

Danish Yearbook of Musicology

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This volume of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* continues the effort to make the periodical relevant to a wider circle of researchers, including those outside the borders of Denmark. The main focus this year is on three contributions that have their origins in an international symposium with the title *Béla Bartók and Nationalism*, held in Copenhagen on 24-25 September 2004. Inasmuch as each, from its own point of view, takes as its theme the relationship between Bartók, his music and the concept of the national, they contribute both to Bartók scholarship and to the discussion of nationalism and music. In the first article László Somfai investigates Béla Bartók's concept of 'Genuine and Valuable Art', examining Bartók's approach to the question of 'national music' and the compositional strategies he associated with his 'secret sources', i.e. folk music and national identity. Simone Hohmaier discusses Bartók's relationship with the German music tradition, which was deeply rooted in his musical thinking and thus involved in an ongoing dialogue with his Hungarian identity. That the influence also works the other way is evident from the fact that Bartók's music was also important to many German composers. In his article László Vikárius looks in depth at the musical manifestations of the national, on the one hand in the form of musical patriotism in Bartók's early *Kossuth*, on the other in the form of specific melodic features shared by a number of Bartók's subsequent works. The symposium itself is discussed in more detail in the report section. Independently of this theme, Morten Topp has contributed an article that describes the reception of the *Messiah* in Copenhagen from the first stirrings of interest in the nineteenth century until the present status of the work as a regular Christmas tradition with many performances every single year.

This year's Viewpoint, written by Cynthia M. Grund of the University of Southern Denmark, takes up the thread from Ansa Lønstrup's Viewpoint in the last volume. With her point of departure in the lessons learned from *Netværk for Tværvidenskabelige Studier af Musik og Betydning* ('Network for Cross-Disciplinary Studies of Music and Meaning') she argues for the need to establish more interdisciplinary research projects. That this is a fruitful approach can already be seen from the established Internet periodical *Journal of Music and Meaning*, of which two issues have appeared so far. The same benefits can be seen if one looks at two other large interdisciplinary research projects, *The Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals* and *Danish Rock Culture from the 50s to the 90s*, both discussed in *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 31 (2003). Such projects help significantly to extend and enrich musical scholarship, and the large appropriations granted to these projects make an important contribution to the body of research on the subject. Two of the four Ph.D. projects mentioned in the report section have been funded in this way. This year's reviews too bear witness that musicology is by no means a narrow category.

Once more this year we want to thank all our contributors. Special thanks to Peter Hauge and Axel Teich Geertinger for help with proofreading, and to Anne Ørbæk Jensen for drawing up the bibliography. And finally, our thanks to the Danish Research Council for the Humanities for their support for the publication.

Copenhagen and Århus, March 2005
Michael Ejfeldsoe & Thomas Holme Hansen

Double Jeopardy: The Interdisciplinary Study of Music and Meaning

CYNTHIA M. GRUND

Ansa Lønstrup (Aarhus University) concludes last year's Viewpoint with the following remarks regarding the situation for musicology and for musicologists within the Danish context (my translation from the Danish original):

The current complexity and breadth within the area of musical research is so great that we obviously can move and orient ourselves towards many directions. There is, as a matter of fact, a great need for us within many different professional contexts and in relation to a multitude of areas of investigation. The difficulty with which we may be confronted is that of both maintaining our uniqueness and professional research identity, while at the same time participating in professionally variegated and 'impure' non-musical contexts of cooperation. For many, many years musicology has energetically emphasized that music and musicology are something unique with regard to their epistemology, funding requirements, educational-political aspects and pedagogy/didactics. There have been very good reasons for this emphasis. Now is perhaps the time to throw ourselves into the major task of *communicating* our competencies, a task which is mandated when musicologists work together with other research traditions, with professions with different means of defining themselves and within other areas of discourse. This has already happened in, for example, the aforementioned research networks and surely other places as well.¹

I could not ask for a more gratifying place from which to grab the baton and continue to run the Viewpoint-marathon in *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*. There are several reasons for this. To start with, I am director of one of 'the aforementioned research networks' and have been so since its inception September 1, 2001, namely the Network for Cross-Disciplinary Studies of Music and Meaning, whose acronym *NTSMB* stems from its Danish title *Netværk for Tværvideenskabelige Studier af Musik og Betydning*. This network was awarded a two-year start-up grant by SHF (Danish Research Council for the Humanities) (2001-3) and lives on as an association with a dues-paying membership. In addition, since December 2003, I have been Editor-in-Chief of *JMM: The Journal of Music and Meaning* (www.musicandmeaning.net), an online academic journal which seeks to explore and develop the potential of the Internet as a means for multimedia presentation of research work within music-and-

¹ Translated from Ansa Lønstrup, 'Strategier i musikforskningen?' (Strategies in musicological research), *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 31 (2003), 15.

meaning studies while establishing and maintaining standards of academic rigor which are associated with research and scholarship as these are traditionally published within print media. JMM is currently surviving on funding which had been budgeted from our NTSMB-grant and which SHF kindly has allowed us to use in this fashion. Thirdly, I am not a musicologist, I am an Associate Professor of Philosophy in the Institute of Philosophy, Education and the Study of Religion at the University of Southern Denmark at Odense.

IMPURITY AND INTERDISCIPLINARITY

As the above paragraph makes abundantly clear, I am a card-carrying representative of all that is 'impure' within a context of musical research, at least when purity is evaluated from the standpoint of traditional musicology. A banal, but incredibly central point here is: Music is not only interesting from the point of view of musicologists. It can often provide examples which challenge received conceptions within a discipline, such as many philosophical theories of meaning with their traditionally blatant bias toward verbal language and the mechanisms of reference, or it can provide raw material for analysis which challenges the capabilities of current technical devices, which – after having gone through developments which meet these challenges – often can open up areas of study which were as good as inconceivable previously; more on this latter point later. My own fascination with the study of music and meaning had its genesis in an area of relevance to the former, in reflections regarding the manner in which one might try to gain insights into the way mechanisms utilizing counterfactual attribution of properties within poetic, metaphoric language could be transplanted to the realm of the musical, with a notion of counterfactual hearing of sonic material as a resulting suggestion for an attempt at a 'definition' of music. While grappling with these issues in the 80s and 90s, I had the advantage of a wealth of contacts within University of Helsinki Professor of Musicology Eero Tarasti's sweeping network known as ICMS (International Congress on Musical Signification) as well as the pleasure of being one of the founders and board members of an SHF-sponsored network entitled *Netværk for Metafor, Kultur og Kognition* (1995-1997), Danish for 'Network for Metaphor, Culture and Cognition'. I also had the good fortune to be employed within the NOS-H (Nordic Research Council for the Humanities)-sponsored project entitled 'Interpretation, Literature and Identity – Approaches to the Methodology of Interpretation' from 1996 to 1998.

I mention these autobiographic items to underscore the positive roll which academic networking played in my own career from an early stage. It is not an exaggeration to say that I and many others who circulated in these groups would never have been able to assemble the competencies and advisory talent to complete our research spanning music, philosophy, semiotics, aesthetics, literature and other fields without access to such a multitude of talented researchers who were willing to 'think outside the box'. The Finnish presence in all of this was crucial; already in the 80s leading Finnish academics – such as Tarasti, Veikko Rantala (University of Tampere),

Arto Haapala (University of Helsinki) and others – were interested in looking beyond the confines of the research traditions in which they worked and – importantly – were willing to do the work necessary to obtain the requisite competencies from other disciplines.

This paean to the glories of networking notwithstanding, it is not a mystery to me why there are elements in the musicological community who harbor abiding suspicions with regard to interdisciplinarity. This is understandable: it is clear that musicology is an academic discipline in which enormous amounts of time and effort need to be devoted to upholding and developing complex, time-consuming and educationally dense areas of scholarly endeavor such as musical analysis, performance practice and historical studies involving diverse epochs and languages. Many sub-disciplines within these areas require not only education of a standard academic nature and the text reading and production skills which this requires, but the acquisition and maintenance of a variety of artisan-style skills as well: Most musicologists are also musicians or singers or composers, and this ‘or’ often is of the inclusive kind. Competence in these areas requires many years of study in demanding, often apprentice-like circumstances.

Most disciplines, or at least selected subdisciplines, however, will be able to protest in a similar fashion. Take my own. Philosophers with specializations within cutting-edge mathematics or physics, those who need to maintain and acquire philological and linguistic expertise, or those who work in traditions where meticulous historical scholarship within a stated corpus is required for achieving the research results mandated by the context of investigation may all well find that the chosen areas of study are so absorbing, time-consuming and calling for artisan-like skills, that there may not be enough surplus time, energy or promises of professional rewards to engage in interdisciplinary outreach.

It is therefore no wonder that many musicologists look upon academics who come from other areas such as, say, philosophy, semiotics, computer science or literature – and who do not also have advanced degrees in musicology – as being, at best, dilettantes, or, at worst, utterly lacking in the insights and skills required to study musical artifacts in a respectable, scholarly and well-qualified fashion. To the extent that certain areas of inquiry involve the sort of skills and training mentioned in the foregoing, this diagnosis is, in the main, a correct one. The recurrent claim of the present contribution is, however this: Many of the questions which music poses for a panoply of contemporary academic disciplines require just as much discipline-specific training as is the case with musicology. For example, new technologies for sound synthesis, manipulation and information retrieval expand exponentially each year, and new insights into human cognition not only allow the recasting of traditional questions, but pose challenging new ones as well. The only way in which any sort of fruitful studies can be carried out within these domains is for researchers and practitioners from a wealth of academic and performance areas to cooperate and contribute insights and knowledge springing from in-depth knowledge of their perspective fields.

Some paragraphs ago, I promised to return to the areas of inquiry which have opened up thanks to the explosive development within technologies for music digitalization within the framework of information technology. One of the eye-openers for which I can thank NTSMB has been a glimpse into the world of music information retrieval (MIR), a field the contours of which first began to become clearly drawn at the turn of the millennium. These insights have largely been due to the fruitful cooperation which has taken place among various members of the MOSART network (Music Orchestration Systems in Algorithmic Research and Technology), which was funded by the EU from 2000 to 2003 and whose chief coordinator was Jens Arnspang of Aalborg University Esbjerg. A short and sweet means of describing MIR is to say that it concerns itself with just about every aspect of the way in which the tools of IT can provide the tools for answering queries about music. Now that enormous databases of digitalized recordings of musical performances are available, traditional questions from aesthetics become relevant in new ways. For example, the much debated issue of whether or not people consistently ascribe emotion and/or descriptive content to pieces of music takes on a practical dimension: Can emotional content in music be correlated with formal properties of a piece which can be sought for with the help of search algorithms? As I discovered at the ISMIR2004 (International Society for Music Information Retrieval) in Barcelona in October last year, library science and musicology are uniting with renewed force in the context of MIR. An excellent conference – CMMR2004 (Computer Music Modelling and Retrieval) – dealing with the interfacing of IT and music research was held in Esbjerg at Aalborg University Esbjerg in May 2004.

THE QUEST FOR A RESEARCH MILIEU HERE AT HOME

There is a lot of talent within the area of music research – broadly defined so as also to include interdisciplinary work – in Denmark which, if not cultivated, soon will either migrate to other professions or simply wither away. There are also many international figures within music research who are interested in coming to Denmark, at least for the time being. An example: In February of 2004, I spearheaded an application for a Center of Excellence under the auspices of The Danish National Research Foundation. The suggested name for the center was ‘Research Center for Music, Modelling and Meaning’. The application contained very detailed plans for a center which would address eight project areas: (1) linguistic representation of sound, (2) sound, music and bodily gesture, (3) recognition and interpretation of form in sonic contexts, (4) issues in composing, (5) the creation of meaning in interactive sonic contexts, (6) the role of sound in creating a meaningful environment for human agents, (7) perception of sonic and visual phenomena, and (8) practice-based research: problems and perspectives. Each of these project areas was described and a team of researchers including senior and visiting fellows from both the IT/technical side of the table and the core humanities side of the table was specified for each project area.

The proposed center involved a large group of internationally well-known researchers from Denmark and abroad who represented competence in musicology, semiotics, philosophy, biology, literary theory, music information retrieval, and computer modelling of music, to name but a few of the disciplines covered. The plan included 14 senior research fellows, 20 visiting fellows and provided for 16 three-year Ph.D. fellowships as well as five one-year postdoctoral fellowships. There was a good mix of Danish and foreign talent represented. Among the senior research fellows were representatives from university, conservatory and performance milieu, and two of the candidates were foreign nationals working abroad who were willing to move to Denmark for three-year stints as senior research fellows. Several of the others were foreign nationals currently living and working in Denmark and thus integrated within the Danish research community. Among the Visiting Fellows were researchers from Italy, Belgium, England, Scotland, Poland, USA, France and Finland, all of whom were willing to come to Denmark on a regular basis – usually once per semester during a five-year period for at least a week at a time to participate in workshops and conferences. While preparing the application we canvassed the field of potential Ph.D. candidates for affiliation with such a center, and found 15 who were interested and who would be able to submit applications for top-notch projects. Twelve of these were Danes. A canvass of potential applicants for the post-doc posts turned up three well-qualified candidates – one Dane and two foreign nationals, all of whom were ready-to-go, should the money have been in place.

It is relevant to note that the massive national and international interest which this application represented was not for a center in either Copenhagen or Aarhus, but – Esbjerg. Everyone involved was perfectly happy to gather together in this town on the west coast of Denmark to pursue this research.

Where did this all end? As the Danish saying goes: ‘Death requires a cause.’ 193 applications were submitted to the Danish National Research Foundation for such Centers of Excellence. As it turned out, twelve were funded initially, and now four more are being added. An inspection of the homepage of The Danish National Research Foundation (www.dg.dk) reveals that only one of these sixteen has any relationship to humanistic research, a center for the study of language change in real time, with Denmark 1900-2000 as a case in point.

... AND WHILE WE ARE WAITING FOR MONEY

As was previously made clear, NTSMB (www.ntsmb.dk) is now an association of dues-paying members. Its membership is around 70 as of this writing. Since we keep our dues low, the work of running NTSMB is a matter of volunteerism on the part of an eleven-member executive board where the professional rank of a given member can be anything from that of masters’ student to full-time tenured university associate professor. Even when we were funded, very little work was compensated, and when it was, it was largely a matter of paying student aides. The bulk of the money went to financing four national conferences, one international one, starting JMM (JMM’s

technical maintenance and design is the only regularly remunerated function in the NTSMB-sphere), and funding an international book project for which certain editorial tasks such as indexing will be remunerated. Since the end of our start-up grant, we have held three national meetings and have plans afoot to continue with two national meetings a year, as we have since our inception.

Although I hasten to underscore that – in today’s humanistic research environment – we are more than aware that a start-up grant of 600,000 DKK (c. 80,000 EUR in 2001), where 500,000 DKK (c. 67,000 EUR in 2001) is the actual amount available after administrative overhead is removed, is something for which one must be extremely grateful, nevertheless it should be clear to anyone reading this that this amount is not very much in comparison with what has been accomplished within NTSMB for the last three and a half years.

One of the reasons that an organization such as NTSMB can get along on a shoestring budget is that we have learned to use what we have. A certain level of activity is fairly readily supportable within the infrastructure which already is in place in Danish institutions of higher learning and in the Danish scheme of things in general. Academics from virtually all over the rest of the world would find the situation in which all five major universities are on the same train line within hours of each other, as they are in Denmark, and from which public transportation to branch campuses and conservatories is – for the most part – convenient, as it is in Denmark, to be an distant dream. For all the frustrations involved in maintaining and updating the technical equipment in Danish institutions of higher learning, the situation does seem to be improving, and, compared with, say the Sorbonne, at which I gave a talk during the 8th meeting of the ICMS in October 2004 and where there was only one venue in which digital projection combined with connection to the Internet was available, and the venue in which Charles Rosen gave his talk was *sans* piano, things in Denmark have, indeed, come a long way.

So, we are surviving. As was indicated in my summary of the Center of Excellence-application experience, however, it is disquieting and disheartening to reflect that time passes quickly, and if we do not develop the interdisciplinary research community which now exists and whose members are at various points in their careers, several years’ worth of talent will either choose other fields of endeavor or, in the worst case scenario, never be developed at all. A subcommittee of the NTSMB’s executive board is charged with fundraising and we will go at this task aggressively in the months to come. We can, as was indicated earlier, work with what we have in an organization like NTSMB for a period of time. We can only hope, however, that our ‘little engine that could’ will ultimately inspire a response that rewards these kinds of efforts, rather than the cynical conclusion that if researchers in the humanities just muster their reserves, they can puff along on an uphill grade without any injection of new sources of energy and as a consequence don’t need or deserve anything better.

