; *Orchestral Works 2*; CNU-II, 8 (2004), xi-xii. Franz Neruda conducted the first two works.

41 Schousboe, *op. cit.*, 537.

42 *Ibid.*, 536. Thus, when Jeppesen states that 'shortly before the same symphony had been performed in the same hall by a young conductor' (*Kort forinden var den samme Symfoni blevet opført i samme Sal af en ung Dirigent*; Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 139), he surely must have misremembered the venue. Cf. also Peter Hauge, 'Foreword'; *Symphony No. 1 opus 7*; CNU-II, 1 (2001), p. xxiv; Niels Krabbe, 'Ebbe Hameriks påståede korrumpning af Carl Niensens første symfoni eller Om nytten af kildestudier'; *Fund og Forskning*, 39 (2000), 121-147; *Ibid.*, 'Revisionerne af Carl Niensens første symfoni. Nielsen eller Hamerik - et korrigerende supplement'; *Fund og Forskning*, 40 (2001), 229-232.

43 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 139 (C. N., *der ligesom ikke kendte den igen, følte Trang til endnu en Gang at forvise sig om, at Værket trods alt levede ... Han gav sig Tid til ... at*

The organ work, *Commotio* opus 58, holds a special position in Knud Jeppesen's experience of Carl Nielsen's music. It was this work which Jeppesen was invited to listen to in Nielsen's last letter to him, dated 23 April 1931.⁴⁴ This letter speaks of the first – unofficial – performance of the new organ work, which was to be played the next day, 24 April, by the organist Peter Thomsen in Christiansborg Slotskirke. According to Jeppesen's article, *Commotio* was also the last piece of music which he heard together with Carl Nielsen, a few days before the composer's death, at the end of September 1931 in Roskilde Cathedral, where Emilius Bangert performed the composition a few days before he travelled to the north German organ week in Lübeck, where the work was performed on 6 October.⁴⁵

Jeppesen's studies with Carl Nielsen

What is not evident from Jeppesen's memorial article is that he worked as a conductor in Prussia in 1912-14,⁴⁶ and that he actually signed a contract for the next two years, that is, up to the summer of 1916. The outbreak of World War I prevented this though, forcing Jeppesen to return to Denmark in the spring of 1914.

Within a few months after his return Jeppesen – as he recalls – took his courage in both hands “and went up to him [Carl Nielsen] to ask him if I could become his student”, which as we know happened, though not until a year later. This time Nielsen's reply was a clear and unambiguous “no”, and regretfully Jeppesen does not touch upon the circumstances that brought about his being “at last accepted by Carl Nielsen” in the autumn of 1915.⁴⁷

During the intervening year, Jeppesen studied counterpoint with Paul Hellmuth. These lessons are documented by a carefully bound book containing counter-

dvæle og ligesom se sig om i Værket; det var, som om hans stolte Ungdom igen strømmede ind paa ham, en Ungdom, han følte han vel kunde være bekendt).

44 Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 23.4.1931, DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ac. Carl Nielsen also discussed the work in an earlier letter to Jeppesen of 26.1.1931, *Ibid.*

45 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 149. For a more detailed discussion of the earlier performances of the work, together with the numerous first performances, see Niels Bo Foltmann, 'Foreword'; *Piano and Organ Works*; CNU-II, 12 (2006), vii-x.

46 From September 1912 to April 1913 he was employed in Elbing (Elbląg) and from September 1913 to April 1914 in Liegnitz (Legnica), in both places at the theatre. In Elbing Jeppesen was employed as second Kapellmeister, while at the same time the former Carl Nielsen student, Knud Harder (1885-1967), was employed as first Kapellmeister.

47 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 140. Jeppesen mentions that his first visit to Carl Nielsen's happened while the composer lived on Vodroffsvej, and that he then moved to Fredriksholms Kanal when Jeppesen became his pupil, which fits neatly with our knowledge that Carl Nielsen moved in the summer of 1915; Cf. Schousboe, *op. cit.*, 270, 399.

point exercises that in many instances are commented upon by Jeppesen.⁴⁸ At the same time he began his studies in music history with Thomas Laub.

The exercise book bears the completion date 22 July 1915,⁴⁹ and within a couple of months thereafter Jeppesen started as Nielsen's student. Nielsen's tuition is partly described in the memorial article, which also lays weight upon more personal and entertaining memories, including a vivid depiction of the circumstances of Nielsen's domestic household.

It appears from the article that from the outset Carl Nielsen made Jeppesen solve counterpoint exercises according to Heinrich Bellermann's *Der Kontrapunkt*, a textbook studied by Nielsen himself when he was a student at the Royal Academy of Music, and thus – according to Jeppesen – pointing to a rather conservative pedagogical approach.⁵⁰ Reminiscences of this part of Nielsen's tuition are found in Jeppesen's

48 The hand written book's title page reads, 'Kontrapunktiske Studier 1914.-15. (hos Poul [sic] Hellmuth) / 2-stemmigt / Kontrapunkt'; DK-Kk, KJ-A, XVIII, 3 (un-numbered). The comments – carefully written – reveal technical details and indicate that the training at times has been conducted in a cheery manner, for example, 'momentary mental confusion', 'thickhead', 'Childish! What were you thinking? – and your ears!', 'No terrible jokes please' (*momentan Sindsforvirring, Kvægpandel, Menneskebarn! Hvor har Du haft dine Tanker? – og dit Øre!, Daarlige Vittigheder frabedes!*). The only comment which relates to Carl Nielsen says, 'In these exercises I have offended against 2 rules (which sure enough can't be found in Bellerman, but which Carl Nielsen has inculcated on his students): 1) In 2-voiced movements it is forbidden to jump in similar motion, 2) When a scale-step occurs scale-wise as well as chromatically changed in the same melody, one must (to avoid the furthest hint of the chromatic) hold them at least two bars distant from each other' (*I disse Opgaver har jeg forsynet mig mod 2 Regler (som ganske vist ikke findes hos Bellermann, men som Carl Nielsen har indprentet sine Elever): 1) I den 2-stemmige Sats er Spring i Ligebevægelse forbudt[,] 2) Naar et Skalatrin forekommer saavel skalaegen som cromatisk forandret i samme Melodi bør man (for at undgaa selv den fjærneste Antydning af Cromatik) holde dem mindst to Takter fjærnede fra hinanden*) (p. [8]).

Most of the exercises have got a blue crayon 'fly's leg' by way of a signature, mostly resembling a circle overwritten with a scruffy cross (see Fig. 2). This signature originates, so far as is known, from Orla Rosenhoff (1844-1905), who employed it during his theory teaching at the Conservatory. Originally, then, it is a superimposed 'O' and 'R', Rosenhoff's initials, which when written over and over again resulted in a kind of cross over a circle. It was Rosenhoff's way of saying 'ok' about an exercise which was then adopted by Carl Nielsen, and thereafter by Hellmuth. Jeppesen carried on the tradition, and when the author of this article undertook his training in Palestrina counterpoint at the Department of Musicology at Aarhus University in the 1990s, the signature was still in use, carried forward by Jeppesen's many-years secretary, lecturer Jens Peter Jacobsen (1931-2012) from whom this information comes. Cf. also Lisbeth Ahlgren Jensen, 'Rosenhoff-affæren'; *Musikvidenskabelige kompositioner. Festskrift til Niels Krabbe 1941-2006*, Copenhagen 2006, 503-518.

49 The finishing date appears on the manuscript's last page.

50 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 142.

os Bellestrmann, men som Carl Nielsen har indprentet sine elever),
 aret skal ses som cromatisk forandret - samme Melodi for man (forat undg
 4 Cromatik) holde den mindt To Takter færre fra hinanden

Fig. 2. Excerpt from DK-Kk, KJ-A, XVIII, 3 showing Paul Hellmuth's use of Orla Rosenhoff's 'ok'-signature in Jeppesen's counterpoint exercises. At the bottom Jeppesen's handwritten comments.

private copy of Bellermann's book, now held by the University Library of Southern Denmark in Odense [DK-Ou], where Jeppesen's large collection of books and printed music were placed shortly before his death in 1974.⁵¹

Apparently Jeppesen acquired the book in 1913 (possibly during his stay in Prussia), and to judge by his handwriting, the annotations in the book were made over a period of years. Apart from a large number of references to comparable books by Fux, Mizler, Haller and other writers, and to musical works (for example by Palestrina),⁵² eight of the annotations relate directly to Nielsen's tuition, most of them of a

51 Woetmann Christoffersen, *op. cit.*, 21. Jeppesen's copy of Bellermann's *Der Contrapunkt* is the '4. Auflage' (1901).

52 To judge from the numerous hand written side-references, Knud Jeppesen probably read Bellerman's text and examples in parallel to several other counterpoint books, amongst others, Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* in German translation.

very specific technical nature but none carrying a date. From the paragraph on two-voice counterpoint, fifth species:

The Carl Nielsen school permits the binding of quarter note to quarter note, which one finds exemplified in many places in the classical composers, too (for example in Goudimel's Psalms).

Carl Nielsen advised his students only to make suspensions where dissonant suspensions were possible. Otherwise it could be regarded as foolish and impoverished in this particular species with so many possibilities.⁵³

As can be seen, in some cases Jeppesen uses the expression "The Carl Nielsen School", which perhaps could indicate that these 'Nielsen rules' did not derive directly from his lessons with Nielsen, but perhaps rather were conveyed to Jeppesen during his preceding studies with Paul Hellmuth, who is also mentioned in the annotations. This would be consistent with Jeppesen's recollection that Nielsen quickly replaced the Bellermand exercises with actual teaching in composition.

There are other pieces of more or less 'hidden' evidence of the introductory teaching of Nielsen. The first documentation by far from the hand of Nielsen regarding Jeppesen is a short note in Nielsen's diary dated 24 September 1915 saying, "Kl 12 1/2 Jeppesen".⁵⁴ This corresponds with a sheet held at the State and University Library in Århus, in that it bears the exact same date, "24-9-15".⁵⁵ The two counterpoint exercises on the sheet, also species-like, resemble the Bellermand exercises, but in addition Jeppesen has written a kind of memorandum, apparently to himself. This note reveals the difference between the tuition of Hellmuth and Nielsen respectively, and furthermore it gives a rare snapshot of the thoughts of the 23-year old Jeppesen during an important formative period:

Regarding these exercises Carl Nielsen states that they are correct as such, but the dissonances are ... in a peculiar way without effect, they do not really convey any pleasure. If I ask him, then, how to solve such an assignment, he ... refers me to the model exercises by Bellermand. However, Hellmuth and I agreed that Bellermand's examples sounded all right, but that they were

53 Jeppesen's private copy of Bellermand, *Der Contrapunkt*, 184, 185 (*Carl Nielsen-Skolen tillader at binde Fjerdedele til Fjerdedele, hvilket man ogsaa kan finde mange Exempler paa hos de klassiske Komponister (f. Ex. i Goudimels Psalmer); Carl Nielsen anbefalede sine Elever kun at binde, hvor de kunde faa Dissonansbindinger. Ellers holdt han det for Tant og 'fattigmandsagtigt' i denne Art, hvor der jo er saa mange Muligheder*).