Béla Bartók's Concept of 'Genuine and Valuable Art'

LÁSZLÓ SOMFAI

Genuine and valuable art, at least for the time being, can be conceived of only in the form of a national art. For although every age displays artistic elements common to all countries, the fitting together of these common elements into works of art occurs involuntarily in a different manner in each country, each typical of the given country. Naturally this differentiation is only accomplished if in the works a genuine artist's creative power manifests itself *spontaneously*.

Bartók, 'Staat und Kunst' (1934)¹

This is a quotation from Bartók's text 'Staat und Kunst' (State and Art) drafted in German in 1934 presumably for a meeting of the League of Nations Cooperative Committee's Literary and Artistic Group. The statement was not motivated by current compositional plans that occupied Bartók's mind at that point. In 1934 he wrote his Fifth String Quartet, a commissioned work, and put a number of *Mikrokosmos* pieces on paper, a project still in progress. These are compositions that belong to the 'classical' middle period of his style, eminently 'abstract' music as they were, without ostentatiously national stylistic features, even if occasionally fascinating compositional ideas are manifest inspired by Bartók's folk-music sources (like the *Alla bulgarese* scherzo movement of the quartet: Bulgarian rhythm cross-fertilized with Hungarian-style melody). Without doubt the actual political environment, the Nazi takeover in Germany in 1933, provoked Bartók. In the continuation of the text he speaks about the 'obsessive ideas' of the 'government', the 'state', the 'dictator' who 'over an ever growing geographical territory' may destroy the efforts of artists.

Yet the statement unmistakably outlines Bartók's concept. Note that he does not use the word 'nationalism' but speaks about a 'national art', about the 'common elements ... typical of a given country'. No less importantly, in the following sentence Bartók underlines the presence of 'a genuine artist', his 'creative power', that manifests itself '*spontaneously*', a word that he underlined. Here Bartók speaks about himself.

1 Béla Bartók, 'Staat und Kunst', ed. Tibor Tallián in 'Bartók és a szavak – Bartók and Words', *Arion*, 13 (Almanach International de Poésie; Budapest, 1982), 104-6: 'Eine echte und wertvolle Kunst ist – wenigstens einstweilen – nur als nationale Kunst vorstellbar. Denn wenn auch je eine Zeitepoche in allen Ländern gemeinsame Kunstelemente aufweist, so wird die Zusammenfügung dieser gemeinsamen Elemente zu Kunstwerken in jedem Lande unwillkürlich in verschiedener, für das betreffende Land charakteristischer Weise stattfinden. Freilich wird diese Differenzierung nur dann zustande kommen, wenn sich in den Kunstwerken die schöpferische Kraft einer wirklichen Künstlerpersönlichkeit *spontan* offenbart'. English translation by László Somfai, cf. the end of the English translation in Tibor Tallián, *Béla Bartók. The Man and His Work* (Budapest, 1981), 179, '... if the artistic personality's spontaneous creative power manifests itself in the works of art'.

I would like to start by stating that Bartók, as I understand his position taken up in the question of nationalism – considering all of his statements in a chronology-sensitive context –, although he often referred to the case of national composers of the nineteenth century, did actually not approve of folklorism within the twentieth century in general but only his own and Zoltán Kodály's way of composition, and Igor Stravinsky's so-called Russian period. Because, to quote one of his similarly critical remarks, 'folk music will become a source of inspiration for a country's music only if the transplantation of its motives is the work of a great creative talent' (1931).²

With this in mind I focus on four questions,

1. How did Bartók determine his approach and his place on the map of the European modern music scene?
2. The multi-ethnic background of his music and Bartók's remarkable views on the lack of race purity in neighboring peoples' peasant music.
3. Bartók's belief in natural phenomena, even in the natural way of creating significant compositions.
4. Finally, as short case studies, we will visit two scores of Bartók (the Second Violin Sonata and the opening movement of the Second Piano Concerto) that reveal typical compositional strategies connected with his 'secret sources' (folk music and national identity).

Before I start quoting from Bartók, a few words must be said about his texts. Working with Bartók's texts is indeed more risky than quoting e.g. Schoenberg from the canonized German or English editions or even more from the original documents in the Schönberg Center available online. Bartók's case is not like the Stravinsky syndrome that the Russian composer's thoughts and statements were stylized and heavily edited by a sophisticated but mannerist writer (Robert Craft). The language is of course a problem with Bartók too. He wrote his lectures and essays in Hungarian or German (occasionally in French), then in the American years mostly in English. Several of his texts were translated in his lifetime with or without his approval. Unfortunately both the old all-Hungarian big volume *Bartók összegyűjtött írásai* (edited by András Szöllősy in 1967)³ and the all-English *Béla Bartók Essays* volume (edited by Benjamin Suchoff in 1976)⁴ print mixed texts, in a major part translations only, the English edition with severe misprints and arbitrary editorial amendments occasionally.⁵ Unfortunately the new critical edition *Bartók Béla írásai* [Béla Bartók's writings] has published so far only three volumes of the planned eight.⁶

- 2 Béla Bartók, 'A népzene jelentőségéről' (On the Significance of Folk Music), cf. Béla Bartók, *Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London, 1976), 347.
- 3 András Szöllősy (ed.), *Bartók Béla összegyűjtött írásai*, i (Budapest, 1967) [no second vol.].
- 4 Bartók, *Essays*.
- 5 Cf. László Somfai's review, 'Bartók's Writings,' *The Musical Times*, 118/1611 (May 1977), 395-96.
- 6 *Bartók Béla írásai*, i: Tibor Tallián (ed.), *Bartók Béla önmagáról, műveiről, az új magyar zenéről, műzene és népzene viszonyáról* (Béla Bartók on his life, work, the new Hungarian music, the relation between art music and folk music) (Budapest, 1989); iii: Vera Lampert and Dorrit Révész (eds.),

Beyond the problem of the languages there are further traps. One must always know the context: when and why did Bartók give a statement? Was it his intention to stress certain thoughts but conceal others? A typical example: revising his German Autobiography (1918), in 1921 Bartók inserted a long passage about the significance of Liszt's music in the stylistic maturation of his own style. A close look at the events reveals that this was a response to Western European reviews that Bartók just became aware of, according to which the 'atonal path' of Wagner, Richard Strauss, and Schoenberg influenced Bartók's music that he vehemently rejected.

It is also characteristic of Bartók's texts that when he praises Kodály's approach he usually describes his own principles; when a 'few young Hungarian composers' are mentioned they were Bartók and Kodály, or even more just Bartók. Naturally he had great respect for his friend's music, admired Kodály's wisdom; they were partners. Yet he was a shy man who did not like to speak about his concepts or individual compositions directly, therefore the metaphor 'Kodály' was at hand.⁷

I.

As to the European scene of new music, there were aspects that Bartók readily discussed again and again, often using his previously formulated favorite text panels, and there were white holes, topics that he rather not discussed at all. Bartók had complexes with the meaning of the words 'tradition' and 'modern' (or 'progressive'). In 1927 in a Hungarian draft text probably connected with his preparations for the first American concert tour, Bartók specified Stravinsky's approach as 'revolutionary', as an opposite to his ideal of a 'great comprehensive art'.⁸ In this text both – the revolutionary and the comprehensive – belong to 'progressive' music, both distance themselves from romanticism and lean on the music of old times (either on folk music or on the music of the past centuries of Western music). Incidentally in this context it looks as if Bartók disregarded Schoenberg and his followers because their music did not brake away from romanticism, yet it is my supposition only.

Progressive musical creations of today – disregarding Schönberg and his followers – have two things in common: estrangement from the music of yesterday (romanticism), and leaning on the music of old times. The latter can happen in different ways: either – as e.g. in the first, Russian period of Stravinsky or with de Falla or the Hungarians – as leaning on the old folk (peasant) music, or – as e.g. in the case of the adherents of so-called Neoclassicism (among others, the last works of Stravinsky) – through a fertilization by the art music of the 16th and 17th centuries, or even earlier times. ...

Írások a népzeneről és a népzene kutatásról (On folk music and folk-music research) (Budapest, 1999); v: Dorrit Révész (ed.), *A magyar népdal* (The Hungarian folk song) (Budapest, 1990).

⁷ See also László Somfai, *Béla Bartók. Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1996), 13.

⁸ László Somfai, 'Bartók Béla nyilatkozata a "Progresszív zenei alkotásokról" (1927-1928?)' (Béla Bartók on 'progressive music'), *Magyar Zene*, 11/2 (1975), 115-16.

In general two opposite [approaches to new music] crystallize in practice: one (for example, Stravinsky) is revolutionary; that is, on the one hand, it shows a sudden break with the music of yesterday, and on the other, it throws the whole range of dazzling novelties and new departures into the music of today. The other type seems rather to be comprehensive: a summation of all the elements available up to now. It is thus not a revolutionary break with yesterday, for it even rescues everything it can use from romanticism ... that is, whatever has vitality. The most characteristic representative of this is the Hungarian Kodály. Which of the two will better withstand the test of time, the innovators or the summarizers, remains to be decided by the future. If, however, we think of parallels in music history, we would be inclined to rule in favor of the great comprehensive art.⁹

Sixteen years later in America in the first part of his Harvard Lectures that discussed revolution and evolution, Bartók rearranged his categories and now put both Schoenberg and Stravinsky in the same box: their art was based on evolution and that was the basic principle in the creation of the new Hungarian music too, he claimed.

If we turn our attention toward the two leading composers of the last decades, I mean toward Schönberg and Stravinsky, we will see that their actual works are decidedly the outcome of evolution. In the succession of their works there is no abrupt turning away from previous devices, there is no abolition of almost all means used previously by other composers.¹⁰

After a discussion of selected works by Schoenberg and Stravinsky, Bartók's summary:

As we see, those composers who achieved the most in the last decades were not demolishing revolutionaries; the development of their art is, on the contrary, based on a steady and continuous evolution.

And similarly, evolution was the basic principle in the creation of the new Hungarian art music.¹¹

After the Schoenberg–Stravinsky introduction Bartók arrives to the point: the roots of his own music. As a belated narrative of what Bartók's ambitious vision of a new national art could have been around 1905–8, before modern music beyond Strauss and Debussy appeared on his horizon, we can take his words on their face value:

They [the young Hungarian composers] first studied eagerly the classics, in order to acquire the necessary technique in composition. The German romantic styles of the XIXth century, however, were not very well suited to their feelings and to their purposes Much more impulse could be drawn from Liszt's original works the transparency of which was absolutely non-German; and then, of course, of the French impressionistic music. The innovations of these gave very valuable hints for future possibilities. ...

9 English translation in David E. Schneider, 'Bartók and Stravinsky: Respect, Competition, Influence, and the Hungarian Reaction to Modernism in the 1920s', in Peter Laki (ed.), *Bartók and His World* (Princeton, 1995), 183.

10 Bartók, *Essays*, 358–61.

11 *Ibid.*

The Hungarians, however, had the far reaching vision to turn their attention to a not yet exploited source, absolutely unknown until then ... This source of tremendous importance is the Eastern European rural music, especially the Hungarian rural music. ...

So, the start for the creation of the New Hungarian art-music was given first: by a thorough knowledge of the devices of old and contemporary Western art-music; this for the technique of the composition. And second: by this newly discovered musical rural material of incomparable beauty and perfection; this for the spirit of our works to be created. Scores of aspects could be distinguished and quoted, by which this material exerted its influence on us; for instance tonal influence, melodic influence, and even structural influence.¹²

Several proud or critical views were involved in Bartók's position in this text as well as in his earlier statements. E.g. that for him the nineteenth-century Hungarian art music was neither sufficiently valuable nor even Hungarian enough – therefore the discovery of Hungarian peasant music as a tradition was crucial. Or he claimed that instead of the German music he found more inspiration in the French masters – but it cannot be denied that in his major instrumental forms until the latest scores he still fought with the Classic/Romantic German sonata-form heritage, besides true Viennese swing was running in his blood when he played e.g. a Brahms capriccio. Or that creativity was more important for him than the ideology of an approach – think of his stereotyped references to Eastern-European approaches and national composers yet a lack of interest in playing their music (he had no assiduous curiosity about the works of Janáček, Enescu, only a bit of Szymanowski, accompanying his violinist friends).

Beyond Debussy (he added Ravel to the same approach; by the way here we may disregard Bartók's interest in Strauss and Reger in his early years or his loyalty to Dohnányi and a few younger Hungarian composers, also typical for the earlier decades), on the imaginary map of Bartók's evaluation of the contemporary 'progressive' music scene it is hard to miss that, in spite of the repeated praise of Kodály's masterworks written up to the 1920s, Bartók considered Arnold Schoenberg and Igor Stravinsky as the two outstanding figures of his time ('of the two, Stravinsky is closer to me').¹³ Alban Berg impressed him positively; he appreciated younger French composers' reverence; he had Webern scores in his library; he heard works by Hindemith, Křenek, Casella, etc., at festivals; once he even played de Falla's *Noches en los jardines de España* (Nights in the Gardens of Spain) in Budapest; at the same time he was hardly aware of the post-Stravinsky Russian composers until the 'Leningrad' Symphony annoyed him in America. In short, composers younger than his age, except perhaps Berg's *Lyric Suite*, had no significant impact on his mature style. National idiom as a principle, without the manifestation of a genius, was no value for him.

Bartók never declared his innermost confidence, he was too shy to do it, but we can read between the lines in indirect remarks and private communications. For me there is no doubt that he thought that his *oeuvre* – a 'comprehensive art' – belonged to the rank of Schoenberg's and Stravinsky's music.

¹² Ibid. 362-63.

¹³ Interview with Béla Bartók in *Kassai Napló* (23 Apr. 1926), English translation in Laki (ed.), *Bartók and His World*, 237.

2.

In contrast to the typical ‘national’ composer with a passionate interest in the national music or folk music of his homeland Bartók had a multi-ethnic background. Furthermore, it was not just interesting *gefundenen Objekte* for him. Dealing with different kinds of folk music (in plural), although in the first years the young composer’s eagerness motivated folk-song collecting trips, soon became an obsession for Bartók. He spent many times more time and energy on working with folk music than working on his compositions. He trained himself as a self-made ethnomusicologist and rapidly got ahead of the professionals in persistence, in learning local languages and the accurate transcription of the dialects, but above all in making incomparably virtuoso notations of the recorded music that he rightly called ‘micro-acoustic’ transcriptions.

Folk music – peasant music, rural music, as later he preferred to call it – became a source for him only if his own field studies authorized the material (or it came from the collection of his closest Hungarian colleagues). Bartók rejected inspiration of rural music known only from books, therefore his multi-ethnic background may be considered as strange: Hungarian, Rumanian, and Slovak peasant music was in the centre (about 3,000 songs and dances from each); some Ruthenian, a handful of Serbian and Bulgarian tunes, which he also collected in the Carpathian Basin, within the borders of Hungary up to the end of the First World War; in addition Arab Bedouin music from his 1913 trip in Biskra and around in Algeria. Of these the Hungarian, Rumanian, Slovak, Ruthenian, and Arab rural music sources undoubtedly influenced his own compositional language; these five (or occasionally four, without the Ruthenian) belonged to the typical ‘catalogue’ of national topoi in Bartók’s music. The Turkish collecting trip in 1936 and a close study of Serbo-Croatian songs from M. Parry’s recordings in the American years, as I see it, came too late to exert influence on his own music.

A short note about Bartók and the Gypsies. Beyond his general aversion to the phenomenon ‘gypsy’ transmission of Hungarian tunes that profoundly misled Liszt and Brahms, as an ethnomusicologist Bartók condemned the gypsy performance of Hungarian and Rumanian instrumental folk music, because it severely distorted the style and rhythm, he believed. Bartók recognized only in the 1920s that illiterate gypsies who lived with Rumanian peasants in Transylvania occasionally preserved very old styles, often with a Bulgarian-like asymmetry in the meter and rhythm. The composition of his two violin Rhapsodies based on a special collection of folk dances (1928) signaled the compositional output of this belated recognition.