54 CNB, 5:278.

55 DK-A, KJ-S, 36, 10.

more harmonically than contrapuntally conceived. ... Consequently, I am at a crossroads. There Hellmuth, here Carl Nielsen. For some reason I understand both of them. Nielsen, who above all looks at the impact ...; Hellmuth, who with Laub developed his reverence to the individuality of the single voice Who is right, that is, who will offer me most if I follow him? ... It will be like a dance on a cut-throat razor; but who cares – ”.⁵⁶

The sheet in The State and University Library is supplemented with one held in the Knud Jeppesen Archive at the Royal Library, containing similar counterpoint exercises and bearing the two dates “11-10-15” and “22-10-15”. It also displays a couple of technical remarks made by Jeppesen, and one of these clearly indicates that also this sheet stems from Jeppesen’s lessons with Nielsen: “This passing major six-four chord was termed sour sweet by Carl Nielsen”.⁵⁷

Following the ‘mechanical’ counterpoint exercises, Nielsen asked Knud Jeppesen to ‘copy’ a string quartet by Mozart first, that is to maintain the harmonic scheme and then add new themes, and subsequently to write a quartet of his own:

In this way I had, as my first exercise, to copy a string quartet by Mozart, that is, I should form new themes after Mozart while following the modulation

56 The complete text: *Carl Nielsen siger om disse 2 foranstaaende Opgaver, at de i og for sig er rigtige, men Dissonanserne kommer (med Undtagelse af et Sted i den 1ste Opgave, han har understreget), underligt virkningsløse, man har ingen rigtig Glæde af dem. Spørger jeg ham, hvorledes en saadan Opgave da skal gøres, peger han paa det omtalte Sted i den første Opgave og henviser til Bellermanns Mønstreexempler. Hellmuth og jeg var inidertid enige om at Bellermanns exemplar klang godt, men var mere accordmæssigt end egentlig kontrapunktisk tænkt, Stemmerne synes at bevæge sig mere efter Helhedens Love end efter sine egne – Jeg staar nu altsaa paa Skillevejen. Dér Hellmuth hér Carl Nielsen. Jeg forstaar i Grunden begge; Carl N. som først og fremmest ser paa Virkningen og det er jo ogsaa den det i sidste Instans kommer an paa (for hvad er vor Kunst vel andet end en Fremkalden af Virkninger); Hellmuth, som har faaet sin Ærbødighed for den enkelte Stemmes Individualitet udviklet hos Laub, men maaske er tilbøjelig til at hugge alt for lige og skarpt til og mangler Øjet for de fine Liniers Brydning. Hvem har nu Ret, det vil sige, hvem giver mig mest om jeg følger ham? Skal jeg dømme, vil jeg sige, som Dommeren hos Holberg: ‘I har begge to Ret’, cum grano salis. Ingen Sag, Ting eller Idé taaler at føres ud i sine yderste konsekvenser uden at den til sidst vender sit Sværd mod sig selv. Saaledes ogsaa her. Der gives 2 Maader at virke smukt paa i den flerstemmige Musik. Den accordmæssige (Harmoniernes Velklang) og den kontrapunktiske (Stemmernes melodiske og rytmiske Liv, deres Vexelvirkning, deres indbyrdes Sammenspil). Gaar jeg for vidt i den første bliver Resultatet i og for sig velklingende, men kedeligt. Løber jeg derimod Linen ud i den sidste kan Resultatet bliver morsomt, men ildeklingende, knudret og haardt. Idealet vil derfor være, at søge at forene disse to Retningers Fordele. Det bliver en Dans paa en Ragekniv; men ligemeget -; Ibid.*

57 DK-Kk, KJ-A, XX (Carl Nielsen kaldte denne gennemgaaende Dur-Kvartsextaccord syrlig-sød).

scheme, and especially the form, exactly. As remarkable as it might sound, I benefited from that really mechanical work. ... as my next exercise ... to write a new string quartet ... this time freely, from my own head.⁵⁸

The products of these exercises, namely two string quartets, are kept in the Knud Jeppesen Archive. On the first page of the first manuscript (*DK-Kk*, KJ-A, IV, 12) – a nicely bound book – Jeppesen wrote “String Quartet (A major) in the classic style (exercise from Carl Nielsen after Mozart K. 464). Knud Jeppesen”⁵⁹ and it contains a fair copy of the quartet, that to some extent resembles the given ‘Haydn Quartet’ by Mozart. Unfortunately, the manuscript is not dated.⁶⁰

There is no surviving complete fair copy of the second quartet, which could indicate that it was never completely finished in detail in all its movements. Work on all four movements, though, can be found in a partially dated manuscript (*DK-Kk*, KJ-A, IV, 11), whilst another manuscript, unfortunately undated, appears to be a finished fair copy of the quartet’s first movement (*DK-Kk*, KJ-A, VII, 85).⁶¹ In contrast to the Mozart-quartet manuscript IV, 11 displays a number of instances where Jeppesen has noted the advices he has had from Carl Nielsen (labelled A1-A9). The manuscript begins with a music sheet (section 0) on which Jeppesen has written, “String Quartet in F (exercise from CN)”,⁶² while the rest of the manuscript is in ten continuous sections (S1-S10), which are related to the quartet’s four movements as shown in *Table 2*.

Work on the first movement can be found in four of the sections, and in two sections on each of the three following movements. Only three sections bear a date, always on the section’s first page.

That the sections represent various stages of the work on the quartet can be seen in a number of ways. The musical material in S5 does not correspond to the

58 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 142 (*Saaledes fik jeg som første Opgave at kopiere en Strygekvartet af Mozart, d.v.s. saaledes at jeg dannede nye Themaer efter Mozart, men ellers fulgte Modulationsgangen, og især formen nøjagtigt. Saa mærkeligt det maaske kan lyde, fik jeg dog Udbytte af dette ret mekaniske Arbejde. ... som næste Opgave ... at skrive en ny Strygekvartet – denne Gang frit ud af mit eget Hoved.*).

59 *Strygekvartet (A-Dur) i klassisk Stil (Opgave hos Carl Nielsen efter Mozart K. 464). Knud Jeppesen.*

60 *DK-Kk*, KJ-A, VI, 12 (unnumbered). The outline of the quartet is as follows: [3-17]: I, Allegro (A; bb. 260); [19-24]: II, Andante (D; bb. 98); [25-30]: III, Menuetto (E; bb. 95); [31-46]: IV, Finale (A; bb. 242).

61 In addition, the folder with drafts and sketches in the Knud Jeppesen Archive (*Dk-Kk*, KJ-A, XX) contains some sheets that possibly are related to Jeppesen’s work on the string quartet, one bearing the title “String Quartet” (*Strygekvartet*), another headed by “II / Allegretto”. In this connection, though, they are not taken into account.

62 *Strygekvartet i F (Elevopgave hos C.N.)*. On the first page of *DK-Kk*, KJ-A, VII, 85 Jeppesen has written, correspondingly, ‘String quartet F (exercise for C. N.)’ (*Strygekvartet F (Opgave hos. C. N.)*).

contents of S3, so it is not possible to get an impression of the final version of the second movement if it was finished at all. Regarding the first movement, none of the four sections contains a conclusion for the movement. A different situation is found in relation to the finale, where S10, which consists of only six bars, without doubt constituting the conclusion which is missing from the extensive S4.

It is striking that it is only the work on the first movement that bears a date, and that of Jeppesen's total of nine annotations, seven relate to the first movement. Comparison of the preparatory works on the first movement among themselves, and with the surviving fair copy (VII, 85) allows us to see some concrete examples of what Carl Nielsen recommended to Jeppesen, and whether he actually followed the advice that had been given.

The annotation which in the present connection appears to be the first (A1) can be found at the bottom of S9's second sheet: "Carl Nielsen found the transition between the first and second themes too final, roughly like an overture ending and recommended me to look for a smoother crossing."⁶³ In the fair copy, an extensive change can be seen at this point.

Mvt (key)	Section	Dating	Number of pages ⁶⁴	Annotations	Pagination ⁶⁵
Title page	S0		1+3*		none
I (F)	S9	"24-9-15"	5+3*	A1-A4	none
	S1	"11-10-15"	4	A5	1-4
	S7	[before 22.10]	3+1*	A6	none
	S8	"22-10-15"	4	A7	none
II (C)	S3		6	A8-A9	15-20
	S5		2		none
III (g)	S2		4		11-14
	S6		4		none
IV (F)	S4		20		21, 21-32, [2 un-numbered], 33-37
	S10		1+1*		38
Total	0+10		62	9	

Table 2. Outline of the Jeppesen manuscript DK-Kk, KJ-A, IV, 11: 'String Quartet in F (Exercise from C.N.)'.

⁶³ Carl Nielsen fandt Overgangen mellem 1ste og 2det Thema for afsluttende, omtrent som en Overture-Slutning og anbefalede mig at søge en jævnere Overgang.

⁶⁴ An asterisk (*) indicates blank pages.

⁶⁵ To judge from the page numbering, 5-10 are missing, while there are two pages numbered '21'.

The three following pages (in S9) also contain annotations. A2: “2nd theme too short, it must carry further; as it is, one expects by the 2nd subsidiary theme’s introduction a continuation in relation to the first subsidiary theme, and becomes unsatisfactory when something arrives which is rhythmically new and independent”;⁶⁶ A3: “the transition to the main theme is rather stiff in regards to its rhythm”;⁶⁷ and A4: “Carl Nielsen meant here, that it is too late to underline something by a repeat, modulate further!”⁶⁸ Where the two first are concerned, there are also accompanying changes in the fair copy, while the bars which A4 relates to have not found their way into the eventual fair copy. Nevertheless this particular annotation underlines what Jeppesen says in his memoirs about Carl Nielsen’s advice with regard to modulation: “another time he was dissatisfied that I was holding back in my modulations. ‘Once one first begins to modulate’, he said, ‘so shall one continue, blow by blow, so that it can be felt that now it is serious’ ”.⁶⁹

While A1-A4 are all located in S9 the three other annotations to the first movement can be found in their own sections. The wording of A5 (in S1) is: “Carl Nielsen added these 2 passing notes, he thought the movement ought to be continued” (Fig. 3).⁷⁰ In contrast to the foregoing remarks’ general character this is a detail, and the two notes in question are added immediately, before later becoming part of the fair copy.