The wealth of the different national sources in Bartók’s case is indeed unique in the history of Western music. I am convinced that Bartók’s outstanding position among ‘national’ composers (if we may call him one) is closely connected with the variety of inspirations, just as with the every day scholarly work on his material. The multi-national composite of his peasant sources offered him a much greater catalogue of useful raw material than it was typical in other composers’ *oeuvre*. Classifying, studying, comparing his collection with other folk-music collections – specifically

after the Versailles Treaty when he practically closed the field work –, even more transcribing the recorded material and revising it up to ultimate perfection, meant highly creative activity for Bartók.

Folk-music arrangements of different kinds make up a substantial part of the *oeuvre*, but the creation of *folklore imaginaire* (Bartók's expression) interested him even more. In general terms he discussed this topic in public lectures and essays. Recent Bartók studies (including several of my essays)¹⁴ analyzed the phenomenon in a number of his original compositions in detail. Themes, characters, textures, instrumental techniques, variation strategies were modeled on pure national forms as well as on combined national identities, e.g. Hungarian-like melody in Rumanian or Bulgarian meter in several compositions.

Bartók had to be aware of cross-fertilization of neighbouring peoples' rural music in Eastern Europe already in the 1910s, but discussed the matter of 'Race Purity in Music' only in a late essay written in America in 1942. According to his observations a definitely beneficial 'racial impurity' characterized the folklore, 'a continuous give and take of melodies, a constant crossing and recrossing [of the borders] which had persisted through centuries'; 'as a result of uninterrupted reciprocal influence upon the folk music of these peoples there are an immense variety and a wealth of melodies and melodic types'.¹⁵ Bartók's excitement about the topic signalizes that he not only studied this phenomenon in folk music but also remembered how many times and how many ways he invented similar combinations of *folklore imaginaire* in his original compositions. The deeper we study the constituents of his style in so-called original compositions the more we recognize that it was no exaggeration when in the famous 1937 interview with Denijs Dille Bartók stated: 'The melodic world of my string quartets does not really differ from that of folk songs: it is only their setting that is stricter'.¹⁶

3.

Bartók's quasi-religious belief in and excitement about everything that was natural, that was connected with Nature is a well-documented fact. Beyond his private interest in botany and entomology, his lifelong longing for big mountains and unspoiled

14 In several of my earlier studies I detected and described what we would call the narrative of a piece today, see e.g. the analysis of 'The Night's Music', 'The Chase', and 'Musettes' from *Out Doors* in László Somfai, 'Analytical Notes on Bartók's Piano Year 1926', *Studia Musicologica*, 26 (1984), 5-17, 25-30; about Sonata for Violin and Piano No. 2, and Movement III of the Piano Sonata in László Somfai, 'Einfall, Konzept, Komposition und Revision bei Béla Bartók', in Hermann Danuser and Günter Katzenberger (eds.), *Vom Einfall zum Kunstwerk: Der Kompositionsprozeß in der Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber, 1993), 191-97, 203-9; about the (2.) Violin Concerto in 'Invention, Form, Narrative in Béla Bartók's Music', *Studia Musicologica*, 44/3-4 (2003), 291-303.

15 Bartók, *Essays*, 29-32.

16 An edited French version, authorized by Dille, cf. Denijs Dille, *Béla Bartók. Regard sur le passé*, ed. Yves Lenoir (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1990), 27-29.

forests, rural music as he discovered it was an exquisite form: ‘Peasant music, in the strict sense of the word, must be regarded as a natural phenomenon.’¹⁷

The topic of Nature/natural was so central in Bartók’s own writings and has already been discussed in such a detail in the Bartók literature that nothing need to be added. Except perhaps a still less detected aspect: the natural way in composition in Bartók’s workshop and the natural growth and natural shape of his compositions. Here I am not referring to so-called proportions of the Nature (Golden section or Fibonacci series proportions) in the length of Bartók’s scores as analyzed by Ernő Lendvai and others.¹⁸ A close study of all of Bartók’s manuscripts and papers, with special attention to inserted or deleted sections and corrected lengths in his drafts prove that he never calculated proportions in advance.¹⁹ The best that manuscripts can evidence is that Bartók improved several progressions by changing the length not because he made a mistake with the exact numbers but because when he played the piece on piano for checking its effect certain sections did not work well.

His ‘natural way’ in composition was not at all a twentieth-century type workshop activity. Bartók did not work regularly as a composer, but rather in intensive, short bursts. Even if he was thinking about the planned work for a longer time, he so to speak waited for inspiration. For him composition meant creation; he intended to maintain the feeling of natural instinct and directness. He did not want to know how he happened to do it last time – no wonder that Bartók declined to teach composition on a regular basis. As a true pianist, he developed many of his new ideas at the instrument up to the point where he was sure about the quality of the new piece and a continuity draft could be put down on manuscript paper at the desk. The continuation of the composition, as he once admitted in an interview, happened between the piano and the desk.²⁰

For Bartók no compositional plan was good enough if the piece failed to impress the audience in the concert hall. Without hesitation he discarded already written movements or sections of the composition that in fact were crucial for the complex plan of a new work if they failed to satisfy him (I refer to the well-known cases of the discarded Slovak-style movement of *Dance Suite* or the discarded big bagpipe episode in the finale of the Piano Sonata).²¹ Naturalness, inspired simplicity were values for Bartók above all. In 1938, responding to a circular of a Belgian music journal that asked leading composers about their methods he stated: ‘inspired simplicity, the spontaneous expression of Genius is sometimes more complicated than a mechanical creation.’²²

17 Béla Bartók, ‘The Relation of Folk Songs to the Development of the Art Music of Our Time’ (1921), in Bartók, *Essays*, 321.

18 See specifically Ernő Lendvai’s first book, *Bartók stílusa* (Bartók’s style) (Budapest, 1955).

19 Cf. Somfai, *Béla Bartók. Composition*, 80-82.

20 About Bartók’s compositional method cf. László Somfai, ‘In his “Compositional Workshop”’, in Malcolm Gillies (ed.), *The Bartók Companion* (London, 1993), 30-50.

21 Cf. Somfai, *Béla Bartók. Composition*, 17-18, and László Somfai, ‘The Influence of Peasant Music on the Finale of Bartók’s Piano Sonata’, in Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (eds.), *Studies in Musical Sources and Styles: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue* (Madison, Wis., 1990), 535-54.

22 Bartók, *Essays*, 516.

4.

Finally with two short case studies I intend to show the depth and intricacy inspired by ideas of folk music and national identity in Bartók's music.

The compositional strategy of the Second Sonata for Violin and Piano written in 1922, a year after the First Sonata, involved several predetermined decisions that I will outline although I must add that Bartók himself did not make a statement about these plans at all.

Intentionally as an improved version of the relatively long fast–slow–fast three-movement form of the First Violin Sonata, in the Second Sonata Bartók looked for a more compact, more coherent two-movement structure, yet not simply a slow-and-fast rhapsody but an attacca form built on conspicuously opposite features like

- Improvisation-like themes vs. dance-like themes;
- Individual world vs. the feeling of community (ego vs. being with the peasants);
- Mourning vs. joy, but with recollections of the mourning;
- Slow vs. fast, but ending with a slow apotheosis.

The influence of instrumental peasant music phenomena, here primarily of Rumanian origin, is astonishingly rich from abstract to realistic features and include such common practices like the fiddler's imitation of bagpipe music (in the development section of the sonata-form second movement).

The mutual basis for the two contrasting movements was the common pitch collection, *heptatonia secunda* (frequent in Rumanian folk music) with polymodal coloration (Ex. 1). Already in the sketches, written on two opposite pages of the *Black Pocket-book*,²³ the opening violin themes of both movements were based on this pitch collection. By the way, more than in the First Sonata, contrasting roles were designated to the two instruments: as an opposition to the melody instrument, the piano characteristically moves in mirror-motion linear or chordal progressions.



Example 1. Sonata for Violin and Piano No. 2, pitch collection.

23 László Somfai (ed.), *Bartók Béla fekete zsebkönyve. Vázlatok 1907–1922 / Béla Bartók, Black Pocket-book. Sketches 1907–1922* (Budapest, 1987).

As to the special slow–fast concept of the form, Bartók picked up a Rumanian peasant music phenomenon, the only ‘programmatically’ piece in folk music (his word) that he knew, the two-part ‘When the shepherd lost his sheep’ – ‘When the shepherd found his [lost] sheep’, inspired by the most tragic event of a shepherd’s life. In folk music the slow piece was always a variant of the so-called *hora lungă* or *cântec lung* (‘the long melody’). The *hora lungă* phenomenon fascinated Bartók ever since in 1912 he discovered this kind of highly ornamented, oriental, improvisation-like melody. He heard a similar melody in Central Algeria, later knew that the phenomenon was known in Ukraine, Iraq, and Persia. He thought that in *hora lungă* he actually discovered a form of *Urmusik* in the world’s folk music.

The opening violin theme of the Second Sonata in fact is a Bartók composition of an improvisation-like quasi *hora lungă* (Ex. 2a). Typical is the additional strategy: at the end of the first movement the theme returns in a higher-level form, as a ‘motivic’ material, and on the last page of the Sonata the same thematic material is crystallized as a quasi strophic form (Ex. 2b), as if Bartók had decided to recreate or mirror the evolution of folk music in his Second Sonata in miniature, from the improvisation-like *Urform* to the developed stanza formation. It is, however, significant that the Second Sonata does not end with the fortissimo Dionysian incantation of the stanza. The tempo gradually slows and the robust dynamic calms down to make way for the Apollonian end, a C major conclusion, a pianissimo apotheosis. Bartók is alone again.

a) *Molto moderato*, ♩ = 116
p *mf* *p* *mf*

b) *un poco meno mosso, quasi subito*, ♩ = 112
ff

Example 2. Sonata for Violin and Piano No. 2; a) opening theme; b) the quasi strophic form at the end of the Sonata.

The concept of the First Movement of Bartók’s Second Piano Concerto, written in 1930–31 is no less bold. In this *Allegro* opening movement Bartók combined the sonata form, the rondo principle, and the systematic transformation of his themes not as a neoclassical tour de force, as we would think after the first bars. He used all of these means to conduct his listener from the objective outside world into his innermost subjective world, from the contemporary musical vocabulary to a personal idiom.

To get a fresh look on a well-known score, we visit some of the themes (to recognize their connotations) and inspect some of the thematic transformations (to understand their semantics). The primary theme complex (Ex. 3) includes three subjects: there is a trumpet signal 'motto', a nicely disguised borrowing from Stravinsky (the first six notes quote from the very slow-motion finale theme of the *Firebird*, a Russian folksong as Bartók believed), followed by a 21-measure-long piano primary theme (with *Petroushka* texture; its form was inspired by the stanza structure of new-style Hungarian folksongs, but in rhythm and style it is not Hungarian at all), and a woodwind countersubject. The interaction between these three themes is intricate: inversion, modal variation, *per arsin et thesin*-type rhythmic variation, etc., occur.

The image shows three staves of music. The top staff is labeled 'counterpoint (woodwinds)' and 'C', with a dynamic marking of *f*. The middle staff is labeled 'motto theme (brass)' and 'M', with a dynamic marking of *f*. The bottom staff is labeled 'primary theme (piano)' and 'P', with a dynamic marking of *f*. Arrows and lines connect the three staves, indicating relationships between the themes. A specific six-note phrase in the motto theme is circled and labeled 'Stravinsky'. The primary theme has several notes marked with accents (^).

Example 3. Piano Concerto No. 2, primary theme complex.

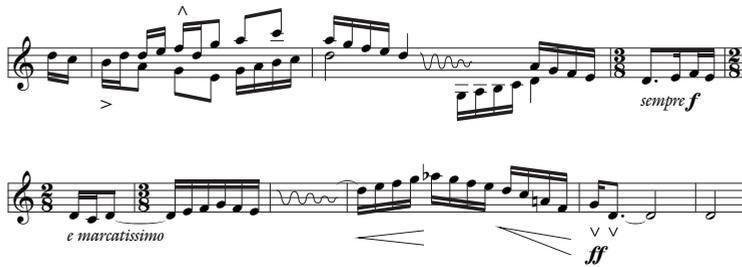
Bartók's strategy for the sonata-form recapitulation was that the themes return in the original sequence but in inversion – with significant irregularities. The primary theme of the piano returns in fragmentary form only. Why? Because, according to Bartók's musical taste (here the ethnomusicologist rules), the arch-form melodic contour of the Hungarian folksong-like stanza is not suited to inversion, it would ridicule the character.

The Stravinsky-quotation short trumpet motto offered Bartók more than two shapes (Ex. 4). One of his inspirations was the discovery that the otherwise so neutral, emphatically non-Hungarian motive, turning into retrograde inversion creates a warm, pathetic Hungarian phrase with the emblematic dotted-rhythm cadence. So

The image shows four staves of music arranged in a 2x2 grid. The top-left staff is labeled 'O' and shows the original motto. The top-right staff is labeled 'R' and shows the motto in retrograde. The bottom-left staff is labeled 'I' and shows the motto in inversion. The bottom-right staff is labeled 'RI' and shows the motto in retrograde inversion, with the text 'Hungarian-style form' written below it. The RI staff has two notes marked with accents (^).

Example 4. Versions of the trumpet motto.

Bartók created a well-planned schedule. The inversion, with polymodal coloration, was used in the re-transition to the recapitulation; the Hungarian retrograde inversion made a transition to the solo cadenza. The retrograde shape on the other hand was useless, because the combination of this melodic curve with the Hungarian closing rhythm made no sense for Bartók. He returned to the original and inversion in the cadenza, then in the coda Bartók presented original and inversion shapes in character variations, in *stretto* leading to a brass melody, a triumphantly singing Hungarian-style conclusion theme (Ex. 5).



Example 5. Themes in the second part of the first movement of the Second Piano Concerto.

Considering the overall form, the sonata-form structure was ingeniously combined with a rondo-like super-structure with fascinating self-liquidation of both concepts by the end of the movement. From the Hungarian climax of the movement, i.e. the retrograde inversion of the motto onwards, the form is self-destructive.²⁴ The pianist — of course with Béla Bartók at the keyboard — in the cadenza takes away the brass theme; the coda brings a happy reunion with different characters of the motto theme. Avant-garde as well as neoclassical features gradually fade; the rigor of the beginning of the movement has vanished; the traditional construction, the classical form may be ruined but the listener arrives in a humane musical world. In the coda unmistakably a Hungarian master speaks who, however, is not a nationalist composer in the common sense of the word.

I will sum up my interpretation of the question nationalism and Bartók with a seeming *contradictio*. Béla Bartók did not intend to write progressive world music or to create any kind of international musical language, rather his ideal was to build up a great Hungarian national art. But he did not identify himself with nationalism in general, only if it was the outcome of a great creative talent's inspired work.

24. See in detail in László Somfai, 'Classicism as Bartók conceptualized it in his classical period, 1926-1937', in Hermann Danuser (ed.), *Die klassizistische Moderne in der Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Winterthur, 1997), 123-41, esp. 136-41.

SUMMARY

Béla Bartók did not intend to write progressive world music or to create any kind of international musical language rather his ideal was to build up a great Hungarian national art, a 'comprehensive art'. He did not identify himself with nationalism in general; national idiom as a principle, without the manifestation of a genius, was no value for him. In contrast to the typical national composer with a passionate interest in the music or folk music of his homeland, Bartók had a multi-ethnic background (Hungarian, Rumanian, Slovak, Ruthenian, and Arab rural music).

Folk-music arrangements of different kinds make up a substantial part of the *oeuvre*, but the creation of *folklore imaginaire* (Bartók's expression) interested him even more. Two short case studies detect compositional strategies in original compositions connected with indirect folk-music influences. In the two-movement structure of the Second Sonata for Violin and Piano (1922), without quoting folk music, with the variant forms of the opening theme Bartók recreated the evolution of folk music in miniature, from a Rumanian *horă lungă*-like improvisational concept to the developed stanza formation. In the overall sonata form of the First Movement of the Second Piano Concerto (1930/31) the trumpet motto, an emphatically non-Hungarian motive theme (the first notes were borrowed from Stravinsky's *Firebird*) plays a crucial role: in retrograde inversion it creates a warm, pathetic Hungarian climax.

Bartók and the German Music Tradition

– Heritage and Impact

SIMONE HOHMAIER

Though a lot has been written so far on the question of German music, it still remains unclear what exactly we have to understand as ‘the German’ in music. Further: Musical nationalism in general still seems to be a quite nebulous thing. Therefore a few considerations about nationalism in music and the notion of German music seem to be appropriate for the beginning. In the following, I will give a short review of the most convincing concepts of national music on the whole and German music in particular. Then I will highlight Bartók’s early contact with German music during his musical upbringing and how those German composers were reflected in his compositions, who were understood as paradigmatic representatives of what is claimed to be ‘the German’ in music. In addition, I will consider Bartók’s own understanding of German music as it can be deduced from his writings. The second part of this article will deal with Bartók’s impact on the German musical scene after World War II, where the question of what exactly constitutes ‘Germanness’ in music becomes even more difficult to answer.

Among the numerous answers to the question of nationalism in music,¹ Carl Dahlhaus’ contribution seems to be the most fundamental.² Dahlhaus firmly distinguished between national styles in music and musical nationalism. In his opinion, ‘nationalism as the conviction of the effective and productive power of the “Volksgeist” (the people’s spirit) is an idea whose way of existence and whose function will be missed if one identifies it directly with the phenomenon of national styles,³ that is if one wants to put it behind bars by a description of concrete musical features. While national styles are to be found in polyphonic music from the thirteenth century on, nationalism has only in the nineteenth century become the ruling way of thinking and structure of feeling. The last two expressions – musical nationalism as a ‘way of thinking’ and ‘a structure of feeling’ – already point to Dahlhaus’ conviction that musical nationalism cannot be tied to specific musical structures. Instead, ‘the national meaning or colouring of a musical phenomenon is mainly a matter of opinion and

¹ See among others Harry White and Michael Murphy (eds.), *Musical Constructions of Nationalism* (Cork, 2001); Tomi Mäkelä (ed.), *Music and Nationalism in 20th-Century Great Britain and Finland* (Hamburg, 1997); and Helga de la Motte-Haber (ed.), *Nationaler Stil und europäische Dimension in der Musik der Jahrhundertwende* (Darmstadt, 1991).

² Carl Dahlhaus, ‘Die Idee des Nationalismus in der Musik’, in *Gesammelte Schriften in 10 Bänden*, ed. Hermann Danuser, vi: 19. *Jahrhundert III* (Laaber, 2003), 474–89. Initially published in Carl Dahlhaus, *Zwischen Romantik und Moderne* (München, 1974).

³ Ibid. 478. All German quotes are translated by Simone Hohmaier except otherwise stated.

agreement, of the way of reception, which nevertheless belongs to “the thing itself”.⁴ The historian has to accept the circumstance that the national character of a piece was intended and believed in by its audience as an aesthetic fact even if a stylistic analysis will give no further insight. On the other hand, in Dahlhaus’ opinion a musical national style ‘cannot be categorized coherently as the epitome of the common properties of all those works produced by a nation’s composers – additionally, musical nationality is in some cases (one might take as prominent examples Liszt or Händel) disputed and it does not need to be identical with the ethnic nationality’.⁵ Dahlhaus uses Hungarian music as an example: As long as the Hungarians felt the gypsy music to be an authentic expression of Hungarianness it *was* authentic Hungarian: ‘The historical error has to be taken at its word as an aesthetic truth, because the national imprinting depends upon a collective decision’⁶ and not upon historical or structural facts and it does not adhere to single factors but to the context in which it is to be found.

Bernd Sponheuer follows Dahlhaus in his opinion that nationalism in music is primarily a category of function and of attribution by people.⁷ In his attempt to extract what was and maybe still is perceived as ‘the typically German’ in music he analyses numerous historical sources to construct two ideal types of ‘Germanness’ in music.

Sponheuer has stated that the everlasting discourse about the German in music was accompanied by ideas and patterns that were generally conceived as similarly – at least from Beethoven to Schoenberg. He extracted two patterns as ideal types in the sense of Max Weber: The first image of the specifically German in music is captured by the terms ‘profundity’, ‘effort’ and ‘thoroughness’. Claiming these qualities as German, all non-German music is thereby excluded. Several opposite concepts refer to these binary fundamental terms, for example the opposition of sensuality and intellect, of melody and harmony, mechanic–organic, civilization–culture etc. In the second ideal type German music is comprehended as universal, a grand synthesis and it matches with Dahlhaus’ observation that the term ‘national school’ secretly stamps the denoted thing as a peripheral phenomenon as compared to the universal German music of which interestingly enough only very seldom has been spoken of as a national school.⁸

The notion of a German special path can be followed up to the eighteenth century, when German thoroughness and solid craftsmanship were contrasted with foreign thoughtlessness and cheap showmanship, and when the paradigm of German instrumental music replaced that of vocal music. But the milestones in the history of defining and establishing Germanness in music were Forkel’s biography of Bach (1802)⁹ with its definition of Bach’s *oeuvre* as an ‘inestimable national

⁴ Ibid. 479.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. 482.

⁷ Bernd Sponheuer, ‘Über das “Deutsche” in der Musik. Versuch einer idealtypischen Rekonstruktion’, in Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler (eds.), *Deutsche Meister – böse Geister? Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik* (Schliengen, 2001), 123–50.

⁸ Dahlhaus, ‘Die Idee des Nationalismus’, 480.

⁹ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802; repr. Kassel, 1999).

legacy' (unschätzbares National-Erbgut)¹⁰ and Franz Brendel's *Geschichte der Musik* (1852)¹¹ with its depiction of the German as a kind of world music in which the different styles are melting together.¹² This view is mirrored in Alban Berg's statement about music, which is 'German and therefore – like no other – universally applicable'.¹³ Even Adorno uses the same dichotomy of terms in 'Die Meisterschaft des Maestro' where he plays Furtwängler off against Toscanini as intellect against technocracy. Regarding Toscanini's recording of Beethoven's first symphony, he claims: 'Either the Italian theatre-bandleader stirs up the orchestra and transfers applause inviting Verdian stretto slightly indiscriminately on the symphonic tradition. Or he obeys, with a drastic lack of taste, a primitive joy of sound, revels in so-called nice passages and enjoys them sensually to the full ...'.¹⁴ And in a sketch for a project on the history of music he suggests that the outline of the project shall concentrate essentially on German and Austrian music according to the fact that real radical movements in music nearly without exception originated in Germany and Austria.¹⁵

Though it is, as Dahlhaus has conceded, not quite clear whether an individual style grows out of the national substance or whether the national stems from a generalizing interpretation of the individual, for the time being there is no other way to deal with Bartók's relation to the German music tradition than to examine his reference to German composers. I will give an overview of Bartók's occupation with Bach who has been regarded as the founder of the age of German music, deeply connected with the quality of profundity and a representative of fugal technique, and of Beethoven as the epitome of the sublime, representing the developed sonata style. A third aspect of a specifically German tradition, the so-called Neudeutsche Schule, a term introduced by Brendel to denote 'the entire post-Beethoven development',¹⁶ will be touched on in respect to Bartók's early years as a composer. In the following, I will treat the issue of Bartók's occupation with the German music tradition by analysing his relation to single composers. I feel authorized to do so according to his own opinion: A genuine and valuable art for Bartók is only imaginable as a national art. But the distinction of characteristic elements in each country for him is

¹⁰ Ibid. p. v.

¹¹ Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik* (6th edn., Leipzig, 1878).

¹² Ibid. 129: 'Während die übrigen Nationen allein ihre gesonderte Individualität ausbildeten und in dieser verharren, war es der Beruf Deutschlands, auf dem Grunde seiner Eigenthümlichkeit sich zu einer weithin schauenden Universalität zu erheben, die Individualität der anderen Völker in sich aufzunehmen und zu einem grossen Ganzen zusammenzufassen. ... Deutschland besitzt nicht bloß eine nationale Tonkunst im engeren Sinne; es hat, die Stile Frankreichs, Italiens mit seiner Eigenthümlichkeit verschmelzend, eine Weltmusik geschaffen, und zunächst dadurch schon den Gipfel der gesammten musikalischen Entwicklung erstiegen.'

¹³ Alban Berg in a letter to Joseph Haas, 17 May 1933, in Rosemary Hilmar and Günter Brosche (eds.), *Alban Berg 1885-1935* (Ausstellung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 1985; Wien, 1985), 188.

¹⁴ Theodor W. Adorno, 'Die Meisterschaft des Maestro', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, xvi: *Musikalische Schriften I-III* (2nd edn., Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 52-67, here 58.

¹⁵ Theodor W. Adorno, 'Die Geschichte der deutschen Musik von 1908 bis 1933', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, xix: *Musikalische Schriften VI* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), 620-29.

¹⁶ Franz Brendel, 'Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 50 (1859), 265-73.

solely possible if the creative power of a true artistic personality is revealed spontaneously in the single works of art.¹⁷ Thus, even if nationalism in music cannot be understood as the total amount of individual styles in a country, there is still currently no other way to deal with it than to examine individual but paradigmatic composers.

It is a well-known fact that both Bartók's family and cultural background were partly German. His mother was of German birth and spoke German, and especially in his musical upbringing the German classics played – besides the early contact with gypsy music – an outstanding role as can be seen in Dille's description of Bartók's early musical experience.¹⁸ His teacher Koessler and his model Ernő Dohnányi were following the tradition of Brahms. One of the first outbursts of Hungarian national feelings of the young Bartók can be found in his early letters which contain complaints about the use of the German language, and his discomfort with the predominance of German culture in Budapest's musical life was one reason for his sharp turn in 1903 towards chauvinist nationalism. However, for the musical expression of his nationalist feelings in the symphonic poem *Kossuth* he turned to the German Richard Strauss as a model.¹⁹ But because of the fact that in Hungary the symphonic poem was regarded as less characteristically German than the symphony itself the critics hailed to *Kossuth* as an expression of genuine Hungarianness. The composition was contrasted with the music of Dohnányi, as a critic of the *Budapesti Hírlap* wrote: '... Dohnányi proceeds in the footsteps and forms of the German masters Beethoven and Brahms, in these he produces perhaps a more refined and mature art, but [Bartók] creates form according to Hungarian feeling: wild luxuriant, rhapsodic, not so sober and symmetrical that it requires the rules of the German symphony'.²⁰ *Kossuth* is thus an example for quite a complex situation: On the level of programmatic structure and on a purely musical level – especially in respect of the handling of motives and instrumentation – it is standing in a German tradition while content and meaning of its program are national Hungarian. How deep the impact of Strauss on Bartók was might be observed in the many activities Bartók developed around Strauss' music in 1902-4. To cite only a few, he wrote a piano transcription of *Ein Heldenleben* and a version for violin of *Don Quichote*, he analysed the *Symphonia Domestica* and gave performances of Strauss' music.²¹

¹⁷ Béla Bartók, 'Staat und Kunst' (1934), *Arion*, 13 (1982), 104-6. See also László Somfai's article in the present volume of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*.

¹⁸ Denis Dille, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Jugendwerke Béla Bartóks 1890-1904* (Kassel, 1974).

¹⁹ Cf. Roswitha Schlöterer-Trainer, 'Béla Bartók und die Tondichtungen von Richard Strauss', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 36/5 (1981), 311-18.

²⁰ Quoted according to David E. Schneider, 'Hungarian Nationalism and the Reception of Bartók's Music, 1904-1940', in Amanda Bayley (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bartók* (Cambridge, 2001) 177-87, here 179.

²¹ On Bartók's occupation with Strauss see Ingeborg Pechotsch-Feichtinger, 'Am Samstag gehe ich zu Frau Gruber mit dem "Heldenleben": Der Beginn der Auseinandersetzung mit den Werken von Richard Strauss in Ungarn durch Béla Bartók unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Opernerstaufführungen in Budapest', in Josef Gmeiner (ed.), *Musica conservata. For Gunter Brosche on his 60th birthday* (Tutzing, 1999), 295-311.

In contrast with Bartók's only temporal occupation with Strauss' music which began like a 'lightening strike' while he was attending a performance of *Also sprach Zarathustra* and ended the latest with the first performance of *Elektra* in Budapest in 1910, the composer's occupation with the music of Bach can be said to have lasted a whole life. Even in his youth Bartók has studied Bach more thoroughly than other composers, his Bach activities range from editing the *Well-tempered Piano* in which he reordered the pieces according to technical difficulty or another edition of thirteen pieces from *Anna Magdalenas Notenbüchlein* over performances of Bach's compositions at the piano to obvious quotation, examples of which are well known. To cite only the most prominent one: In *Bluebeard's Castle* we find besides BACH-formulas a quotation of the *Matthäus Passion* at the climax of the opera.²²

Also in his writings Bartók conferred to Bach, but more important seems to be the productive reception of Bach's compositional technique, which can easily be observed on a more simple level in the *Hommage à J.S.B.*, No. 79 of Bartók's *Mikrokosmos* and in respect of hidden polyphony in his *Sonata for Violin solo* from 1944. Bartók's contrapuntal style was influenced by the study of Bach's scores, of which the fugue from the *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta* (1936) is an impressive example. According to Serge Moreux, Bartók thought of himself to be initiated into the high sense of counterpoint by Bach.²³

György Kurtág's famous sentence about his relationship to Bartók is telling in respect to the reception of Bartók by contemporary composers. 'My mother tongue is Bartók and Bartók's mother tongue was ...' – 'the Hungarian peasant music' one would expect as the natural continuation. Surprisingly enough, instead it reads 'and Bartók's mother tongue was Beethoven'.²⁴ Kurtág thus places Bartók in a line with German tradition. I will return to this conspicuous pattern of Bartók-reception later. A few hints on Bartók's productive reception of Beethoven's work might suffice, it is a subject already dealt with in several papers.²⁵ In a famous quotation given by Edmund von der Nüll, Bartók claimed that in his youth his ideal of beauty was rather Beethoven than Bach – the beginning of a lifelong friendship.²⁶

As with Bach, Bartók's productive reception of Beethoven's music can be followed on different levels. For the Hungarian editors Rozsnyai and Rózsavölgyi he

²² See László Somfai, 'Bartók's Transcriptions of J.S. Bach', in Annegrit Laubenthal (ed.), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher* (Kassel, 1995), 689-96; Wolf Frobenius, 'Bartók und Bach', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 41/1 (1984), 54-67; János Breuer, 'Bach und Bartók', in F. Werner (ed.), *Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum III. Internationalen Bach-Fest der DDR* (Leipzig, 1977), 307-13.

²³ Serge Moreux, *Béla Bartók, Leben – Werk – Stil* (2nd edn., Zürich, 1952), 14.

²⁴ Quoted according to Hartmut Lück, 'Künstlerische Evidenz durch unbedingte Subjektivität', in *Komponistenportrait György Kurtág, Programmbroschüre der Berliner Festwochen 1988*, ed. Berliner Festspiele (Berlin, 1988), 9.

²⁵ Among others: Mark Radice, 'Bartók's Parodies of Beethoven: The Relationship Between op. 131, 132, and 133 and Bartók's Sixth String Quartet and Third Piano Concerto', *The Music Review*, 42/3-4 (1981), 252-60; John A. Meyer, 'Beethoven and Bartók: a Structural Parallel', *The Music Review*, 31/4 (1970), 315-21.

²⁶ Edmund von der Nüll, *Béla Bartók. Ein Beitrag zur Morphologie der neuen Musik* (Halle a. d. Saale, 1930), 88.

worked out revisions e.g. of Beethoven's *Bagatellen* op. 33 and op. 119, of the *Variations in F-Major* op. 34 and of several sonatas for piano. Beethoven's compositions of course were also a part of his piano repertoire, as is the case with Bach, even a few recordings have survived.²⁷ Regarding his own compositions, one reference is especially famous: In the second movement of his late Third Piano Concerto Bartók points with the *Adagio religioso* to Beethoven's 'Heiliger Dankgesang eines Genesenen' from the string quartet op. 132 by taking over the central motive, its working out and the formal construction by contrasting choral-like homophonic passages with imitative ones. More extensive is Bartók's adoption of Beethoven's principles of composition in his string quartets. Ludwig Finscher has stated that in Bartók's quartets 'a sixfold examination of Beethoven's last string quartets has taken shape': a Beethovenian formal and textural esotericism in conjunction with folk music models.²⁸

For Bartók's classification by later composers in one line with a German tradition of at least two Bs (Bach and Beethoven), another idea seems even more important than technical devices. Already Franz Brendel has stated in his *Geschichte der Musik* that German music achieved its hegemony with Beethoven because of this composer's return to the spirit ('Rückwendung zum Geist'). According to him, Beethoven was filled with a striving for freedom understood as the highest aim of humanity.²⁹ Bartók himself has been considered as a model exactly because of his personification of a *musica humana* in an ethical sense.