Fig. 3. One of Knud Jeppesen’s annotations in his string quartet-MS reflecting Carl Nielsen’s advice. The two eight notes following the ‘X’ marking (bottom voice) possibly added by Nielsen himself; DK-Kk, KJ-A, IV, 11.

66 2det Thema for kort, det maa føres videre; som det er, venter man sig ved det 2det Sidethemas Indførelse en Fortsættelse i Tilknytning til 1ste Sidethema, og bliver utilfreds-stillet da der kommer noget rytmisk nyt og selvstændigt.

67 Overgangen til Hovedthemaet er lidt vel stift i rytmisk Henseende.

68 Carl Nielsen mente her: Det er for sent at fastslaa noget ved en Gentaelse, moduler videre!

69 Jeppesen, op. cit., 143 (En anden Gang var han utilfreds med at jeg var for tilbageholdende i mine Modulationer. ‘Er man først begyndt af modulere’, sagde han ‘saa skal man blive ved Slag i Slag, saa det mærkes, at nu er det Alvor’).

70 Carl Nielsen føjede disse 2 gennemgaaende Noder til, han syntes Bevægelsen burde fortsættes.

A6 is located on the last page of S7: “Here was C.N.’s advice: continue the passing eighth note movement in all voices and then quote the second theme accompanied by them”.⁷¹ However, in the fair copy one can see a completely new arrangement containing sixteenth note figures, which in the course of a few bars develop into steady sixteenth note movements. These sixteenth note figures (but not the steady sixteenth note movements) can also be found on S8’s last page, which must mean that S8 must date from later than S7⁷² and be earlier than the fair copy. On the same page one also finds the last annotation in connection with the first movement, A7: “C.N. thought the 8th note movement should be carried on, I have mobilised a great many of the troops, which I send home again straight away”.⁷³ As mentioned Jeppesen mobilised even quicker note values, though.

There are two further annotations to the second movement, which both have the same detailed character as A5. On S3’s third page one finds A8: “Carl Nielsen proposed here, for the sake of the consequences, c, he thought the minor third ought to be retained, ‘it has such a threatening character’”.⁷⁴ By the remark, “for the sake of the consequences”, Carl Nielsen must have been referring back to a couple of bars on the previous page, where the viola and 1st violin – in an unproblematic G sharp minor context – anticipate the bars in question by, amongst other things, the viola’s minor third figure (Fig. 4, top). In the bars which Nielsen’s comment turns upon (Fig. 4, bottom) this figure is laid down in the cello and the third changed to a fourth, which in harmonic terms results in a kind of E7-chord (third inversion) over an pedal point on A, which in itself is a relatively dissonant sound. With Carl Nielsen’s proposal that the minor third should be retained, and therefore replace d with c, the sound becomes even more dissonant, and therefore apparently ‘more threatening’.

The last annotation is to be found two pages further forward, where Jeppesen – in relation to the addition of an isolated bass figure – writes (A9): “C.N. thought that a bass figure of this rhythmic quality was needed so that the sections should not become too strongly separated”.⁷⁵

71 Her var C.N.s Raad: Fortsæt den gennemgaaende 8teDels Bevægelse i alle Stemmerne og bring saa 2det Thema accompagneret deraf.

72 Hence the dating of S7: ‘prior to 22.10’.

73 C.N. mente 8deDels Bevægelsen bør føres videre, jeg har mobiliseret en Del Tropper, som jeg straks sender hjem igen.

74 Carl Nielsen for[el]slog her, for Konsekvensens Skyld c, han mente den lille Terts burde bibeholdes ‘den har saadan en truende Karakter’.

75 C.N. syntes, der maatte en Bas-figur af denne Rytmik til for at Afsnittene ikke skulde blive for stærkt adskilte. Since the work on the 3rd and 4th movements does not contain annotations or bear other witness to Carl Nielsen’s training, it is not possible to attribute further significance to them in this connection.



Fig. 4. Excerpts from Jeppesen string quartet-MS, 2nd movement. 'X' marking and "c" (bottom voice) indicate Nielsen's recommendation; DK-Kk, KJ-A, IV, 11.

Despite this quite detailed presentation of the – rather few – surviving sources from Jeppesen's studies with Nielsen we are left with a somewhat less than clear picture of Jeppesen's training in chronological terms. Jeppesen says that he "began to study with C.N." in the autumn of 1915 and that this lasted for a couple of years, that is until the autumn of 1917,⁷⁶ and Table 3 shows the safe datings touching upon this period compared to which study-exercises Jeppesen says he tackled, supported by the surviving manuscripts.

At least two 'problems' can be seen immediately. The entry in Carl Nielsen's diary does not necessarily mark Knud Jeppesen's first 'hour' with him, and there is not necessarily anything strange in the possibility that Jeppesen – prior to 24.9.1915 – should carry out counterpoint exercises as well as start working on the first movement of his string quartet. But because the work on many other exercises from Bellermann's book, and not least the working out of the whole of the 'Mozart Quartet' must have

⁷⁶ Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 142.

	Events with date	Exercises/works without date
22.7.1915	Jeppesen concludes his counterpoint studies with Paul Hellmut (DK-Kk, KJ-A, XVIII,3)	
“Autumn 1915”		Jeppesen begins his studies with Carl Nielsen
		Counterpoint exercises according to Heinrich Bellermann’s <i>Der Contrapunkt</i> (DK-Ou)
		String quartet, A, copying (?) Mozart K. 464 (DK-Kk, KJ-A, IV, 12)
24.9.1915	First Jeppesen note in Nielsen’s diary (CNB, 5:278)	
24.9.1915	Sheet with counterpoint exercises, including Jeppesen memorandum (DK-A, KJ-S, 36, 10)	
24.9.1915	First date in the 1st movement of Jeppesen’s string quartet in F (DK-Kk, KJ-A, IV, 11)	
11.10.1915 22.10.1915	Sheet with counterpoint exercises (DK-Kk, KJ-A, XX)	
22.10.1915	Last date in the 1st movement of Jeppesen’s string quartet in F (DK-Kk, KJ-A, IV, 11)	
		Fair copy of the 1st movement of Jeppesen’s string quartet in F (DK-Kk, KJ-A, VII, 85)
		2nd-4th movements of Jeppesen’s string quartet in F (DK-Kk, KJ-A, IV, 11)
1-2 years		- ????? -
Autumn 1917		Jeppesen concludes his studies with Carl Nielsen

Table 3. Chronology Autumn 1915 – Autumn 1917.

been undertaken before 24 September, it must mean that Jeppesen’s first lesson(s) with Carl Nielsen must date, at the latest, from the start of September, and maybe earlier.

The other ‘problem’ is the period from the end of October 1915 and thereafter. It might be reasonable to suppose that the fair copy of the F major quartet’s first movement was drawn up a short while after the movement’s completion, possibly during the course of November 1915. The work on the three other movements probably took some time – even though Knud Jeppesen apparently rewrote the Mozart quartet surprisingly quickly – but presumably not more than a few months. At any rate, there is no actual documentation to show how Nielsen’s training was carried out in the long period from the spring of 1916 until autumn 1917. If the tuition had

included regular exercises of the abovementioned kind in all probability Jeppesen would have preserved them. It is more plausible to imagine that the so-called training instead took the form – as he has written – of “good advice from the elder and far more experienced to his younger colleague”, that is, going through and talking about particular works – clearly including some of Nielsen’s own – and of music in more general terms. Besides, Jeppesen himself states that he had already become involved in work on the completion of Carl Nielsen’s 4th symphony, ‘The Inextinguishable’, from the autumn of 1915.⁷⁷

At the same time as Jeppesen studied with both Carl Nielsen and Thomas Laub, he also undertook educational work on his own account in other places. He took the exam for organists of the Royal Academy of Music as a private candidate in 1916⁷⁸ and was set on as organist and cantor at Stefans-Kirken, Copenhagen in 1917. In 1918 he achieved his Master’s degree in musicology at the University of Copenhagen. Indicative of these achievements, it is also at this time Nielsen writes two very complimentary recommendations of Jeppesen, one as organist (1917), another more general (1918), as well as recommending him as private teacher for another student (1917).⁷⁹

More on the Jeppesen-Nielsen correspondence

Following the previous presentation of the Jeppesen-Nielsen letter exchange this section will take a closer look at the contents of the exchange of letters between Carl Nielsen and Knud Jeppesen themselves. In the next section the correspondence between on the one side Nielsen’s wife and his two daughters and on the other Jeppesen and – in a few instances – his wife, Alice, will be subjected to a thorough presentation since most of these letters are previously unknown.

In the first letters, written in the summer of 1918, Nielsen asks Jeppesen to take over his lessons at the Royal Academy of Music during the autumn of that year, that is in counterpoint and a couple of other disciplines. He even invites Jeppesen to visit him at the estate Damgaard in Jutland to “really discuss matters”, as Nielsen

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 142-143.

⁷⁸ *Det kgl. danske Musikconservatorium. Aarsberetning for 1916 (50. Skoleaar)*, Copenhagen 1917, 13. The exam took place on 12.12.1916, at the same time as Mogens Wöldike took his exam. Since both Jeppesen and Wöldike took the exam as private candidates, they are not listed in Hetsch’s catalogue of ‘Konservatoriets Elever ... (1892-1917)’. Gustav Hetsch, *Det Kongelige Danske Musikconservatorium 1867-1917. Med en Fortegnelse over samtlige Elever*, Copenhagen 1917, 106-122.

⁷⁹ The two recommendations are dated respectively 8.3.1917 and 29.1.1918, cf. CNB, 5:486 and 6:14. The student was Ove W. Lundbye, to whom Carl Nielsen wrote on 25.6.1917, cf. CNB, 5:516.

puts it.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, none of Jeppesen's letters to Nielsen from this period are preserved. It is not until the middle of December that Jeppesen reports, in a lengthy letter, how the exams at the Academy turned out.⁸¹

In 1919, too, Jeppesen served as substitute for Nielsen,⁸² and when Nielsen asked to be excused from his teaching duties completely, Jeppesen achieved permanent employment at the Royal Academy of Music, beginning 1 January 1920.⁸³ In the following years several of the letters mention assignments and examinations, and Jeppesen and his students are often praised by Nielsen, sometimes even grandiloquently:

You can trust that it has a great importance for our music culture that there is work carried out like this, and I thank you not just as a member of the Conservatory's directorate, but as a Danish musician and composer by and large. I ask you expressly to read these lines to your students, and bring them

80 Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 21.6.1918 [CNB, 6:56] and 13.8.1918 [6:95]. Of a letter from Nielsen to Anton Svendsen (21.8.1918) [6:100] it also appears that Jeppesen played violin sonatas at sight with Carl Nielsen at Damgaard; cf letters from Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen 21.8.1918 [6:101] and 24.8.1918 [6:106], from Carl Nielsen to Anton Svendsen 26.8.1918 [6:109], and Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 148.