As can be drawn from his writings, Bartók's own idea of Germanness in music is not very original. For Bartók, too, a national character in music is not so much determined by structural or technical means but by the *spirit* of the compositions. In some of his remarks, the well-known binary stereotypes reappear. In the 'Harvard Lectures', Bartók reports of some young Hungarian composers (speaking of himself) who 'eagerly studied the classics first in order to acquire the necessary technique in composition. The German Romantic styles of the nineteenth century, however, were not very well suited to their feelings and purposes. Especially Wagner's music was too heavy in its structure, too German in its spirit for them. ... Much more impulse could be drawn from Liszt's original works, whose transparency was absolute non-German and then, of course, from French Impressionistic music'.³⁰ German heavy structures are contrasted with French transparency, and Brahms was too German in character, too. In a paper about Liszt's music, the pattern is repeated: 'One can say anything of it [Liszt's music] rather than that it is German. His art is the antithesis of *the excessive density and laboriousness* so characteristic of the works of the outstanding German composers of the nineteenth century; it is rather the *clarity and transparency* of French music that manifests itself in every measure of Liszt's works'.³¹ Bartók

²⁷ Bartók – *Recordings from Private Collections*, Hungaroton HCD 12334-37 (1995).

²⁸ Ludwig Finscher, 'Streichquartett', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn., Sachteil viii (Kassel, 1998), 1966.

²⁹ Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik*, 303-4.

³⁰ Béla Bartók, 'Harvard Lectures', in Béla Bartók, *Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London, 1976), 362.

³¹ Béla Bartók, 'Liszt Problems (1936)', in Bartók, *Essays*, 509; my italics.

conceived Hungarian music as a contradiction to German music. Wagnerian spirit for him was the ‘absolute antithesis of anything that could be conceived as Hungarianism in music.’³² And to quote another passage: ‘From the political and cultural viewpoint Hungary for four centuries has suffered the proximity of Germany’; ‘the absolute hegemony of German music prevailed for three centuries, until the end of the nineteenth century. It was then that a turn occurred: Debussy appeared and, from that time on, the hegemony of France was substituted for that of Germany.’³³ With respect of the ‘staff’ with which Bartók equips German music apart from Bach and Beethoven, he names Mozart in his question: ‘Who will stop the decline of the nation of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven? Schoenberg? He is still a puzzle’.³⁴ While doing so he follows the same line as Schoenberg himself in his article ‘National Music’ (1931),³⁵ where this composer links his own work to Bach, Mozart and Beethoven and adds to Bartók’s list only Wagner and Brahms. For Bartók, Schoenberg is a representative of German music, too, prolonging German hegemony in musical progress: ‘Before the war the Germans were on the forefront of the movement with Schoenberg, the expressionist. But after the war it was as if German music had stagnated’.³⁶

To sum up, in Bartók’s writings the notion of German music is connected with several characteristics well known from the history of the term itself and is something that had to be overcome by Hungarian music. Nevertheless, he relentlessly tied his own work back to at least two composers who were a prominent part of that German music tradition.

If there is any kind of national tradition in post-war twentieth-century music at all, it is much more difficult to determine such national trends. Of course there has been for example a Second Viennese School before the war or a New York School, but such regional characteristics, obviously more bound to cities or metropolises than to a broader national character, soon vanished with the internationalization of the new music scene and the festival culture. The Darmstadt International courses for new music and their more and more international attendants are a famous example.³⁷

Concerning the international post-war reception of Bartók’s music by composers, several general trends can be identified. Composers understood Bartók’s music as an alternative to the dominant dodecaphonic trend, they used his polymodal chromaticism as a structural model, they were indebted to Bartók’s string quartet style and followed his usage of folk music as well as they were inspired by the attention he

³² Béla Bartók, ‘Harvard Lectures’, in Bartók, *Essays*, 362.

³³ Béla Bartók, ‘The Influence of Debussy and Ravel in Hungary’, in Bartók, *Essays*, 518.

³⁴ According to Aladár Tóth, ‘Bartók külföldi útja’ (Bartók’s Foreign Tour), *Nyugat*, 15/12 (June 1922), 830–33, transl. by David E. Schneider and Klára Moricz, in Peter Laki, *Bartók and His World* (Princeton, 1995), 287.

³⁵ Arnold Schönberg, ‘Nationale Musik’, in *Stil und Gedanke*, ed. Ivan Vojtech (Frankfurt, 1976), 250–54. See also Constantin Floros, ‘Die Wiener Schule und das Problem der deutschen Musik’, in Otto Kolleritsch (ed.), *Die Wiener Schule und das Hakenkreuz* (Wien, 1990), 35–50.

³⁶ Interview with Dezső Kosztolányi, *Pesti Hírlap*, 31 May 1925.

³⁷ Cf. Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser (eds.), *Im Zenit der Moderne, Die Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946–1966* (Freiburg, 1997).

gave to pedagogical music.³⁸ Lots of German composers were their equals in almost every way. Still, some developments seem to be characteristic for the German musical scene. In the following, I will by and large concentrate on West Germany and exclude East Germany, where Bartók's folk-song arrangements were among others a model for musical realism.³⁹

While Bartók's importance in the national concert repertoire grew steadily, his impact on Western German avant-garde composers decreased. For the special way the Western German musical scene has developed in respect to the reception of Bartók's music political or ethical reasons might be relevant, too. Dodecaphonic composition was apparently the only tradition in 'serious' music that had not been used by the Nazis for propaganda; on the other hand, the propagandists of the Third Reich had misused folk music to such a degree that Bartók's reference to folk music might have been somehow suspicious. As Gesa Kordes has shown,⁴⁰ postwar composers rejected any association with the music of Germany's past, which in their opinion had allowed itself to be abused for exaggerated nationalist aims. Cutting off all relationships with the music from the nineteenth century on, they attended to the Viennese School. Bartók – as situated by Adorno between the extremes represented by Schoenberg and Stravinsky and as an 'extraterritorial'⁴¹ – soon became a classic. After being accused of compromise by the French René Leibowitz and Pierre Boulez⁴² who both had an impressive influence on the German scene, Bartók lost any significance for avant-garde composition: In 1963, Wolfgang Fortner could state that Bartók was a great composer of the recent past. His work has its place in history, but it has no answers to the fervent questions of contemporary music.⁴³

On the other hand, few composers who participated in the Western German avant-garde scene like Herbert Eimert found in Bartók's music – with its focus on new sounds embedded in older forms – a vibrant renewal of the German symphonic tradition.⁴⁴ And mentioning Bartók's affinity with German traditions, the critic Kurt Zimmerreimer emphasized that Bartók's music was one of the most fruitful models for new German music to follow: 'What Bartók can teach us, is the precise filling out of the smallest form with all its possibilities, the equal attention to home, school, and concert, and finally the synthesis of openness and conscience, that were once a part of the German tradition.'⁴⁵

³⁸ See Simone Hohmaier, *Ein zweiter Pfad der Tradition – Kompositorische Bartók-Rezeption* (Saarbrücken, 2003).

³⁹ See for example Hanns Eisler, 'Über das Volkslied', in id., *Materialien zu einer Dialektik der Musik*, ed. Manfred Grabs (Berlin, 1987), 248–50.

⁴⁰ Gesa Kordes, 'Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search for a New Musical Identity', in Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, 2002), 205–17.

⁴¹ Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (Frankfurt am Main, 1975), 41.

⁴² René Leibowitz, 'Béla Bartók ou la possibilité du compromis dans la musique contemporaine', *Les temps modernes*, 1947, 705f.; Pierre Boulez, 'Bartók Béla', in id., *Anhaltspunkte* (Kassel, 1979), 133–40.

⁴³ Wolfgang Fortner, quoted from Hans Vogt, *Neue Musik seit 1945* (Stuttgart, 1972), 73.

⁴⁴ See Danielle Fosler-Lussier, 'Bartók-Reception in Cold War Europe', in Amanda Bayley (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bartók* (Cambridge, 2001), 202–14.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 205.

The demanded equal attention to home, school, and concert seems to be a key to the understanding of the most obvious patterns in the Western German reception of Bartók's music, which is – with exceptions – a phenomenon not so much of the peak of the avant-garde or of composers belonging to the canon of contemporary music, but more of composers less prominent.

A characteristic trend both in number and quality is the reference to Bartók's pedagogical music, especially to the *Mikrokosmos*. While two of the most prominent Hungarian composers, Sándor Veress and György Kurtág have taken Bartók as a model for their own collection of easy pieces for the piano,⁴⁶ and while Bernd Alois Zimmermann's piano collection *Enchiridion* (1949–52) also clearly refers to Bartók's, several other German composers have taken parts of the *Mikrokosmos* as a starting point for other instrumental compositions. Works of Walter Steffens, Reinhard Pfundt, Fritz Gerhardt or of the Austrian Peter Suitner⁴⁷ are paradigmatic examples for this kind of productive reception while Rainer Kuismas *Hommage à Béla Bartók* for percussion (1990) takes a non-pedagogical work of Bartók (the *Sonata for two pianos and percussion*) as a starting point for a percussion study.

That Bartók attracted contemporary composers of the German *Kulturkreis* in its widest sense in respect to his folk music research is a real exception, though one case is especially interesting. For the Swiss composer Klaus Huber, who has studied with Stefi Geyer and has become acquainted with Bartók's compositions through performances of the Végh Quartet, the string quartets of the middle period have been of special relevance – an opinion, which is not surprising and very common in avant-garde circles (just recall the appraisal of these compositions even in the writings of Leibowitz and Boulez). Of his own compositions, Huber picks out two as influenced by Bartók: the *Partita* for Violoncello and cembalo (1954), and the string quartet *Moteti Cantiones* (1962/63, dedicated to Stefi Geyer) in respect of the sound of the quartet. But for him Bartók is most important in respect to the fact that Bartók was not eurocentric; a characteristic, which has become the more important to Huber the older he got. Since the beginning of the 1990s Huber was occupied with Arabian music. In a conversation I had with the composer he explicitly mentioned the exemplary function of Bartók who had argued strictly against the levelling of micro intervals. Bartók, as Huber confessed, felt full respect and love for this kind of music and this is one reason why he is an example for him.⁴⁸

Another instance of the reception of Bartók's utilization of folk music is the East German composer Kurt Schwaen who has occupied himself among others with Vietnamese music. An easy example is his *Bulgarian Dance* for accordion from 1960, where he simply uses Bulgarian rhythm in a quite tonal context. In his *Concertino*

⁴⁶ Sándor Veress, *Fingerlarks* (1947), György Kurtág, *Játékok* (1973f.).

⁴⁷ Fritz C. Gerhard, *Hommage à Béla Bartók* (1986); Reinhard Pfundt, *Bartók-Reflexionen* (1984), Walter Steffens, *Hommage à Béla Bartók, Präludium und Fuge für Klarinette in B und Klavier* op. 5 (1963); Peter Suitner, *Hommage à Bartók* (1984). For further information about these pieces, see Hohmaier, *Ein zweiter Pfad*.

⁴⁸ Interview with the composer, 14 Sept. 1999.

from 1991 – an overt *Hommage à Bartók* – Schwaen pays tribute to a style, which had been adopted by him and by other, mainly Eastern German composers quite often.

Example 1. Kurt Schwaen, *Concertino (Hommage à Bartók)*, 1st movement, bb. 1-8.

Let me now return to an issue only touched on before, to Bartók's reception as a worthy successor to Beethoven. On occasion of his return to Hungary in 1988 for his own second funeral, Bartók has been called an 'uncompromising pure, universalist humanitarian'.⁴⁹ Composers have related this strength of character to Beethoven. Lutoslawski connected Bartók's stylistic novelty to his grandness, which corresponded to the high standard of Beethoven.⁵⁰ For him Bartók was maybe the only composer among his contemporaries who had reached the 'Beethovenian heights of thinking and feeling'.⁵¹ Sándor Veress compares Beethoven and Bartók with respect to a certain human manner: 'In the area of humanity, both were fanatics of truth and human rights. And not only fanatics but most active fighters for their convictions up to the final consequences'.⁵² Veress' view is mirrored in a statement of the German conservative composer Helmut Bornefeld about Bartók: 'Each composer of significant importance – whether he's called Bach or Beethoven or Schoenberg [pay attention to the

⁴⁹ Susanne Gal, 'Bartók's Funeral: Representations of Europe in Hungarian Political Rhetoric', *American Ethnologist*, 28/3 (1991), 442.

⁵⁰ Witold Lutoslawski, *Új irás*, 5 (1965), 89.

⁵¹ Quoted according to Martina Homma, *Witold Lutoslawski* (Köln, 1995), 91-92.

⁵² Sándor Veress, 'Einführung in die Streichquartette von Béla Bartók', in id., *Aufsätze, Vorträge, Briefe*, ed. Andreas Traub (Hofheim, 1998), 63-75, here 68.

linear construction of a German canon] – first has built his freedom (and he is not guilty if this is afterwards capitalized as merchandise). I call my string quartet a “tribute to Béla Bartók” not because of stylistic, but because of moral reasons: Of all masters he gave the brightest example of a “freedom”, which unwavering follows its inner rules without failing to remember the distresses and the rights of his fellow men’.⁵³ Again, Bartók is associated with the worth and dignity of a ‘musica humana’. Of course, Bornefeld’s string quartet *Toccata* refers to Bartók also regarding compositional style.

Especially in the third movement, *Notturmo*, the wan sound is heavily associated with Bartók’s night music and the fifth movement reveals rhythmic and melodic allusions to an East European idiom one often comes across in fast Finali of Bartók’s compositions.

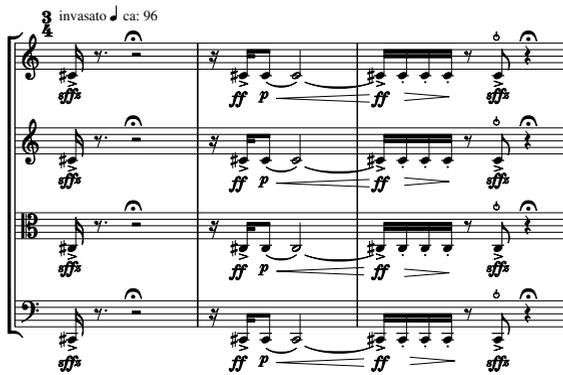
The image displays two systems of musical notation for a string quartet. The upper system consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and features a long, sustained melodic line starting with a *pppp* dynamic and a *v* (accrescendo) hairpin. Above it, the instruction "(am Steg mit wenig Strich, wesenlos - fahl)" is written. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a complex rhythmic pattern of triplets, marked *p pizz.* and *mp*. A similar instruction "(am Steg mit wenig Strich, wesenlos - fahl)" is placed below this staff. The lower system consists of four staves (treble and bass clefs) and is marked "Schnell und kraftvoll (♩ = ca. 100)". It features a driving, rhythmic texture with frequent accents (*v*) and dynamic markings ranging from *sf* to *f*.

Example 2. Helmut Bornefeld, String Quartet ‘Huldigung an Béla Bartók’, 3rd movement, no. 6 and 4th movement, bb. 1-2.

⁵³ Helmut Bornefeld, ‘Huldigung an Béla Bartók’, printed with the score of Bornefeld’s String Quartet (1979), published by the composer.

One last case may illustrate the understanding of Bartók in terms of the binary concepts mentioned at the beginning, however not as belonging exclusively to one of them, but as a synthesis of both sides. The discovery of Bartók's music by the German composer Michael Denhoff, born 1955 in Ahaus, Westphalia, was quite typical for any musician trained with serious music. After first contacts with the *Mikrokosmos*, performances of Bartók's Fifth String Quartet and the *Music for strings, percussion and celesta* followed. The composition *Reflectioni* (hommage à Bartók) from 1972-73 for chamber orchestra reflects the fugal subject of the *Music for strings*. In a text written on the occasion of Bartók's centenary, Denhoff relates this composition to Bach and Beethoven, too.

For Denhoff, the most captivating in Bartók is not only the external impact – his rhythms – but rather the precision in his composing. In the construction of binary terms ascribed to Bartók, Denhoff puts concepts that appeared to be contradicting for centuries and that have been used to distinguish the German in music from the non-German in a nutshell: 'There is no note without a function in the context of the whole. Analysing Bartók, one is attracted by the logical, exactly planned structure of form and harmony. ... In Bartók, two apparently incompatible things are melted together: consideration [German: *Kalkül*] and expression; precision and intensity of feeling'.⁵⁴ In Denhoff's String Quartet op. 55 (1988), he seems to follow this path of the melting of consideration and intensity of feeling. The very expressive first movement is highly constructed and depends on symmetrical structures.