81 Knud Jeppesen to Carl Nielsen 16.12.1918 [CNB, 6:167].

82 Cf. letters from Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen 11.1.1919 [CNB, 6:170], 11.2.1919 [6:176], and 21.8.1919 [6:237], where Nielsen also discusses Jeppesen's correction work on his Violin Concerto opus 33.

83 Cf. the following two extracts from board meetings at the Conservatory: '[it] was decided ... to ask Master Jeppesen to take over some lessons in chamber music ... As substitute for chapel-master Carl Nielsen during his prospective journeys Master Jeppesen was engaged. ...' (*[det] vedtoges ... at anmode Magister Jeppesen om at overtage nogle Timer i Kammermusik, ... Som Vikar for Kapelmester Carl Nielsen under hans eventuelle Rejser antoges Magister Jeppesen. ...*; 22.1.1919); 'Chapel-master Carl Nielsen requested that from 1st January he would be released from teaching at the Conservatory. The board granted this and decided to appoint Mr. Jeppesen, MA, permanent employment as teacher in theory and instrumentation at the Conservatory from the specified date.' (*Kapelmester Carl Nielsen anmodede om fra 1' Januar at blive fritaget for at undervise paa Konservatoriet. Bestyrelsen bevilligede dette og vedtog at meddele Hr. mag. art. Jeppesen fast Ansættelse fra nævnte Dato som Lærer i Teori og Instrumentation ved Konservatoriet*; 3.12.1919); Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium, Bestyrelsesmøder. 1919-30, arkiv nr. 1579, Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen. Cf. Berg, *Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium 1917-1953*, p. 13. It appears from the Conservatory's year-programmes that Jeppesen taught harmony and counterpoint as well as form, instrumentation and composition, and later 'scientific musical knowledge' (*Videnskabelig Musiklære*). The fact that Jeppesen was a part of the secretariat in relation to the 'Nordic Music Festival' in Copenhagen in June 1919, of which Carl Nielsen was a member of the administrative committee, indicates as well that Nielsen involved Jeppesen in various other ways. A letter from Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 5.6.1919 [CNB, 6:213] probably is part of this context.

all a greeting and thanks for the diligence and interest they have shown on the whole.⁸⁴

It is a well-known fact that Jeppesen collaborated with Nielsen on his works prior to the printing of new compositions on a number of occasions, and several of the letters provide documentation for this. Jeppesen's work consisted of filling in braces, instrument names, clefs, key signatures and bar divisions on the blank sheets, filling-out voices in different textures, making fair copies and reading proofs. Most of the details concerning these matters are well accounted for in the forewords and critical commentaries of the *Carl Nielsen Edition* [CNU], so the details of Jeppesen's involvement will not be subjected to further explanation here. Instead, *Table 4* displays a summation of the Carl Nielsen works in which Jeppesen actually was involved (A), as well as the works which are only mentioned in Nielsen's letters to Jeppesen (B).⁸⁵

Another issue dealt with in a number of the letters is related to the much-debated competition for the position of lecturer in musicology at the University of Copenhagen in February 1924, a competition that Jeppesen lost although he was clearly supported by Nielsen as far as possible. The details of this competition – the outcome of which had profound significance for music and musicology as a university discipline in Denmark for many years – has been accounted for elsewhere, and will not therefore be discussed further here.⁸⁶

84 Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 10.1.1926; DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ac (*De kan tro det har en stor betydning for vor musikkultur at der bliver arbejdet således og jeg takker dem ikke blot som medlem af konservatoriets direktion men som dansk musiker og komponist i det hele. Jeg beder dem udtrykkeligt læse disse linjer for deres elever og bringe dem alle en hilsen og tak for den flid og interesse der i det store hele er lagt for dagen hos deres elever*). Cf. other letters from Nielsen to Jeppesen, 6.1.1923 [CNB, 7:385], 10.6.1924 [8:75], 12.1.1925 [8:203], 30.1.1925 [8:220], and 15.12.1925 [8:497]. For some unknown reason one of the examination papers from 1923 has found its way to the State and University Library. It was written by Helge Nørgaard, who solved three four-part assignments, one in harmony, one in modulation and a fugue (Palestrina style). The assignments contain a few correction marks, one by Carl Nielsen pointing out hidden parallel motion between two of the voices: 'naturally, this doesn't matter when one knows one's stuff' ('*det gør naturligvis ikke noget naar man ved hvad man gør*'). On the last page both Jeppesen and Nielsen have written the preliminary mark for the student (*Aarskarakter Ug* and *ug⁺* respectively), and Nielsen has added 'very pleasant to see!' (*meget glædeligt at se!*); DK-A, KJ-S, 30, 1.

85 Jeppesen and his dissertation on the style of Palestrina are also mentioned regarding Carl Nielsen's interest in counterpoint; cf. Lisbeth Ahlgren Jensen and Lisbeth Larsen, 'Foreword'; *Juvenilia et addenda*; CNU-IV, 1 (2009), p. xlix.

86 Thomas Holme Hansen, 'Konkurrencen om musik-docenturet i 1924 – en doku-soap med særligt henblik på Knud Jeppesen'; *Cæcilia*, 5 (1998-2001), 53-110; at 69-76. This article contains a transcription (69-70) of the major part of a letter from Rudolph Bergh to Carl Nielsen, dated 29.5.1923, kept by the State

A

Nielsen Works	CNU	Page	Letters	CNB
Aladdin	CNU-I, 8 (2000)	xx, 247		
The Mother	CNU-I, 9 (2007)	282		
Symphony No. 4, opus 29, <i>The Inextinguishable</i>	CNU-II, 4 (2000)	xiv, xx-xxi, xxv, 122		
Saga-Drøm, opus 39	CNU-II, 8 (2004)	xvi-xvii	Wilhelm Hansen to Nielsen, 3.5.1920 and 5.5.1920	6:395-396 ⁸⁷
Concerto for violin and orchestra, opus 33	CNU-II, 9 (2002)	[Jeppesen not mentioned]	Nielsen to Jeppesen, 21.8.1919	6:237 ⁸⁸
20 Folklike melodies	CNU-III, 7 (2009)	320, 453	Nielsen to Jeppesen, 9.11.1921	7:146 ⁸⁹

B

Sonata No. 2 for violin and piano, opus 35	CNU-II, 11 (2003)	xxi	Nielsen to Jeppesen, 21.8.1919	6:237
Suite for piano, opus 45	CNU-II, 12 (2006)	xxxii, 244	Nielsen to Jeppesen, 21.8.1919	6:237
<i>Commotio</i> , opus 58	CNU-II, 12 (2006)	1	Nielsen to Jeppesen, 26.2.1931	DK-Kk, CNA, I-Ac

Table 4, A and B. Carl Nielsen works, volume and page numbers in CNU, and mentions in letters regarding (A) Nielsen works in which Jeppesen actually was involved, (B) works only mentioned in Nielsen's letters to Jeppesen.

Finally, some of the letters between Nielsen and Jeppesen are concerned with the latter's learned writings. Following the publication of *Min fynske barndom* in 1927, Jeppesen wrote to Nielsen, of course, and praised the book.⁹⁰ But otherwise it was Nielsen who wrote to Jeppesen in very appreciative wording after having studied first his dissertation on the Palestrina style, and later his textbook on counterpoint, rather meticulously in both cases.

and University Library, Aarhus (DK-A, KJ-S, 37), that is not included in CNB, vol. 7. On the other hand, two letters that could have supplemented the source material for this article have turned up: Carl Nielsen to William Behrend, 19.10.1923 [CNB, 7:560], and Thomas Laub to Carl Nielsen, 22.3.1924 [8:31].

⁸⁷ Jeppesen read the proofs to *Saga-Drøm*.

⁸⁸ According to the letter, Jeppesen did a lot of work on the concerto, which is not mentioned in the CNU volume, though.

⁸⁹ Carl Nielsen asks Jeppesen to read the second proof of 20 Folklike Melodies.

⁹⁰ Knud Jeppesen to Carl Nielsen, 5.12.1927; DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ab, 13.

When Jeppesen's dissertation, *Palestrinastil med særligt henblik paa Dissonansbehandling*, came out in 1923, Carl Nielsen wrote – in common with many others – a review containing high praise.⁹¹ In 1930, Nielsen evidently went back to Jeppesen's book and renewed his study of it. In June 1930 he wrote thus from Damgaard:

Dear Knud Jeppesen! Yesterday I finished once more my study of your "Palestrina-style" and so I want to thank you. Can there actually be a better or more significant work in the world on any musical problem? I doubt that; because in this book both sides of the case: art and knowledge, in the most beautiful and earnest way have interlinked to a third which I don't know the name for. I have, in the last two months, thought daily about you and have been enriched and instructed by your unique work, and by now I think my thanks are fairly founded. For it is not praise and acknowledgement that we like; well – and then again – but it must be saturated with understanding. Understanding becomes, in this way, the only genuine acknowledgement. – –

As I said, I have thought every day about you – because I had to do so, when I read your book every day – and so I have also come to the conclusion that I would not at all like it if you were engaged as Professor at the University. The picture of you and your spirit would for me become disturbed, twisted; official, fettered and mundane, enrolled, and indistinct swimming in – all that.⁹²

Now you stand like a chiselled and enchased figure, in free artistic light.

Now I long to read your book on counterpoint, although I delude myself that I – qua the Palestrina book – know exactly how it is. One thing is certain: it will be an excellent work. How am I able to say that now? Answer: Knud Jeppesen: "Palestrinastil med særligt Henblik paa Dissonansbehandling".⁹³

91 *Politiken*, 12.6.1923. The review is included in John Fellow (ed.), *Carl Nielsen til sin samtid*, Copenhagen 1999, 286-290, 804-806. For a listing of more contemporary reviews, see Holme Hansen, *Knud Jeppesen Katalog*, 25.