Example 3. Michael Denhoff, Fourth String Quartet op. 55, 1st movement, bb. 1-3.

Besides the rhythmical shape and the brute sound of the whole movement, some technical features of the quartet rely upon Bartók's model: the systematic organization of the form by means of alternating homorhythmic and polyphonic passages, the usage of more or less strict double and inversion canons, the unfolding of a

⁵⁴ Michael Denhoff, 'Was bedeutet mir Bartók?', www.denhoff.de/bartok.htm.

chromatic space in a Bartókian manner and the usage of specific pitch-class sets to create structural coherence, among them the famous Z-cell (pitch class set 4-9), which Bartók often used.⁵⁵ Thus, Denhoff follows Bartók in ‘the logical, exactly planned structure of form and harmony’ as well as in the intense expression of the piece.

SUMMARY

After a short review of concepts about national and German music, which concentrates upon Dahlhaus’ ideas and Sponheuer’s formation of two idealtypes, the article deals with Bartók’s understanding of German music and with the impact of representative German composers like Bach, Beethoven and the so-called ‘Neudeutsche Schule’ on Bartók’s music. In Bartók’s own understanding of German music historically grown ideas, especially the binary stereotypes by Sponheuer reappear, as can be deduced from his writings. Regarding Bartók’s influence on the German musical scene after World War II, the article at first recalls the supposed insignificance of Bartók’s compositional concepts for young German composers of that time and then names several trends to be observed nevertheless: composers pay attention to Bartók’s pedagogical compositions, to his exploitation of folk music and shares the opinion of Bartók as a worthy successor to Beethoven. It presents compositions by Kurt Schwaen, Helmut Bornefeld, and Michael Denhoff, as examples for the diverse field of the productive reception of Bartók’s works on the German contemporary music scene.

⁵⁵ Pitch class set 4-9 is a perfect fourth flanked by tritones, e.g. F[#]-c-f-b. For further information about the Z-cell see Leo Treitler, ‘Harmonic Procedures in the Fourth Quartet of Béla Bartók’, *Journal of Music Theory*, 3 (1959), 292-98; and Elliott Antokoletz, *The Music of Béla Bartók* (Berkeley, 1984). For an introduction into the pitch class set terminology see Allen Forte, *The Structure of Atonal Music* (New Haven and London, 1973).

The Expression of National and Personal Identity in Béla Bartók's Music

LÁSZLÓ VIKÁRIUS

The following article explores the significance of musical, specifically melodic, characteristics of ethnic definition in Béla Bartók's music basing its argument on two sets of closely related examples. Revisiting some of the central themes of his first major work, the *Kossuth Symphony*, musical nationalism will be discussed as manifested in a youthful composition. Although Bartók's overtly political work belongs to the very beginning of his professional career, a period many of whose compositional solutions and the *Kossuth* itself he categorically rejected within a few years, his commitment to ethnic musical characteristics in his music remained central to his thinking. His main achievement lies, obviously, in the varied use of newly discovered indigenous folk material from a number of different sources most notably Romanian and Slovak, apart from the Hungarian, thereby representing multiculturalism at a level unparalleled in the period. Still, there are significant moments where his Hungarian identity seems to prevail. The second part of the article examines 'Hungarian' characteristics in a recurring melody type whose repeated use may have been dictated by its 'national' as much as by its 'personal' and biographical significance.

I. MUSICAL PATRIOTISM

Shortly after the enormously successful performance of the *Dance Suite* (1923) at the Prague Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music in May 1925, Béla Bartók gave an interview to the Hungarian poet and author Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936). During this insightful as well as poetical conversation, Kosztolányi enquired about the first composition Bartók truly considered his own. The composer singled out the *Fourteen Bagatelles* (1908) and the First String Quartet (1908–9). Perhaps unexpectedly for later readers of the interview Kosztolányi proposed an earlier work, the *Kossuth Symphony* (1903), thereby revealing how deeply impressed Bartók's generation was with that youthful work. In response, Bartók made a gesture, his only remark being 'Not that. Its form is not yet mature'.¹ And this is not the only evidence of Bartók's dissatisfaction with this early symphonic poem. When Denijs Dille prepared a list of Bartók's compositions in the late 1930s, the composer expressed once again his discontent by writing the word *rejetée* in French after the typewritten title of the piece.²

1 'Béla Bartók: An Interview by Dezső Kosztolányi', transl. David E. Schneider, in Peter Laki (ed.), *Bartók and His World* (Princeton, 1995), 230.

2 Cf. Denijs Dille, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Jugendwerke Béla Bartóks. 1890–1904* (Budapest, 1974), 148. The page from Dille's list of Bartók's compositions with the composer's annotations is repro-

Bartók's most overtly nationalistic work was undoubtedly his *Kossuth Symphony*, the result of a very specific biographical and historical situation.³ Composed during the height of a political crisis over the use of the Hungarian language in the army, the work addressed the question of the use of a specific Hungarian idiom in music and even included a scene depicting a fateful battle between the Hungarians and the Austrian army. The piece, employing specifically 'Hungarian' themes but otherwise heavily drawing upon Richard Strauss' symphonic poems, the most avant-garde style of the period then known to the twenty-two-year-old composer with a fresh diploma in piano and composition,⁴ might be called a rather naive recounting of the failed 1848-49 uprising whose memory was and still remains particularly cherished in Hungary. With this program, based on a scenario surprisingly closely following Strauss' *Ein Heldenleben*, Bartók substituted a national historical event for his model's individualistic subject matter, a fact that significantly contributed to the work's appeal at its premiere in Budapest in 1904 but helped little to change the considerably cooler response it generated at its second performance under Hans Richter's baton in Manchester in the same year. Following this single performance abroad, Bartók never allowed the work to be performed. Together with the national costume Bartók was wearing even at his concerts during the time of the symphony's composition, and other mannerisms of his short-lived excessive patriotic zeal, the piece was put aside for good.

Opinions have indeed significantly changed as far as the work's merits, especially its significance for the development of a national musical style, are concerned. According to the composer Pongrácz Kacsóh's probably best-known Hungarian review of the premiere, Bartók was not only 'the direct heir to Ferenc Liszt's symphonic talent' and 'the congenial rival to the Germans' Richard Strauss, the French's d'Indy, the Russians' Tchaikovsky' but also 'the first truly Hungarian symphonist'.⁵ In 1946, a year after Bartók's death, however, while pondering on why the work did not prove more successful, Zoltán Kodály stated that '[i]t is tragic that he uttered the appeal of Hungarian

duced in *Archives Béla Bartók de Belgique: Fonds Denijs Dille*, ed. Yves Lenoir (Bruxelles, 2002), pl. xxxi. Bartók's remark was finally not included in Dille's book, where it is only marked as 'Onuitgegeven' (unpublished), see Denijs Dille, *Béla Bartók* (n.p., 1939), 89.

- 3 The most detailed discussion of the work with insightful comments on its cultural and political context appears in Judit Frigyesi, 'Béla Bartók and Hungarian Nationalism: The Development of Bartók's Social and Political Ideas at the Turn of the Century (1899-1903)' (Ph.D. diss.; University of Pennsylvania, 1989), see Part II, 'Bartók, Political Nationalism, and the *Kossuth Symphony* (1903)'. See also Denijs Dille's still basic article, 'Bemerkungen zum Programm der symphonischen Dichtung "Kossuth" und zur Aufführung dieser Komposition', *Documenta Bartókiana*, 1 (1964), 75-104. Most of the first volume of *Documenta Bartókiana* is devoted to the *Kossuth*.
- 4 Frigyesi's characterization of Bartók's endeavour is very much in keeping with the contemporary reception of the piece, see Frigyesi, 'Béla Bartók and Hungarian Nationalism', esp. 121. Reviews of the two performances have been collected and edited by János Demény, 'Zeitgenössische Kritiken über die Erstaufführungen der Kossuth-Symphonie von Béla Bartók', *Documenta Bartókiana*, 1 (1964), 30-62.
- 5 Originally in *Zenevilág* (Music world), 19 Jan. 1903. The translation is borrowed from the unpublished English version of *Béla Bartók (1881-1945): Multimedia CD-ROM*, ed. György Kroó (Budapest, 1995).

independence in the musical language of Germany' – a sharp criticism in itself but an especially bitter remark in the wake of the Second World War.⁶ Bartók himself obviously saw things differently at the time of composition. Writing to his mother about Hans Richter's sympathy for *Kossuth* and its planned performance in Manchester he proudly stated: 'I'm pleased not only for my own sake, but also because a completely *Hungarian* piece of music will be performed in England – Hungarian in its subject, Hungarian in its style, in short, Hungarian in every respect – a piece which glorifies our greatest patriot and gives voice to those very feelings of ours against Austria'.⁷ Clearly, Kodály in hindsight disagreed. Interestingly, however, he vigorously disclaimed any direct relation between music and politics in general and Bartók and politics in particular before giving his final verdict of the piece in his 1946 article.

Party allegiance cannot be expressed in music, but the dynamics of the War of Independence could. So this music signified a clear political stand. Otherwise Bartók never became involved in party politics and would certainly protest energetically against the political propaganda released in his name. It is a pity that the work did not turn out more successfully so that it might be performed today, too; its author considered only the funeral march to be worth printing.⁸

Kodály's 1946 evaluation of the *Kossuth Symphony*, however, differed not only from the composer's original intentions or, for that matter, from Kacsóh's enthusiastic judgement at the premiere, but also from his own earlier publicly voiced opinion. In his first extended article on Bartók written after the First World War for the March 1921 issue of *La Revue Musicale* Kodály told the story of the premiere with characteristically different emphases:

In 1904 the Budapest newspapers reported on an uncommon scandal. At an orchestral rehearsal an Austrian trumpet-player refused to play a parody of the Austrian national anthem as demanded by the score of a new composition. The Anthem *Gott erhalte* (written by Haydn and varied in his *String Quartet* in C major) was in Hungary the hated symbol of Austrian oppression, whereas the new work was Bartók's *Kossuth*, a programme symphony, its theme being the latest heroic effort of Hungary towards independence in 1848. The distorted anthem symbolised the Austrians' flight. (It is a well-known fact that only Russia's intervention turned the war in Austria's favour.) The composer, who wore Hungarian attire, had previously been known as an eminent pianist but now he became famous overnight.⁹

6 Zoltán Kodály, 'Béla Bartók the Man', in *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály* (Budapest, 1974), 99. Kodály might have studied *Kossuth* in 1905, see Bartók to his former piano professor István Thomán, 27 June 1905, *Bartók Béla levelei* (Béla Bartók letters), ed. János Demény (Budapest, 1976), 89: 'What could have happened to "Kossuth"? Did Kodály go and fetch it?'

7 Bartók to his mother, 27 June 1903, in *Bartók Béla Családi levelei* (Béla Bartók family letters), ed. Béla Bartók, Jr., with Adrienne Gombocz (Budapest, 1981), 106-7, English translation quoted from *Bartók Letters. The Musical Mind*, ed. Malcolm Gillies and Adrienne Gombocz, unpublished typescript in the Budapest Bartók Archives.

8 Kodály, 'Béla Bartók the Man', 99.

9 Kodály, 'Béla Bartók', in *Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, 88-89.

After these explanations, Kodály's earlier, certainly more sympathetic evaluation of the piece follows:

Although his work was too original to gain general appreciation it conquered the connoisseurs. It raised the question of national music so often discussed (this was a burning question in France as well), and it held out the promise of a solution in the near future.¹⁰

The parenthetic reference to parallel developments in Hungary and France, not only had a direct appeal to the articles envisaged audience, readers of the then recently founded French musical periodical in general, but it also had a more concealed double message. While it is historically true, and Kodály himself played a very active role in the process, that the French cultural orientation as opposed to the German (traditional for Hungary) was central and liberating for a whole generation of poets, artists and musicians from the later nineteenth century on, the emphasis on Hungary's struggle against Austria militarily in 1848-49 and culturally during the first years of the twentieth century gained new significance in the wake of a World War in which Hungary was considered by the French an enemy nation.

Original or not, the work proved indeed difficult to digest. One of the most sharply criticized parts was section no. 8, the battle scene that included the notorious distorted version of the Austrian anthem. But even this provoked varied reactions at the time. On first hearing the composition, Richter was impressed by the 'Gott erhalte' parody; Bartók quoted him exclaiming 'bravo, grossartig' in his 1903 letter.¹¹ Dohnányi, on the other hand, found that the caricature was not marked enough.¹² In any case, if there is anything that might 'express party allegiance' it is this parody of the 'Gott erhalte' melody carrying the same political message as the composer's preprinted stationary at the time did, which read, in obvious defiance, 'God save the Hungarian people', quoting the first line of the Hungarian national anthem. Even more directly expressing his protest against Austria, Bartók would also draw the following epigraph by hand, 'Down with the Habsburgs!'¹³ The question is, however, whether and to what extent the political content is 'encoded' in the music itself, i.e. whether there is something inherent in it or whether it is rather only the function of a quoted melody (notated by Bartók using actual quotation marks in the score, cf. Ex. 3b) that implies some meaning completely extraneous to the musical material proper.

Following Liszt's and Strauss' tradition, thematic transformation lies in the heart of the *Kossuth*. Whereas the only 'quoted' melody in the piece is the 'Gott erhalte' parody,

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Bartók to his mother, 27 June 1903, *Bartók Béla Családi levelei*, 107.

¹² It is interesting that according to Bartók's letter of 1 Sept. 1903 from Gmunden, Austria, where he studied with Ernő (Ernst von) Dohnányi privately following his graduation from the Music Academy, Dohnányi was less impressed with his parody: 'I played my Kossuth symphony for Dohnányi. He did not say anything positive but he found 1000 and 1 things to object, mainly concerning minor things, i.e. his remarks rather did not touch upon the absolute music. Thus, e.g., according to his view on the use of the "Gotterhalte" is that it does not come out markedly enough, it is not parodied sharply enough, etc.' See *Bartók Béla Családi levelei*, 109.

¹³ Bartók to his mother, 23 Sept. 1903, *Bartók Béla Családi levelei*, 113.

this theme forms part of a complex net of thematic ideas that provide the basis of the entire composition intended to express the sharp opposition between the Hungarians and the Austrians or, for that matter, 'national' and 'foreign' or 'alien'. In his detailed analytical notes first published in *Zeneközlöny* before the Budapest premiere in January 1904 and then also published in English translation in the concert brochure of the Manchester performance on 18 February of the same year, Bartók described the overall program of the piece identifying nine different themes, some of whose variants he also carefully pointed out in a long series of musical examples. It is particularly characteristic of the composition that most of the themes undergo a thorough process of variation and transformation. Thus according to the composer's own analysis the principal theme of the whole work, representing Lajos (Louis) Kossuth himself, appears at least in six different versions: Closely following Strauss' model in *Ein Heldenleben*, this theme opens the piece in a freely developing form (Ex. 1a).¹⁴ In section 3, a significantly more condensed form appears that Bartók does not call a new version (Ex. 1b). '[T]he Kossuth theme slightly altered'¹⁵ is introduced in section 4 (Ex. 1c). Kossuth's resolution to fight in section 6 is expressed with a more angular variant (Ex. 1d). Kossuth's summons in section 7 is yet another character variation of the theme (Ex. 1e) and, finally, the inversion of the theme is employed to express the final catastrophe in section 8 (Ex. 1f).

The image displays six musical examples, labeled (a) through (f), illustrating variations of the Kossuth theme. Example (a) is a treble clef staff with a common time signature, showing a melodic line with two triplet markings. Example (b) is a bass clef staff with a common time signature, showing a more condensed version of the theme. Example (c) is a bass clef staff with a key signature of one flat, showing a slightly altered version with two triplet markings. Example (d) is a bass clef staff with a key signature of three sharps, showing a more angular variant. Example (e) is a bass clef staff with a key signature of three sharps, showing a character variation with multiple triplet markings. Example (f) is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat, showing the inversion of the theme with two triplet markings.

Example 1. Variants and transformations of the Kossuth theme in Bartók's *Kossuth Symphony* (1903).

14 While Bartók's analysis with music examples as published in English in 1902 is printed in Béla Bartók, *Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London, 1976), 399-403, an English translation of the longer Hungarian version is included in the appendix of Frigyesi, 'Béla Bartók and Hungarian Nationalism'.
15 Frigyesi, 'Béla Bartók and Hungarian Nationalism', 272.