92 Carl Nielsen is referring to the competition for the position of lecturer in 1924. The lectureship was converted in 1926 to an ordinary professorship; Holme Hansen, 'Konkurrencen om musikdocenturet i 1924', 107.

93 Literal English translation of the title: 'Palestrina style with special reference to the handling of dissonance'. Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 15.06.1930; DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ac (Kære Knud Jeppesen! Igaar blev jeg paany færdig med Studiet af Deres 'Palastrinastil' og saa maa jeg takke Dem. Mon der overhovedet i Verden er skrevet noget bedre eller betydeligere Værk om et hvilket som helst musikalsk Problem? Jeg tvivler derom; thi her har begge Sider af Sagen: Kunsten og Videnskaben paa det skønneste og mest indtrængende forbundet sig til et Tredie, som jeg ikke ved Navn for. – Jeg har i de sidste to Maaneder daglig tænkt paa Dem og er blevet beriget og belært

A few months later, Jeppesen sent his new book on counterpoint – *Kontrapunkt (Vokalpolyfoni)* – to Nielsen with a dedication to him.⁹⁴ In advance of this, though, he formulated an answer to the letter from Nielsen cited above. Perhaps prompted by Nielsen's generous praise, the letter has an unusually open-hearted quality:

We people have it most often in this way, that we rarely get to show our innermost temperament, perhaps even more rarely in friendship than in enmity. Now when you have 'drawn out completely' towards me, I think I also have liberty to say lock, stock and barrel to you. You have been my early youth's great experience and are still the only person I have met who has impressed me beneficially. ... It is through you that I have become a musician and through you that I will end as a musician, that I feel with certainty.⁹⁵

Nielsen must have started reading the counterpoint book nearly straight away. After only a very few days, he wrote yet a letter expressing high praise to Jeppesen, in which he does not hesitate to compare the book with the comparable works of Fux and Bellermann.

Dear Knud Jeppesen!

It was a great surprise to hold the book in my hand and now I am naturally into it straight away! And I really look forward to going through it very carefully, in the same way as last time, in your Palestrina book.

af Deres enestaaende Arbejde, og nu tror jeg nok min Tak til Dem er nogenlunde fundet. Thi det er jo ikke Ros og Anerkendelse vi bryder os om, jo – alligevel – men den skal være gennemtrængt af Forstaaelse. Forstaaelse bliver paa den Maade den eneste vaskeægte Anerkendelse. – Som jeg sagde, har jeg tænkt hver Dag paa Dem – fordi det maatte jeg jo, naar jeg daglig læste i Bogen – og saa er jeg ogsaa kommen til det Resultat, at jeg vilde slet ikke kunne lide om De nu sad som Professor ved vort Universitet. Billedet af Dem og Deres Aand vilde for mig blive forrykket, fordrejet; officielt, ufrit dagligdags, indrulleret og uklart svømmende i – alt det. Nu staar De som en mejslet og gennemciceleret Skikkelse, i frit kunstnerisk Lys. Jeg længes nu efter at læse Deres Kontrapunkt-Lære, skøndt jeg bilder mig ind at jeg gennem Palestrinabogen allerede nøjagtigt ved hvordan den er. Et er sikkert: Det bliver et glimrende Værk. Hvor jeg nu kan vide det? Svar: Knud Jeppesen: 'Palestrinastil med særligt Henblik paa Dissonans-behandlingen').

94 Knud Jeppesen to Carl Nielsen, 22.08.1930; DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ab, 13

95 Knud Jeppesen to Carl Nielsen, 20.06.1930, DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ab, 13 (Vi Mennesker har det jo oftest saaledes, at vi sjældent faar vist vort inderste Sindelag, maaske endnu sjældnere i Venskab end Fjendskab. Nu da De har 'trukket fuldt ud' overfor mig synes jeg ogsaa jeg har Lov til at sige Dem Rub og Stub. De har været min tidlige Ungdoms store Oplevelse og er stadig det eneste Menneske jeg har mødt, som til Gavn har imponeret mig. ... Det er ved Dem jeg er blevet Musiker og ved Dem jeg vil ende som Musiker, det føler jeg med Sikkerhed.)

I am a little worried that the dedication will weigh me down, but then, I think, there is nothing else to do but to try it out and see what comes on high with it through work and productive delight, that – I believe – the book will extend me.

Now heartfelt thanks provisionally, and congratulations on the great work which I believe has come at the right moment: two hundred years after Fux, a hundred years after Cherubini and just about 50 years after Bellerman. Amazing to think that – so far as I can already see – now at last the 16th century's music has been purely seen and presented as an inevitable starting point for all art music, not with statements or fantastic excitement, but with evidence wrested from art's own being, yes, certainly more than that *, because a truth or a law in one domain also counts in another.⁹⁶

Nielsen also thought of writing, in relation to Jeppesen's textbook, "a chronicle or an article about the book", but even though this did not happen⁹⁷ it appears clear from these letters that Nielsen greatly approved of Jeppesen's two books, even at a late point in his own artistic career.

96 Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 26.08.1930; DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ac (Kære Knud Jeppesen! Det var dog en stor Overraskelse at holde Bogen i sin Haand og nu er jeg naturligvis øjeblikkelig paa Hovedet i den! Og jeg glæder mig rigtigt til at gaa den grundigt igennem, paa samme Maade som sidst – Palæstrinabogen. Jeg er lidt bange for at Dedicationen [sic] vil tynde mig i Knæ, men saa er der vel ikke andet at gøre end først suge [?] den ud og saa se at komme paa Højde med den gennem Arbejde og produktiv Lyst, hvad jeg ogsaa tror; Bogen vil yde mig. Nu hjertelig Tak forelobig og tillykke med det store Arbejde, som jeg tror er kommet i det rette øjeblik: to hundrede Aar efter Fux, hundrede Aar efter Cherubini og vel omkring 50 Aar efter Bellermann. Forunderligt at tænke paa at – saavidt jeg allerede kan se – nu endelig det 16de Aarhundredes Musik bliver rensende [?] forklaret og fremholdt som et uomgængeligt Udgangspunkt for al Kunstmusik, ikke med Paastande eller fanatisk Begejstring, men med Beviser vristet ud af Kunstens eget Væsen, ja, sikkert mere end det *, fordi en Sandhed eller en Lov paa et Omraade jo ogsaa gælder for et andet.). At the asterisk Nielsen has added the word 'nature' ('Naturen'). The letter was written in Skagen.

97 Carl Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 26.01.1931; DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ac. That Jeppesen really hoped that Carl Nielsen would review the book, appears in his later letter to Nielsen: 'Your thought is that which interests me most of all in this connection' (*Deres Mening er den, der interesserer mig mest af alle i denne Sammenhæng*); Knud Jeppesen to Carl Nielsen, 1.3.1931, DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ab, 13. From a letter by Carl Nielsen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen it appears that Nielsen continued to think over the possibility of writing a review of Jeppesen's book as late as the end of June; Carl Nielsen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen 29.6.1931, DK-Kk, CNA-II-Aa. In two preceding letters to Carl Nielsen, Rudolph Simonsen mentions the possibilities of Nielsen publishing a review, and his own review, that was published in *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*; cf. letters from Rudolph Simonsen to Carl Nielsen 4.9.1930 and 17.9.1930, DK-Kk, CNA-I-Ab, 21b and 21a. For a listing of the reviews and translations of Jeppesen's *Kontrapunkt*, see Holme Hansen, *Knud Jeppesen Katalog*, 28.

Although the letter exchange between Nielsen and Jeppesen goes no further than the spring of 1931, there is no doubt that they had personal contact until shortly before Nielsen's death. From letters that the English organist and composer Cyril Rootham (1875-1938) wrote to Jeppesen, it is clear that Rootham met Nielsen and his wife in Jeppesen's home, presumably in mid-September 1931, and that Rootham was subsequently sent a signed copy of *Hymnus Amoris*.⁹⁸ According to the memorial article, Jeppesen visited Carl Nielsen for the last time on 27 September 1931, only a week before the composer's death on 3 October.⁹⁹

The post-Carl Nielsen correspondence

The first couple of letters from Jeppesen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen were written immediately after Nielsen's death, and they indicate that Nielsen's widow was heavily involved in the appointment of Jeppesen to the board of the Royal Academy of Music.

In January 1931, Nielsen had been appointed director of the Academy; at the same time the board was enlarged from four to five members. Jeppesen lost an election to this new seat to his colleague at the Academy, Christian Christiansen.

Following Nielsen's death, Rudolph Simonsen became Chairman of the Board, but there was some disagreement as to how to fill the vacant seat.¹⁰⁰ The content of the letters from Jeppesen to Anne Marie clearly indicates that Simonsen tried to avoid Jeppesen, prompting Anne Marie to contact Simonsen and stress that in that case he "would act against the will of Carl Nielsen".¹⁰¹ No doubt, the case contained –

98 Cyril B. Rootham to Knud Jeppesen, 2.10 and 9.10.31, and Rosamond M. Rootham to Jeppesen, 10.7.1931; *DK-Kk*, Acc. Nr. 1974/105, 1. The letters point to 10-12 September for the visit. In Rootham's letter of condolence to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen of 7.10.1931 he wrote: 'It was only the other day that I had that delightful meeting with you both ... thanks to our very kind and thoughtful friends Dr & Mrs Jeppesen'; *DK-Kk*, CNA-II-Ab, 78.

99 Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 149.

100 A letter to the board of 21.10.1931 can be found in the Conservatory Archive at Rigsarkivet signed by 23 of the Conservatory's teachers, which expresses the wish that the unfilled place on the Board should be filled by a representative of the body of teaching staff; *Det Kongelige Danske Musikkonservatorium*, *Journalsager 1930-31* (F.31-290, B.22), Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen. Hence, this letter might suggest that the case was problematic, and Knud Jeppesen is not amongst those who signed the letter. Whether Jeppesen eventually joined the Board in spite of the wish of his 23 colleagues, it has not been possible to establish.

101 This appears from a letter which Simonsen sent to Anne Marie 2.11.1931, containing the message that, 'we have unanimously recommended Dr. Jeppesen for the Ministry's approval' (*vi enstemmigt har indstillet Valget af Dr. Jeppesen til Ministeriets Sanktion*); Rudolph Simonsen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, 2.11.1931, *DK-Kk*, CNA-II-Ab, 81.

because of its nature – more interesting positionings and details, but the final result was that Jeppesen – thanks to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen’s intervention – obtained a seat in the board.¹⁰²

In the following years, both Anne Marie and then the two daughters asked for Jeppesen’s advice regarding queries about Nielsen’s music on several occasions. During the summer of 1932, for instance, Jeppesen was asked about two of Nielsen’s songs that the Sjællandske Folkekor wanted to perform at a rally, and which therefore needed to be arranged for four voices. On that occasion Anne Marie Carl Nielsen made it quite clear that “... it is particularly important about the arrangement in several voices, that it should be done in Carl Nielsen’s spirit”.¹⁰³ Another example dates from 1934, where Jeppesen – without doubt on Anne Marie’s request – goes through the numerous Nielsen melodies in “Skolesangbogen”, providing a detailed account of what kinds of arrangements Anne Marie must demand of the publisher with regard to a planned new edition.¹⁰⁴

No doubt, Jeppesen must have felt greatly honoured by the confidence thus shown in him, and he too must have felt an obligation towards the musical heritage of Carl Nielsen. Yet an instance of this and of Jeppesen’s role as advisor – though in this case documented in more detail – is found in the ‘635’ collection, amongst the dozen letters contributing to the already somewhat stormy history of Nielsen’s *Aladdin* music.

In January 1936, Jeppesen wrote to Anne Marie, calling her attention to a recently published gramophone record of some of the dances from *Aladdin* which was, in his opinion, artistically irresponsible. The record, with the title ‘Aladdin, Ballet-musik, I-II. Del’, was released by Polyphon,¹⁰⁵ and presented the music – including only the Oriental March, Morning Mist Dance, Hindu Dance and Negro Dance – in such an abbreviated version that, according to Jeppesen, it gave a misleading impression of the compositions.¹⁰⁶

102 Even before the official confirmation, Jeppesen wrote a letter of thanks to Anne Marie, in which he stressed, amongst other things, that he ‘was clear that this [happened] first and foremost because of your reference to Carl Nielsen’s wish. I hope I will show myself worthy of the great confidence your husband has shown in me’ (*er klar over at dette i første Række skyldes Deres Henvisen til Carl Niensens Vilje. Jeg haaber jeg skal vise mig værdig til den store Tillid Deres Mand har vist mig*); Knud Jeppesen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, 2.11.1931, DK-Kk, CNA-II-Ab, 72.

103 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, before 2.8.1932; LKJ-S.

104 Knud Jeppesen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, 1.7.1934; DK-Kk, 635, 2.

105 Polyphon S. 50483 (1935); orchestra: members of the Royal Chapel; conductor: Emil Reesen.

106 Knud Jeppesen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen 29.1.1936; DK-Kk, 635, 2 and 29. Jeppesen was familiar with the music, since he had helped Carl Nielsen with the fair copy of *Aladdin* in 1919.

The letter exchange is not complete, but it is evident that Anne Marie – on the basis of Jeppesen’s letter – made a request to the Danish Composers’ Society, whose chairman, Knud-Aage Riisager in 1938 presented the case to the “Ministry of Education’s standing committee on the personal rights of authors, composers and pictorial artists”.¹⁰⁷ Jeppesen was asked to report on the matter, and provided a detailed account of the alleged violations in which he also refers to a complete recording of the music on the label His Masters Voice.¹⁰⁸ The case was not resolved until September 1938, when the Polyphon recording was judged illegal by the Ministry of Education, which nevertheless refrained from taking legal action against the company.¹⁰⁹

The matter of the recording of the *Aladdin* music was apparently directly – that is, in October 1938 – followed by an arbitration case raised by Anne Marie against the publishing company Skandinavisk og Borups Musikforlag regarding the publishing of the orchestral score to the *Aladdin Suite*, also this time with the involvement of Jeppesen as music expert.¹¹⁰ Neither in this case the correspondence which survives is complete, but Jeppesen quickly communicates a comparison of “the ... printed orchestral parts of 5 pieces of Carl Nielsen’s *Aladdin* music with the ... hand written score”.¹¹¹ Hence, in March 1939 it was announced that there had been “an agreement completed between Mrs Carl Nielsen and Skandinavisk Musikforlag, by which the Edition will print and publish a complete edition, score and parts of the *Aladdin* suite”, which Jeppesen was asked to approve before the printing went ahead.¹¹²

After the death of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen in 1945, comparable letters survive from a correspondence between Jeppesen and Nielsen’s two daughters. From 1948, for

107 Riisager to Jeppesen, 15.3.1938, and to the Ministry of Education, 16.3.1938 (‘Undervisningsministeriets staaende Udvalg vedrørende Forfatterernes, Komponisternes og de bildende Kunstneres personligt ideelle Rettigheder’; DK-Kk, 635, 29. Riisager uses the opportunity to ask that principal rules touching upon ‘Boundaries for alteration of an established work for use in gramophone recordings’ (*Grænserne for Ændring af et foreliggende Værk til Brug ved Grammofonoptagelser*) should be laid down. Why it took more than two years for this matter to be taken up is not known.

108 Knud Jeppesen to Knudåge Riisager, 25.3.1938; *Ibid.*

109 Knudåge Riisager to Knud Jeppesen, 10.9.1938; DK-Kk, 635, 18. The letter is enclosed a copy of that from the Ministry of Education.

110 Two letters – on the request of Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen – from the barristers J. Hartvig Jacobsen and E. Petri to Knud Jeppesen, 13.10 and 18.10.1938, with the related copy of a letter from Skandinavisk og Borups Musikforlag to the barristers; DK-Kk, 635, 29.

111 Knud Jeppesen to Erik Petri 21.10.1938; *Ibid.*, Jeppesen is favourably disposed towards a proposal – from the publishers – that he and chapel-master Felumb confer on the matter. It is not known if this actually took place.

112 J. Hartvig Jacobsen and E. Petri to Knud Jeppesen, 21.3.1939; DK-Kk, 635, 3 (*afsluttet Overenskomst mellem Fru Carl Nielsen og Skandinavisk Musikforlag, hvorefter Forlaget skal trykke og udgive en fuldstændig Udgave, Partitur og Stemmer, af Aladdin-suiten*).

instance, two letters are preserved that reveal Irmelin's reflections prior to the new edition of the fifth symphony that was published by Erik Tuxen and Emil Telmányi in 1950. It is clear that Irmelin is concerned on behalf of the work and her father:

I would like to talk to you about the 5th symphony. There should really be some kind of meeting between you, me and Richfelt¹¹³ and Kajser¹¹⁴; maybe we should also have a conductor with us, and then hear what there are by way of criminal objections against the instrumentation. Still, we hear in various statements that father didn't know how to do instrumentation, that this should be the reason for foreign places' holding back. ... Father's attitude was certainly "the pure essence". No cheap sensuality in the sound, and so on. Quite different to the German way. He hated to "ladle it on with a spoon" [that is, "spell it out for somebody"]. Therefore I think that his themes often grow out of a kind of fertile chaos. Is that not because he is a little "simple", a little harsh. ... We should also discuss which score should come out. A possibility I could think of, if performances and rehearsals should be lightened, that for example sheets with suggestions were incorporated. That way we could keep some control over what conductors get up to?¹¹⁵

Prior to this meeting Irmelin clearly expresses her worries on the one hand and her great confidence in Jeppesen on the other:

Now the printing of the 5th symphony is really getting going, ... he [Richfelt] has proposed a meeting with you and Kajser, some conductors and Telmanyi. I hope you will do us the great service of coming over? We have chosen Friday the 1st Oct ... my place at 12 noon. ... I cannot think that there is really much to change in the score. – But it would be best if you and I talk together about things before

113 M.O. Richfelt (1892-1958) was a music publisher at Skandinavisk Musikforlag.

114 Leif Kayser (1919-2001).

115 Irmelin Eggert Møller to Knud Jeppesen, 22.6.1948; LKJ-S (Jeg vil ... gerne tale med Dem ... om 5te Symfoni. Det skulde meget gerne være et Slags Møde mellem Dem og mig og Richfelt og Kajser; maaske skulde man ogsaa have en Dirigent med, og saa høre hvad det er for kriminelle Indvendinger der er imod Instrumentationen. Stadigvæk gaar det igen i forskellige Udtalelser, at Far ikke forstod sig paa at instrumentere, at det skulle være Grunden til Udlandets Tilbageholdenhed. ... Fars Indstilling var jo 'det rene Væsen'. Ingen letkøbt Vellyst i Klang osv. Helt modsat den tyske Retning. Han hadede at 'give det ind med Skeer'. Derfor tror jeg at hans Themaer ofte ligesom vokser ud af et Slags grødefuldt Kaos. Er det ikke fordi han er ligesom lidt 'herb', lidt barsk. ... For det andet skulde vi saa diskutere hvordan Partituret skal fremkomme. En Mulighed kunde jeg tænke mig, hvis Opførelserne og Tilegnelsen skulde lettes, at man f. Eks indføjede Blade med Forslag. Saa kan vi have Haand i Hanke med hvad Dirigenterne foretager sig.).

the meeting. You must be nice and come, dear Knud Jeppesen; the responsibility is so great and it is clearly the technical side that I don't have sufficient understanding of, so that I can perhaps be run over. I know that you and I are in agreement – artistic. The work's future may well depend on the right presentation, ... and that is what we should organise between us at the meeting.¹¹⁶

Apart from a pair of roughly contemporary enquiries to Jeppesen by Leif Kayser about the crayon draft for the symphony,¹¹⁷ there is no further information remaining on either the discussed meetings or Jeppesen's further involvement in the matter.

A couple of years later, in 1952, Irmelin was involved in the English translation of Nielsen's book *Levende Musik*, published in 1953,¹¹⁸ and on this occasion she consulted Jeppesen again regarding a number of technical terms.¹¹⁹

Jeppesen's long connection with the wife and daughters of Carl Nielsen is further documented by the following instances:

1935: Jeppesen approves "Wöldikes settings of your husband's songs and of 'Den store Mester kommer' ".¹²⁰

1936: Irmelin asks – in detail – about Jeppesen's thoughts on two songs.¹²¹

116 Irmelin Eggert Møller to Knud Jeppesen, 7.9.1948; LKJ-S (*Nu er det blevet meget aktuelt med Trykningen af 5te Symfoni, ... Han [Richfelt] har foreslaaet et Møde med Dem og Kajser, nogle Dirigenter og Telmanyi. Jeg haaber De vil gøre os den store Tjeneste at komme herover? Vi har valgt Fredag den 1ste Okt ... hos mig kl. 12. ... Jeg kan ikke tænke mig, at det i store Træk er vigtigt at forandre meget i Partituret. – Men det var vist bedst at De og jeg talte sammen om Tingene inden Mødet. De maa være rar at komme, kære Knud Jeppesen; Answaret er saa stort og den rent tekniske Side har jeg ikke nok Forstand paa, saa der kan jeg maaske blive rendt overende. Jeg ved at De og jeg er enige – kunstnerisk. Værkets fremtid vil vel nok være afhængigt af det rigtige Fremkomst, ... og det er det vi skal orientere os om paa det Møde.*); underlinings original.