According to Bartók's description, a new theme represents the Hungarian heroes.¹⁶ Apart from a third theme¹⁷ with which section 4, 'Better fate than was ours', begins, the 'heroes' theme' is the only important new idea that was intended to give voice to the national spirit. The Hungarian heroes' theme, still according to Bartók's analytical notes, produces again six forms – this time mostly with only slight variation. The initial presentation of the theme in section 7 (Ex. 2a) is quickly followed by a more closed version (Ex. 2b). In the battle scene of section 8, the theme is employed as a contrast to the Austrian army's 'Gott erhalte' parody first in diminution (Ex. 2c) and later in augmentation (Ex. 2d) to express the Hungarians temporarily prevailing over the enemy. Finally, two different forms are introduced in the last two sections. The catastrophe is not only expressed by the inversion of the Kossuth theme but is also reinforced by the employment of the inversion of the heroes' theme (Ex. 2e) and a last, rhythmically altered *Adagio* version is heard in section 9 (Ex. 2f).

(a) 

(b) 

(c) 

(d) 

(e) 

(f) 

Example 2. Variants and transformations of the Hungarian heroes' theme.

16 Music ex. 7a, theme 'no. 6', in Bartók, *Essays*, 402.

17 Music ex. 4, theme 'no. 3', in Bartók, *Essays*, 400.

Both Hungarian 'national' themes contain a number of musical characteristics that were intended to evoke associations of *style hongrois*. These include the dotted rhythm in both of its forms (short–long in the accompaniment, not quoted here, and long–short in the initial as well as the final motives of the Kossuth theme), an allusion to the augmented second between the third and the raised fourth degree of the scale again in the Kossuth theme, and the repeated fourth leap at the beginning of the heroes' theme. More than that, Judit Frigyesi in her detailed discussion of the piece, convincingly pointed out some affinity between the Kossuth theme and a late nineteenth-century 'Kossuth song' composed by Ernő Lányi.¹⁸ While Frigyesi also interprets the more disguised relationships linking the piece's families of themes and motives, she further demonstrates that in the last analysis the heroes' theme itself can be derived from the closing motive of the Kossuth theme.

Bartók's themes expressing Hungarian national character – an individual one in case of Kossuth and a 'collective' one in case of the heroes – were put into sharp relief by the introduction of new, 'alien' themes, most notable among them the 'Gott erhalte' parody itself. Just like the Kossuth and the heroes' theme, the Haydn melody itself became subject to further variation to express different turns of events in the narrative. Apart from comparing it with the first two bars of Haydn's theme (Exx. 3a and 3b), Example 3 shows four further different versions, each appearing in section 8 of the piece, an augmented version parallel of the augmented form of the heroes' theme (Ex. 3c), and perhaps most interestingly, two variants that present the theme set in different scales. Of these two further distorted forms the first (Ex. 3d) employs the characteristic degrees of the melodic minor scale while shifting notes five to seven of the melody one degree up. The last two whole-tone-scale variants are used simultaneously in the primary form and in inversion (Exx. 3e and 3f). It should be noted that while rhythm is leveled out in the original form of the parody, the further distorted variants 'restore' Haydn's hymn-like initial dotted rhythm. Bartók's approach to this 'quoted' melody is characteristically different from his handling of the Hungarian themes. Whereas he ostensibly used motives of strong 'national' character drawing on a pool of commonplace elements to build up his very flexible and individual symphonic themes whenever his heroes were concerned, to represent the Austrian army (and their oppression in general), he used a distorted and, thus, alienated version of a familiar tune. Thus even in the latter case, he carefully avoided real quotation.

Bartók's musical means of distortion in the primary form of the 'Gott erhalte' theme – C sharp minor in low register instead of the original singing G major, the metric shift of the theme and its mutilation, the use of non legato, his scoring for the comical bassoon followed by a primitive shadow-imitation on the double bassoon, the employment of the accompanying trill on the kettle drum paired with the pedal point on the tubas, etc. – are too obvious to warrant detailed discussion here. Bartók's first strategy was thus to distort the theme. On a second instance, however, he used it

18 Cf. Frigyesi, 'Béla Bartók and Hungarian Nationalism', 146–47.

(a) Treble clef, C major, quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.

(b) Bass clef, C major, eighth notes with accents: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.

(c) Bass clef, C major, chords, fortissimo: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.

(d) Bass clef, C major, quarter notes, marcato, crescendo: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.

(e) Treble clef, C major, chords, fortissimo: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.

(f) Bass clef, C major, eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.

Example 3. The beginning of Haydn's 'Gott erhalte' melody and variants of the 'Gott erhalte' parody in Section 8 of Bartók's *Kossuth Symphony*.

(just like his other principal themes) as a point of departure for variation and transformation to illustrate the narrative of the program. The idea of thematic transformation was so central to Bartók's compositional strategy that during the course of the piece he chose to introduce the most important theme, Kossuth's theme, not in some primary form but rather in a developed version so that what appears to be the 'primary form' should be uncovered from a later, hidden passage.¹⁹ It seems that exactly this basic attitude would remain characteristic to Bartók's compositions but would be practiced on more original material and in significantly more sophisticated forms.

19 See Frigyesi's convincing interpretation of the Kossuth theme and its derivatives, Frigyesi, 'Béla Bartók and Hungarian Nationalism', 127-28. According to her analysis the 'condensed' form of the Kossuth theme appearing in bb. 50-51 is the actual theme of the work.

II. NATIONAL OR PERSONAL IDENTITY?

An important issue related to a marked 'national allegiance' was pinpointed by László Somfai some 30 years ago when he described a characteristic type of culmination point in Bartók's *oeuvre*, found in compositions from at least the First String Quartet to works of the late 1930s, which invariably features a highly pathetic moment using musical elements that are associated with Hungarian folk music.²⁰ Most important among them is the short-long dotted rhythm (♩ ♩. or ♩ ♩) as a reference to a basic rhythmic gesture in new style Hungarian peasant song, although, as Somfai convincingly argues, even this can be missing without the passage, underlined by changes in dynamics (mainly *f* or *ff*, but sometimes *p*), tempo (*rallentando*) and fabric (simpler, more homophonic), losing its 'Hungarian' character. Somfai observes that these passages never provide the concluding passage of a work or movement but are generally followed by some alienating or neutralizing passage or section, a fact that clearly testifies Bartók's strategy to conceal, after having showed up, these most emphatic moments. Perhaps the most surprising example among the 'Hungarian' culmination points appears in the first movement of the Second Piano Concerto, where the trumpet motto theme, derived from Stravinsky's theme in the final section of the *Firebird*,²¹ turning the originally slow hymn-like phrase into an unexpectedly vigorous lively motive, suddenly takes on unmistakable 'Hungarian' characteristics when played in retrograde inversion in the culmination point of the first movement.²² The sophisticated counterpoint of the piece is discussed in some detail in the composer's own analysis,²³ and he also underlined the importance of the transformation of the theme when talking to Denijs Dille in 1937.²⁴

When speaking to Kosztolányi in 1925, giving the interview mentioned above, Bartók had just witnessed the final decisive success of his most recent orchestral work, the *Dance Suite*. Although well received at its allegedly rather poor Budapest premiere in 1923, this composition happened to start its career as one of the most widely performed modern orchestral pieces at its first significant performance abroad – in sharp contrast to the fate of the *Kossuth*. Judging from the critical recep-

20 László Somfai, 'A Characteristic Culmination Point in Bartók's Instrumental Forms', in *International Musicological Conference in Commemoration of Béla Bartók 1971*, ed. József Ujfalussy and János Breuer (Budapest, 1972), 53-64.

21 Ferenc Bónis, 'Quotations in Bartók's Music', *Studia Musicologica*, 5 (1963), 355-82.

22 A thorough analysis of the Second Piano Concerto including a detailed discussion of the motto theme and its transformation during the course of the piece is found in László Somfai, 'Statikai tervezés és formai dramaturgia a 2. zongoraversenyben' (Structural planning and formal dramaturgy in the Second Piano Concerto), in id., *Tízennyolc Bartók-tanulmány* (Eighteen Essays on Bartók) (Budapest, 1981), 194-217, esp. 202-3. See also László Somfai's article in the present volume of *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*.

23 Béla Bartók, 'Analysis of the Second Concerto for Piano and Orchestra', in Bartók, *Essays*, 419-23.

24 'It was not a sheer playful idea on my part to employ the first subject in retrograde [sic] at the end [sic] of my second concerto'. Bartók could only have meant the retrograde inversion of the motto theme towards the end of the first movement. See the text of the interview published in French in Denijs Dille, *Béla Bartók. Regard sur le passé*, ed. Yves Lenoir (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1990), 28.

Both the instrument and the dedicatee (on whose concert Bartók heard the C major Solo Violin Sonata in 1943) point to that direction.²⁹ And indeed, the work has a four-movement layout including a Fuga and a slow movement 'Melodia' as middle movements, closely following the model of the Sonatas rather than the Partitas. Interestingly, the title of the first movement 'Tempo di ciaccona' refers, in contrast, to the D minor Partita. The relative freedom in combining allusions to more than one specific model that belong to different genres reveals the 'neo-classical' element in the composition. The beginning of the movement seems to refer to the Bach Ciaccona as much as to the tonally closely related first movement of the G minor Sonata.³⁰

(a)

(b)

(c)

Example 5. (a) Bartók, Solo Violin Sonata (1944); (b) Bach, G minor Sonata; (c) Bach, D minor Ciaccona.

- 29 Cf. Bartók's letter to Wilhelmine Creel, 17 Dec. 1943, in which he mentions that he had heard Menuhin playing the C major Sonata in excellent, classic style. The letter has only been published in Hungarian translation, see *Bartók Béla levelei*, 697.
- 30 Yves Lenoir puts the same theme into a very different context when he discusses it with reference to nineteenth-century *verbunkos* style. See Yves Lenoir, *Folklore et transcendance dans l'oeuvre américaine de Béla Bartók (1940–1945)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1986), 426. Bartók's indebtedness to Bach is emphasized in Gillies' analysis, see Malcolm Gillies, 'Bartók's Sonata for Solo Violin: An Analysis of Tonality and Modality', (M. Diss.; University of London, 1981), i, 29.

Despite all these references, the first aural impression due to the harmonic ‘freedom’ of the idiom (or, rather, what has been termed as extended tonality) immediately distances it from the models, even though the use of ornamental figures leading to structurally important notes lies very close indeed to the style of the Bach *Adagio* while its basic rhythmic character (♩ ♪.. ♪♩ | ♩ ♪.. ♪♩) does evoke the Ciaccona (♩. ♪ | ♩ ♪. ♪ | ♩ ♪. ♪), despite its leaving out the upbeat, alien to Hungarian folk music, and using double-dotted chrotchets followed by two demisemiquavers.

The theme shows strong cohesion because of the relative formal closure of the initial two four-bar units. Clearly and sharply separated from the ensuing bridge passage – a classical rather than baroque strategy – the theme contains yet another stylistic reference that is at least as crucial as the baroque or neo-baroque features themselves. In contrast to the Bach *Adagio* where the most important notes, tiny melodic gestures, freely wander now appearing in the upper voice now in the middle, in the Bartók theme there is a consistent differentiation between melody, formed invariably by the upper notes, and the accompanying lower voices. This differentiation is as consistent as that between main notes and ornamental ones, mentioned already. An important feature is the inclusion into the melody of the conspicuous short–long dotted rhythm played on the strong beat at phrase ends that despite all baroque reminiscences so unmistakably point to Hungarian folk song. However strange it might sound, the piece begins with the heightened intensity of a usual culmination point.³¹ Looking at the theme as a whole it appears to form a simple enough two-phrase period, with the second phrase repeating (with slight variations) the material of the first, only a fifth higher, a strategy, which is, again, at the same time characteristic of baroque and many nineteenth-century – ‘new-style’ – Hungarian folk songs. A complete new-style Hungarian folk song of the A–A⁵ pattern should have two more phrases.³² (The Second Violin Concerto has a first theme cast in a four-phrase quasi folk-song-like form, however different it might be from actual folk songs in style and dimensions.) The irregularity of the ‘unfinished’ A–A⁵ pattern makes a different interpretation of the theme possible: the first phrase itself can be considered as the theme representing a whole folk song stanza rather than a single phrase of it.³³ In fact its basic shape recalls that of the ritornello from the *Dance Suite*.

31 This fact might have something to do with the instrument, the violin, as the (‘second’) Violin Concerto written for Zoltán Székely begins with an intensity that is not unlike the theme of the ‘Tempo di ciaccona’ whereas the Hungarian folk reference is merged with a completely different style that was indicated by the composer when he temporarily called it ‘Tempo di verbunkos’.

32 Lajos Bárdos interpreted this theme as corresponding to the first two phrases of a new-style folk song, see Lajos Bárdos, *Bartók-dallamok és a népzene* (Bartók melodies and folk music) (Budapest, 1977), 84. On the classification of Hungarian folk songs according to old style (Class A), new style (Class B) and miscellaneous further melodies of often foreign origin (Class C) in general, see Bartók’s *Hungarian Folk Music* (or, in more recent editions: *The Hungarian Folk Song*), transl. M. D. Calvo-coressi (Oxford, 1931).

33 Cf. the discussion of the compositional memo that only contains the melody of the first four bars in Phillip Coonce, ‘The Genesis of the Béla Bartók Sonata for Solo Violin’ (Ph.D. diss.; Manhattan School of Music, 1992), 14–15. The sketch on a page of Bartók’s Arab folksong col-



Example 6. Main melody notes of the first subject in the 'Tempo di ciaccona' movement of the Solo Violin Sonata.

While a closer examination reveals the theme to be referring to a specific folk song type, it also belongs to a whole series of thematic ideas within Bartók's *oeuvre*. They are characterized by a four-phrase structure built up of phrases of equal length (or equal number of syllables per line), an overall melodic line descending from the initial high note to the final an octave below, and pentatony put into relief. A similarly condensed theme that has much to do with this one features as the framing motto of Bartók's opera *Duke Bluebeard's Castle* (1911).



Example 7. Initial motto theme in *Duke Bluebeard's Castle* (1911).

Here, the leveling of rhythm as well as the use of not more than four notes to a phrase (folk songs of this type have six-syllable lines or more) render the theme mysterious as well as emblematic.

Bartók encountered the special folksong type referred to in these themes in 1907 in Transylvania. It was at that time that he 'discovered' the pentatonic scale and noted down in one of his folksong collecting field-books and also in a letter to the violinist Stefi Geyer. Tibor Tallián has convincingly pointed out the very personal significance of this melody type in a recent article.³⁴ In his words, the pentatonic lyric folksong became the composer's 'personality symbol'. This musical symbol first appeared in the First String Quartet (1908-9). The secondary theme of the finale is based on a single pentatonic phrase that was noted down separately in Bartók's sketchbook known as the Black Pocket-book. The sketch shows largely the final form of the theme.³⁵

lecting field-book is reproduced with a brief description in László Somfai, *Bartók's Workshop: Documents of the Composition Process* (exhibition catalogue; Budapest, 1995), 16-17. See further Somfai's transcription of the sketch in his *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996), 76. Unfortunately, the second note in bar 4 seems rather ambiguous on the sketch. It might well be G (as transcribed by Coonce) or F leading to the following B flat (as transcribed by Somfai) although, perhaps, G appears more consistent with the tonality of the theme.

³⁴ Tibor Tallián, 'Béla Bartók: Composer of Folk Songs', *Hungarian Music Quarterly*, 9/1-2 (1998), 5-9.

³⁵ Béla Bartók, *Black Pocket-Book: Sketches 1907-1922*, ed. László Somfai (fasc. edn.; Budapest, 1987), f. III.



Example 8. Adagio secondary theme in the finale of the First String Quartet (1908-9).