117 Two letters from Leif Kayser to Knud Jeppesen, 19.7 and 28.7.1948; DK-Kk, 635, 26. Kayser asks for permission to look through the manuscript.

118 Carl Nielsen, *Living Music*, translated from the Danish by Reginald Spink, Hutchinson 1953.

119 Irmelin Eggert Møller to Knud Jeppesen, 2.7.1952; DK-Kk, 635, 15. Of two letters from Torben Meyer to Irmelin (12.3 and 18.3.1947; DK-Kk, CNA-III-Ab, 136) it appears that Jeppesen also looked through a great part of the manuscript which later became Torben Meyer and Frede Schandorf Petersens book *Carl Nielsen. Kunstneren og Mennesket* (Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, 1947-48). Already in a letter to Jeppesen of 19.10.1946 Meyer thanks him for, "Your friendly and lovely comment on the hitherto existing material for the book on Carl Nielsen" (*Deres venlige og smukke Udtalelse om det hidtil foreliggende Stof til Carl Nielsen Bogen*; DK-Kk, 635, 5), and Jeppesen's positive opinions were also to be found in his review of the book in *Jyllands-Posten* 18.7.1948.

120 Knud Jeppesen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, 26.6.1935; DK-Kk, CNA-II-Ab, 72 (*Wöldikes Udsættelser af Deres Mands sange og af 'Den store Mester kommer'*).

121 Irmelin Eggert Møller to Knud Jeppesen, 13.11.1936; DK-Kk, 635, 2.

- 1937: Jeppesen forwards changes in regard to the arrangement of a movement from the “Aarhus Cantata”.¹²²
- 1937: Anne Marie sends two arrangements for choir by Oluf Ring to Jeppesen, whom she describes as “my musical advisor”.¹²³
- 1940: Tivoli’s chapel-master, Svend Christian Felumb, forwards his orchestral arrangement of Carl Nielsen’s “Little songs” to Jeppesen for his approval.¹²⁴
- 1941: Anne Marie sends “music and letter” from Oluf Ring to Jeppesen, saying that she “relies on your [Jeppesen’s] judgement”.¹²⁵
- 1941: Anne Marie sends arrangements of Nielsen melodies by R. Jørgensen. Jeppesen thinks that they are “much too far from the original”.¹²⁶
- 1941: Anne Marie sends a song to Jeppesen, again from R. Jørgensen.¹²⁷
- 1948: Rudolf Grytter, song inspector for Københavns Kommunale Skolevæsen, asks for Jeppesen’s approval of Oluf Ring’s arrangement of Carl Nielsen’s melody “Nu er Dagen fuld af Sang”, with reference to its publication in *Vore skolesange*, which is to be printed.¹²⁸
- 1955: Irmelin asks Jeppesen about a Swedish proof of a melody.¹²⁹

So, it is clear that Anne Marie as well as the two daughters were very responsible and serious about the management of Nielsen’s musical heritage, and it is likewise obvious that Jeppesen had a high position as musical adviser in these cases. That he also held nearly official status in this respect for others, too, is clearly underlined by Rudolf Grytter in the letter mentioned above: “As far as I know you manage the artistic rights in relation to Carl Nielsen’s work since the composer’s death, and it is therefore that I permit myself to inconvenience you with this query”.¹³⁰

122 Knud Jeppesen to Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen, 14.3.1937; DK-Kk, CNA-II-Ab, 72.

123 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, before 14.7.1937; DK-Kk, 635, 2 (*min musikalske Raadgiver*).

124 Svend Chr. Felumb to Knud Jeppesen, 26.9.1940; DK-Kk, 635, 3. Felumb’s letter is supplemented by a related letter from Skandinavisk og Borups Musikforlag to Jeppesen of 27.9.1940. Jeppesen’s answer of 28.9 is probably not preserved.

125 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 3.2.1941; DK-Kk, 635, 4 (*stoler på Deres Dom*).

126 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 18.6.1941; *Ibid.* (*fjerner sig for meget fra Originalen*). In relation to his ‘X’-marking, Jeppesen has given his opinion.

127 Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen to Knud Jeppesen, 12.12.1941; *Ibid.*

128 Rudolf Grytter to Knud Jeppesen, 28.4.1948; DK-Kk, 635, 26. In relation to the date of his answer, Jeppesen noted that he approved the arrangement and moreover referred the other to Irmelin.

129 Irmelin Eggert Møller to Knud Jeppesen, 25.4.1955; DK-Kk, 635, 9.

130 Cf. note 128 (*Saa vidt mig bekendt varetager De de kunstneriske Rettigheder vedr. Carl Niensens værker efter Komponistens død, og det er derfor, jeg tillader mig at ulejligt dem med denne Forespørgsel*).

In addition to these relatively substantial cases there are also numerous letters displaying everyday politeness and friendship. There are greetings for Christmas and the New Year, invitations for birthdays and visits, the forwarding of books and the ensuing compliments. Nielsen's wife, for instance, wrote to Jeppesen's wife, who was ill at times. Irmelin attended the rehearsals for Jeppesen's symphony in 1945, and of course congratulated him when his opera *Rosaura* was staged at the Royal Theatre in 1950, to mention but some of the topics.

The 'missing' Jeppesen book on Nielsen

Turning to the pencil autographs of Carl Nielsen's fourth and fifth symphonies, which had been in his possession for many years, Jeppesen decided in 1965 to give them as a gift to the Carl Nielsen Archive in the Royal Library.¹³¹ In one private letter sent to Jeppesen on that occasion, Sven Lunn mentions the generation-shift around Carl Nielsen's music which he thinks characterises Copenhagen's musical life; he closes with the following visionary thought:

One thing must be in order, though: namely the necessary foundation. And since there are big problems in the printed editions of the fourth and the fifth – and maybe particularly in the last – I am happy that we are now gradually getting to grips with that material which, in the future, will form the basis for all Carl Nielsen research and for all Carl Nielsen editions.¹³²

As one of those who took the initiative in the establishment of the Carl Nielsen Archive 30 years earlier – and with his various manuscript donations to the archive – Jeppesen can without doubt take some credit for the positive perspective on future Carl Nielsen research which Sven Lunn gives expression to. Whether Jeppesen could also be reckoned as being part of the 'next generation', can be discussed, but for many – and certainly 'on both sides' of the generation shift – he was regarded as one of the best bets if a new book on Carl Nielsen were to be written.

In fact Jeppesen was asked on several occasions to publish a book on Carl Nielsen: plans were made and money procured for this project. Jeppesen was first

131 Cf. letter from Knud Jeppesen to Erling Winkel, 7.6.1965, from Jeppesen to the Carl Nielsen Archive, 9.6.1965, and the invoice note from Sven Lunn to Jeppesen, 10.6.1965; DK-Kk, 635, 11. Regarding Jeppesen's direct involvement in the work on the 4th symphony in 1915, see Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 143, and 147.

132 Sven Lunn to Knud Jeppesen, 10.6.1965; DK-Kk, 635, 11 (*Een ting skal dog være i orden; nemlig det nodemæssige grundlag. Og da der såvel i den fjerde, som i den femte – og måske navnlig i denne sidste – er store problemer i de trykte udgaver, er jeg glad for, at vi nu efterhånden er ved at få samling på det stof, der i fremtiden skal danne basis for al Carl Nielsen-forskning og for alle Carl Nielsen-udgaver*).

asked by an arrangement-committee in charge of the centennial celebrations in 1965, a request he refused.

He received the next request from Finn Høffding, who asked unofficially in September 1964, on behalf of the Royal Academy of Music, whether Jeppesen would be interested in writing a book on Carl Nielsen on the occasion of the centenary day for the Conservatory's establishment, 1 January 1967.¹³³ The request was followed – after a decision in the Conservatory's educational board – by an official invitation from the director, Knudåge Riisager, and Jeppesen accepted, informally as well as formally, recommending Wilhelm Hansen's Music Edition as publisher of the book.¹³⁴

Jeppesen's working title for the book was *Carl Nielsen. En dansk Symfoniker* (Carl Nielsen. A Danish Symphonist), which reflected his perception that he saw the instrumental works, and particularly the symphonies, as the most important part to deal with. In addition, he had held a series of lectures on Carl Nielsen's symphonies at the Department of Musicology, Aarhus University, during the years 1951-54 (with interruptions), and in these lectures he had a solid starting point for the book.¹³⁵ A letter from the Conservatory's office manager, J. Harder Rasmussen, to Jeppesen in November 1964 – in which it is said that he should also “take in a full discussion of the vocal music, including the operas”¹³⁶ – apparently marks the point at which the project came to a stop. In March 1965 Jeppesen is prompted to ask, “how it stands with this matter”, and expresses doubt about whether it was now possible to finish the book in time.¹³⁷ Shortly thereafter, Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond granted two years' secretarial help for the project,¹³⁸ and in May – after further complications with the Conservatory¹³⁹ – Jeppesen confirmed again that he was willing to write the book, though he could no longer guarantee that it would be finished for the Jubilee Day, New Year 1967.¹⁴⁰

133 Finn Høffding to Knud Jeppesen, 10.9.1964; *DK-A*, KJ-S, 31, in which a portion of the letters relating to this matter are gathered. Jürgen Balzer also enquired of Jeppesen whether he would contribute to a book about Carl Nielsen on the occasion of the centenary; Jürgen Balzer to Knud Jeppesen 25.6.1964, and Jeppesen's answer of 28.6.1964; Musikmuseet in Copenhagen, Arkiv 159.

134 Knudåge Riisager to Knud Jeppesen, 21.10.1964, and letter from Jeppesen to Høffding, 1.10.1964, and Riisager, 26.10.1964, respectively; *DK-A*, KJ-S, 31, 6.

135 Knud Jeppesen to Knudåge Riisager, 2.11.1964; *Ibid.* Manuscripts of the 44 lectures, including some on other instrumental works by Carl Nielsen, are preserved in *DK-A*, KJ-S, 34.

136 J. Harder Rasmussen to Knud Jeppesen, 20.11.1964; *DK-A*, KJ-S, 31, 6 (*at medtage en fylldig omtale af vokalmusikken, herunder operaerne*).

137 Knud Jeppesen to Harder Rasmussen, undated [22.3.1965]; *Ibid.*

138 H. Bach to Knud Jeppesen, 1.4.1965; *DK-A*, KJ-S, 18.

139 In a telegram from Harder Rasmussen to Jeppesen, 13.4.1965, the office manager himself apologizes for ‘the muddle’; *DK-A*, KJ-S, 31, 6.

140 J. Harder Rasmussen to Knud Jeppesen, 4.5.1965; Jeppesen to Harder Rasmussen, 7.5.1965; *Ibid.*

However, in a letter to the foundation a good two years later, Jeppesen reported that, “I still have not been able to begin the work on Carl Nielsen’s compositions, for which project I have sought the foundation’s support”. He offered the explanation, “that the preparation of an earlier-begun scholarly work had continued longer than foreseen”, referring to his work on the great three volume *La Frottola*, which was published in 1968-70. Nonetheless he concludes with the hope that he will later “return to this question”.¹⁴¹ This may be considered a mere civility, but nonetheless it is interesting that Jeppesen, here shortly before his 75th birthday, probably did not exclude the possibility of writing the book on Carl Nielsen at a later date.

Knud Jeppesen was in close contact with Carl Nielsen over many years, knew Nielsen’s music by heart, wrote a number of the most important lexicographic articles on Nielsen and remained in contact with Nielsen’s descendants to the end of his life. So Jeppesen could no doubt have written a well-informed book on Nielsen and his music. In addition, and unlike most of those of his contemporaries who also had been personally associated with Nielsen, Jeppesen had an academic and musicological training that in all probability could have produced an alternative narrative of Nielsen and perhaps a different analysis of his music than that to be found in the well known literature on the composer. But Jeppesen never got to write the book. Whether this was due only to other research obligations or, perhaps, lack of a genuine urge after all, remains an open question.

In an already quoted letter to Nielsen, written in the summer of 1930, Jeppesen stated: “You are the only person I have met who has impressed me beneficially. It is through you that I have become a musician and through you that I will end as a musician”.¹⁴² No doubt this was true. Jeppesen’s studies with Nielsen and their ensuing collaborations had a lasting influence on Jeppesen, who, especially in the second half of his life was greatly taken up with his compositional activity at the same time as his academic and research work. It was undoubtedly a source of great personal satisfaction to Jeppesen – as well as a professional accomplishment – that many of his compositions were featured side by side with works by Carl Nielsen in numerous concert programmes.

As has been shown, through, amongst other things, the examination of the letters between the two men, the professional ‘balance’ between Nielsen and Jeppesen – their mutual influences and significances, so to speak – evened out somewhat towards the close of Nielsen’s life. In addition to acknowledging Jeppesen’s scholarly

141 Knud Jeppesen to Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, 22.7.1967; DK-A, KJ-S, 18 (*jeg endnu ikke har kunnet paabegynde det Arbejde om Carl Niensens Kompositioner til hvis Udførelse jeg har søgt Fondets Understøttelse* / ‘at et tidligere paabegyndt videnskabeligt Værks Udarbejdelse har trukket længere ud end forudset).

142 Cf. note 95.

achievements – which he had done without reservation since the controversy about the music lectureship in 1924 – Nielsen let himself be inspired and influenced as a composer by the study of renaissance vocal polyphony which Jeppesen had laid out in his path-breaking thesis and later in his book on counterpoint. Perhaps the relationship between Nielsen and Jeppesen – the role of teacher and student – in some small way became reversed?

But even though Knud Jeppesen did not bring his lifelong occupation with and admiration for Carl Nielsen and his music to an end in the form of a book, his archival heritage, presented in the foregoing, as well as his published academic contributions on the composer, form significant contributions to the ongoing research on the life, influence and legacy of Carl Nielsen.

A B S T R A C T

The Danish musicologist Knud Jeppesen (1892-1974) is best known as a prominent figure in modern musicology during several decades of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, he was a student of Carl Nielsen who remained a life long inspiration and model to Jeppesen. Jeppesen became a permanent part of the composer's circle of musical friends and collaborators during the last 15 years of Nielsen's life - serving as a sort of assistant to Nielsen and being marginally involved in Nielsen's work on some of his compositions - and he remained in contact with Nielsen's relatives many years after the composer's death in 1931. In addition to several weighty and important articles on Carl Nielsen, Jeppesen gave many lectures on Nielsen, he was one of the principal organizers in the establishment in 1935 of the Carl Nielsen Archive at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and he held the post of president of the Danish Carl Nielsen Society 1966-72. In the process of dealing with the archival heritage of Jeppesen various documents have emerged, including unknown Jeppesen correspondence with the Nielsen family after the composer's death. Apart from outlining the Jeppesen-Nielsen correspondence the article addresses some lesser known or even uncharted areas of the Jeppesen-Nielsen-connection, for example Jeppesen's earliest experiences with Carl Nielsen's music and his studies with Nielsen. The presentation is rounded off with considerations on the 'missing' Jeppesen book on Carl Nielsen, and the overall relationship between the two men, as teachers as well as students.

Appendix.

Overview of the correspondence between Jeppesen (and his wife, Alice) and Carl Nielsen's wife and daughters (in total 53), as well as the lost 'phantom letters'.

Date ¹⁴³	Author	Recipient ('X') ¹⁴⁴	Collection	'Phantom letters'
??.1924 ¹⁴⁵	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	DK-A, KJ-S, 37	
16.10.1931	Jeppesen	Anne Marie C.-N.	DK-Kk, CNA-II-Ab, 72	
26.10.1931	Jeppesen	Anne Marie C.-N.	DK-Kk, CNA-II-Ab, 72	
29.7.1932	Anne Marie C.-N.	Alice J.	LKJ-S	
<2.8.1932 ¹⁴⁶	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen ('X')	LKJ-S	2.8.1932: KJ to AMC-N
30.12.1932	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen	LKJ-S	
29.6.1933	Anne Marie C.-N.	Alice J.	LKJ-S	
24.12.1933	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen*	LKJ-S	
1.7.1934	Jeppesen	Anne Marie C.-N.	DK-Kk, 635, 2	
26.6.1935	Jeppesen	Anne Marie C.-N.	DK-Kk, CNA-II-Ab, 72	
29.1.1936	Jeppesen	Anne Marie C.-N.	DK-Kk, 635, 2 & 635, 29 ¹⁴⁷	
13.11.1936	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 2	16.11.1936: KJ to IEM
30.12.1936	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen*	LKJ-S	
14.3.1937	Jeppesen	Anne Marie C.-N.	DK-Kk, CNA-II-Ab, 72	
23.5.1937	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen*	DK-Kk, 635, 2	
14.7.1937	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 2	
11.7.1939	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 2	15.7.1939: KJ to AMC-N
3.2.1941	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 4	3.2.1941: KJ to AMC-N
18.6.1941	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 4	21.6.1941: KJ to AMC-N
12.12.1941	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 4	13.12.1941: KJ to AMC-N
6.10.1942	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 4	16.11.1942: KJ to AMC-N
26.5.1943	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 21	
3.6.1943	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen	LKJ-S	
21.11.1945	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 21	

143 With reference to dating these symbols are used: '<': before the date in question, and '>': after the date in question.

144 Indication of Jeppesen's 'X' marking (followed by dating) in the cases where Jeppesen's answers are not preserved. These letters are listed in the column, 'phantom letters'. An asterisk (*) signifies the cases where a letter is addressed to both Alice and Knud Jeppesen.

145 Dating from the letter's contents, cf. note 23.

146 Dating from Jeppesen's note 'Besv. 2/8 1932'.

147 Folder 29 contains a nearly identical typed copy of the draft of the letter in folder 2.

30.11.1945	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 21	
28.12.1945	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 4	
2.3.1946	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 5	
<9.12.1946 ¹⁴⁸	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen ('X')	LKJ-S	9.12.1946: KJ to IEM
<11.12.1946 ¹⁴⁹	Anne Marie T.	Jeppesen* ('X')	LKJ-S	11.12.1946: KJ to AMT
22.6.1948	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	LKJ-S	
7.9.1948	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen ('X')	LKJ-S	9.9.1948: KJ to IEM
21.2.1949	Jeppesen	Irmelin E.M.	DK-Kk, CNA-III-F, 143	8.2.1949: IEM to KJ ¹⁵⁰
25.9.1950	Anne Marie T. ¹⁵¹	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-A, KJ-S, 31	3.10.1950: KJ to AMT
16.10.1950	Anne Marie T.	Jeppesen	LKJ-S	<16.10.1950: KJ to AMT ¹⁵²
26.10.1951	Jeppesen	Irmelin E.M.	DK-Kk, 635, 8	
10.6.1952	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 25	
2.7.1952	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 15	9.7.1952: KJ to IEM
22.8.1953	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 25	23.8.1953: KJ to IEM
7.9.1953	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen*	DK-Kk, 635, 25	
10.9.1953	Jeppesen	Irmelin E.M.	DK-Kk, CNA-III-C, 140	
26.10.1954	Jeppesen	Irmelin E.M.	DK-Kk, CNA-III-F, 143	
25.4.1955	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen ('X')	DK-Kk, 635, 9	26.4.1955: KJ to IEM
24.5.1955	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 9	
14.6.1965	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 11	
28.6.1965	Anne Marie T.	Jeppesen	DK-Kk, 635, 11	
?.?.1965	Jeppesen	Irmelin E.M.	DK-Kk, 635, 11	
?.?.1965 ¹⁵³	Jeppesen	Anne Marie T.	DK-Kk, 635, 11	
>14.8.1972 ¹⁵⁴	Jeppesen	Irmelin E.M.	LKJ-S	
22.10.1972	Irmelin E.M.	Jeppesen*	DK-Kk, 635, 12	
15.6.1974	Anne Marie T.	Alice J.	LKJ-S	
17.6.1974	Irmelin E.M.	Alice J.	LKJ-S	
not dated	Anne Marie T. ¹⁵⁵	Jeppesen*	LKJ-S	
not dated	Anne Marie C.-N.	Jeppesen? ¹⁵⁶	LKJ-S	

148 Dating from Jeppesen's note 'X 9/12 46'. The card is from Irmelin and Eggert Møller.

149 Dating from Jeppesen's note 'X 11/12 46', the year possibly 1941.

150 Jeppesen's thanks for Irmelin's 'friendly enquiry of the 8th instant' (*venlige Forespørgsel af 8.ds.*), which has probably not survived.

151 The letter also contains a short greeting to Jeppesen from Irmelin Eggert Møller.

152 Anne Marie thanks Jeppesen for 'Deres lille Brev' (your short letter), which has probably not survived.

153 Dating from the letter's content.

154 Dating from the letter's content.

155 Short New Year's greeting.

156 Short greeting without addressee.