As can be seen on the sketch, the theme is based on this single initial folksong-like phrase of possibly seven syllables that could be the beginning of a pentatonic tune, but is used in a fragmentary fashion repeating, transposing, and shifting its individual motives, instead of forming a closed stanza built on the initial idea. In his analyses of the piece, János Kárpáti derives this particular motive from a folksong collected in 1907 in Csíkrákos, Transylvania.³⁶ The song was first published in the periodical *Ethnographia* in January 1908. ‘Székely balladák’ (Székely ballads), Bartók’s first scholarly publication presented fifteen Hungarian ballad types, most of them with more than one melody and text. One of the folksongs belonging to no. 12, the ‘Ballad of Úti Miska’ was published later in Bartók’s monograph *The Hungarian Folk Song* with a single stanza ‘Romlott testem a bokorba’ as it is preserved on phonograph recording.³⁷

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Romlott testem a bokorba, | I lie wounded in the thicket, |
| Piros vérem hull a hóba; | My red blood trickles on the snow; |
| Hull a vérem, hull a hóba, | My blood trickles, trickles on the snow, |
| Piros vérem hull a hóba. | My red blood trickles on the snow. |

The first phrase of the melody, especially in the transcription published in 1908 leaving out some of the ornamental notes that were later included in the revised transcription, has an obvious affinity with the theme from the First Quartet finale.³⁸ Since the song belongs to the ‘speech-like’ *parlando* style, rhythmic differences are of secondary importance. In fact, the third phrase, a repetition of the first, begins with

36 János Kárpáti, *Bartók’s Chamber Music*, transl. Fred Macnicol and Mária Steiner (Stuyvesant, NY, 1994), 85-86.

37 The song has been preserved in the folksong collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (now at the folk music department of the Institute for Musicology in Budapest) as arranged and classified by Bartók in the late 1930s. Its record card or base sheet (*támlap*), classified as number 578a, bears a seven-stanza text. The music, notated for two stanzas instead of the usual first stanza only, is in Bartók’s hand and the rest of the text and some of the inscriptions are in the composer’s first wife, Márta Ziegler’s hand. The two notated stanzas beginning with the words ‘Romlott testem’ is marked as stanzas 2 and 3 while the first ensuing stanza is identified as the actual first one. According to an exceptional explanatory remark that follows the last stanza in brackets, legend has it that a woodman had an accident his left hand being caught in a wood crack, who then wrote the poem with his free right hand.

38 I reproduce the melody from *Béla Bartók Írásai*, iii, ed. Vera Lampert with Dorrit Révész (Budapest, 1999), 36.

a longer held-out note as the fermata shows, similarly to the theme in the quartet's finale. Another difference is Bartók's use of a quasi seven-syllable melody in contrast to the eight-syllable lines of the folk song. Thinking, however, of Bartók's designation on a copy of the beginning of the quartet's first movement, '(*az én halottas dalom...*)' (my death song...), this particular folk song seems to lie spiritually close to the piece in more than one way.³⁹



Example 9. 'Romlott testem', folksong collected by Bartók in 1907.

Initially, it seems, the thematic type referring to this folksong might have possessed a very rich connotation for the composer. Accidentally or not, however, the melody type gradually gained a greater and more general significance as a national symbol in Hungary. It was exactly this type that best represented what became considered as a particularly old heritage in Hungarian folk music. Not exactly the same melody but a close variant of it, 'Fölszállott a páva' (The peacock flew), best known from Kodály's symphonic variations of 1938, has been generally quoted as an archetype. The song starting with the slightly different 'Leszállott a páva' first line, was quoted as Example 7 in an enlarged edition, prepared by Lajos Vargyas, of Kodály's basic study of Hungarian folk music (first published in 1937) as one of the more complicated cases of pentatonic melodies that are characterized by the repetition of the first two phrases a fifth below.⁴⁰ This particular performance of the song was recorded on gramophone in 1936. Both Kodály and Bartók contributed to its detailed transcription. Here it is compared to a melody collected among the Mari, a people living in Asia and related to the Hungarians. The parallel appeared to represent the oldness of the melody style that should thus belong to a stratum of ancient Asian cultural heritage of the Magyars.

39 Cf. Oliver Neighbour, 'A Stray Leaf from Bartók's Black Pocket-Book', in *Studies in the Sources and the Interpretation of Music: Essays in Honor of László Somfai on His 70th Birthday*, ed. László Vikárius and Vera Lampert (Lanham, Md.: to be published in 2005), 401-2.

40 Zoltán Kodály, *Folk Music of Hungary*, enlarged edn. rev. Lajos Vargyas (Budapest, 1971), 26. The 'peacock' melody, however, does not appear in the original version of Kodály's study, see Kodály, *A magyar népzene* (Budapest, 1937).

Parlando

Le-szál-lott a pá-va Vár-me-gye-házá-ra.

De nem ám a ra-bok Sza-ba-du-lá-sá-ra.

NB 4 4 3 1 4 3 NB 5

Example 10. 'Leszállott a páva', folksong compared to a Mari folksong.

In other later editions of Kodály's study, which were supplemented with a large selection of folk melodies also by Vargyas, the 'peacock' song was printed as the very first music example of the extended appendix. No doubt, its text, also printed in the score of Kodály's variations, might have played a role in the symbolic significance the song has gradually taken on.

Röpülj páva, röpijlj,
Vármegye házára,
A szegény raboknak
Szabadulására,

Fly peacock, fly
Onto the County Hall,
Bring release
For the poor prisoners,

Fölszállott a páva
Vármegye házára,
Hej, de nem a rabok
Szabadulására.

The peacock flew
Onto the County Hall,
But, ah! Not to bring release
To the prisoners.

Fölszállott a páva
Vármegye házára,
A szegény raboknak
szabadulására.

The peacock flew
Onto the County Hall,
Bringing release
To the poor prisoners.

However general a symbolic meaning the peacock song was to take on at least from the later 1930s on, Bartók's reference, as it appears, was rather to the 'Romlott testem' ballad. His use of the type did not confine to the cases cited above. Neither did he use it necessarily in the hidden way as it appears in the late Violin Sonata. Sometimes it appears in a more real song-like form. Still, none of these versions are actual folk songs; they are rather imitations or recreations of the song type in the spirit of

a *folklore imaginaire*.⁴¹ The best-known and most explicit example is ‘An Evening at the Village’, no. 5 of *Ten Easy Piano Pieces* (1908) built on melodies of the composer’s invention.



Example 11. The melody of Bartók’s ‘An Evening at the Village’ (1908).

The same type is used as the first of a series of folksong imitations in the ‘Dance of Waves’ from the *Wooden Prince* (1914–17) but this time the melody, played on the saxophones, includes an unexpected tonal shift that makes it lie significantly farther from actual folk songs (Ex. 12a). In this case, however, it is obvious that Bartók deliberately shaped the melody line so that it ends a fourth too low. It is possible to reshape the melody to make it lie closer to actual folk songs. Here is a proposed ‘revised’ or ‘original’ form (see Ex. 12b).



Example 12. (a) A passage in the ‘Dance of Waves’ of Bartók’s ballet *The Wooden Prince*; (b) the same melody slightly altered to resemble the style of real folksongs more closely.

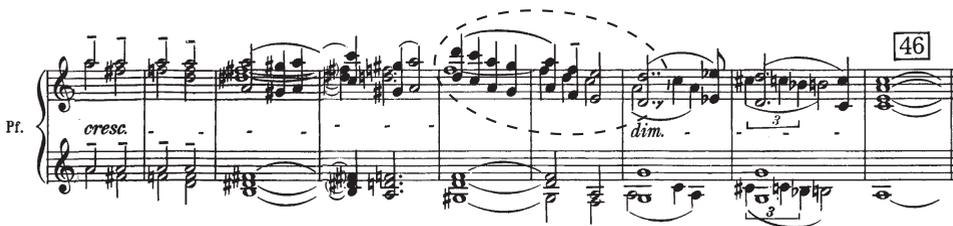
In the *Wooden Prince* the melody is heard at a moment of repose. In ‘An Evening at the Village’ the melody alternates with a contrasting livelier section of distinctly instrumental (peasant flute or *furulya*) character. Just like in these manifestations, but

⁴¹ The significance of Bartók’s choice to ‘create’ folk-like songs rather than quote actual specimens are discussed in Tallián, ‘Béla Bartók: Composer of Folk Songs’.

even more strongly, the melody appears in the *Dance Suite* as an idyll. Its peaceful calm gives consolation and hope. It serves as representation of home and warmth. That this type is again pointedly Hungarian in character has emotional as well as political significance.

It appears, thus, that whenever used in its entirety and ‘faithfully’ to the folk model, this melody type carries idyllic associations. This is certainly different from its use either in *Bluebeard’s Castle* or in the ‘Tempo di ciaccona’ movement, both works presenting a stylized, concise, even ‘abstract’ version of the melody type overtly presented in the opera and alluded to in a hidden way in the violin sonata. However, some sense of self-satisfaction and closure might be relevant to these ‘abstract’ appearances, too.

Added to the above two groups of ‘faithful’ recreations and ‘abstract’ versions, reference to this type can happen in Bartók’s works in a third, fragmentary, way, too. The very first appearance of this thematic type that forms the culmination point in the last movement of the First String Quartet is restricted, as we have seen, to a single first phrase of the song type. This isolated quote-like occurrence of the first phrase does possess something of the idyllic quality but without implying the fulfillment characteristic of the full-length imitations in ‘An Evening at the Village’ and the *Dance Suite*. Bartók’s last completed composition, the Third Piano Concerto (1945) also has a brief (almost fleeting) reminiscence of the melody type. It occurs in the slow second movement at an emotionally heightened moment.

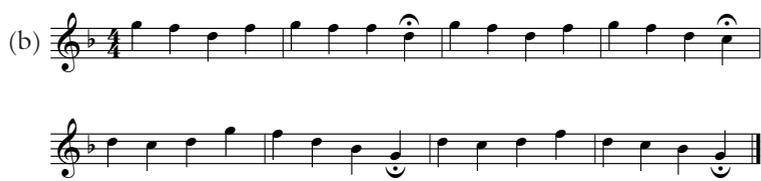


Example 13. Passage from the first slow section of the second movement of the Third Piano Concerto (1945).

This is again a single phrase, but this time it is not the first phrase but the second or the fourth, in any case a closing one, that is alluded to. Thus, it is almost as if this fleeting idea would be the continuation of the melody started in the First Quartet.

All these melodies might and do have closer relatives and models among actual folk melodies (or individual phrases thereof) but the most important seems to me exactly that all of them belong or refer to a single basic type. Example 14 compares all the melodies identified above transposed to end on G following Bartók’s and Kodály’s method of editing real folk songs.

(a) 

(b) 

(c) 

(d) 

(e) 

(f) 

(g) 

Example 14. Original themes by Bartók simplified and transposed to G in the manner of folksong transcriptions: (a) First String Quartet, third movement; (b) 'An Evening at the Village'; (c) motto theme of *Duke Bluebeard's Castle*; (d) from the 'Dance of Waves' in *The Wooden Prince*, slightly altered; (e) *Dance Suite*, ritornello; (f) Sonata for Solo Violin, first movement; (g) Third Piano Concerto, second movement.

Bartók's early *Kossuth Symphony* is evidence not only of the composer's naive nationalism but also of his use of thematic transformation as a basic compositional means to form a large-scale work based on a programmatic subtext. The well-known Stefi Geyer motif (D–F#–A–C#) of the early Violin Concerto written in 1907–8 resurfaces in a number of later compositions. Its use, for example, in a distorted form in Bagatelle no. 14 and its orchestrated form as the second movement of *Two Portraits* has a lot to do with Bartók's distorted version of the 'Gott erhalte' melody. The various transformations of principal thematic ideas expressing changing psychological reactions toward an inner object remain crucial for Bartók's composition up to the *Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta* (1936) and beyond. Furthermore, the series of transformational variants of three important themes from *Kossuth* discussed at the beginning of this essay are not unlike the varied appearances of the form and character of a single folksong type in different pieces. Finally, the obvious 'national' significance of the chosen type, apart from the personal significance it apparently possessed, reveals how deeply ingrained the national aspect was in what might be termed as Bartók's musical 'persona'.

However, there was also a wider context to Bartók's interest in what we might term as the national definition of one of his basic thematic ideas. His Hungarian-ness and East-European-ness was obviously crucial in the critical reception of his music. The European musical scene was made up of 'national schools'; throughout the 1920s and 1930s musical periodicals were busy presenting the musical life and composition of individual countries or nations. Several of them, such as the *Musikblätter des Anbruch* or *La Revue Musicale*, published series of articles devoted to a different country each. While concert reports still respected musical centres (which dominated eighteenth-century musical life), these became necessarily subordinate to the nation they stood for. While the yearly international festivals of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) founded in Salzburg in 1922 represented the most important events of contemporary music, it was also natural that this organization comprised national sections. Bartók himself provided articles on Hungarian music for reviews and Encyclopedias and, whenever discussing aspects of his compositional methods, he chose either 'new Hungarian music' or 'the influence of folk/peasant music on modern composition' as title for his lecture or article. Although he performed compositions by Debussy, Ravel, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Szymanowski and other contemporary composers in Budapest and occasionally elsewhere, the programmes of his representative concerts abroad served quite naturally to propagate contemporary Hungarian composition, principally the works of Kodály, apart from his own works. It is symbolic that when Bartók, probably surprisingly for most of us, pondered on setting *German* melodies, an idea he was careful enough to discuss with his publisher in Vienna, Emil Hertzka, director of Universal Edition, tactfully but categorically dissuaded him writing that

If you happen to find something among the German songs in the Erk-Boeme folksong collection that you consider especially suitable, there is nothing to object to it, but I do

think that your special field is rather the Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian folksong and that your work on that field would attract particular attention.⁴²

Even if Igor Stravinsky's only memorable remark about Bartók expressed his pity for the 'great musician's' insistence on relying on folk music ('I never could share his lifelong gusto for his native folklore'),⁴³ it was this source that provided him with a unique composer's voice as well as general cultural significance. The single melodic idea – representative of a Hungarian song type – that could permeate Bartók's *oeuvre* in ever changing ways and thereby taking on now similar, now different meanings, testify the personal and at the same time national aspect of certain decisive moments in his composition.

⁴² Hertzka to Bartók, 27 Jan. 1920, unpubl. letter in the Budapest Bartók Archives.

⁴³ Quoted among others in David E. Schneider, 'Bartók and Stravinsky: Respect, Competition, Influence, and the Hungarian Reaction to Modernism in the 1920s', in Laki (ed.), *Bartók and His World*, 172-73.

SUMMARY

The article explores the significance of musical, specifically melodic, characteristics of ethnic definition in Béla Bartók's music. The argument is principally based on two sets of closely related examples. First, revisiting Bartók's first major work the *Kossuth Symphony* (1903), written to depict and commemorate the 1848-49 Hungarian war of independence, his youthful musical nationalism (or patriotism) is discussed. An analysis of some of its central themes – those representing Lajos (Louis) Kossuth, the leader of the uprising, the Hungarian heroes and, as a contrast, that of the Austrian enemy (this latter famously parodying Haydn's 'Gott erhalte') – reveals not only the presence of musical stereotypes but also the strategic importance of motif transformation, a technique that was to remain crucial for Bartók's later ('mature') composition, too. Furthermore, although this overtly political work belongs to the very beginning of Bartók's professional career, a period many of whose compositional solutions and the *Kossuth* itself he categorically rejected within a few years, his commitment to the employment of ethnic musical characteristics in his music proved to be central to his thinking. His main achievement lies, obviously, in the varied use of the newly discovered indigenous folk material from a number of different sources most notably Romanian and Slovak, apart from the Hungarian, thereby representing multiculturalism at an unparalleled level in the period. Still, there are significant moments where his Hungarian identity seems to prevail. Thirty years ago, László Somfai pointed out one such moment by describing what he called the 'Hungarian culmination point' characteristic of several of Bartók's compositions. The second part of the article examines 'Hungarian' characteristics in a melody type recurring from the First String Quartet (1908-9) to the last compositions, the Solo Violin Sonata (1944) and the Third Piano Concerto (1945), and most memorably present in the slow sections of 'Evening at the Village' and in the ritornello theme of the *Dance Suite* (1923). Interestingly, however, the repeated use of the melody type may have been dictated by its 'national' as much as by its 'personal' and biographical significance.

Da *Messias* kom til København

Om Messias-receptionen i København gennem to århundreder

MORTEN TOPP

Det var et sammentræf af tilfældigheder, der var årsagen til, at *Messias* blev komponeret. Den 10. juli 1741 skriver Händels librettist, Charles Jennens, til sin ven Edward Holdsworth: "Händel says he will do nothing next Winter, but I hope I shall perswade him to set another Scripture Collection I have made for him, & perform it for his own Benefit in Passion week ... The Subject is Messiah".¹

Jennens hentyder til oratoriet *Saul*, hvortil han også havde leveret en libretto, baseret på bibelske skriftsteder, og som interesserede Händel så lidt, at det varede mere end tre år, før han i 1738 gik igang med at komponere værket.² *Messias* kunne derfor sikkert også være forblevet libretto nogen tid endnu, hvis ikke vicekongen for Irland, William Cavendish, i august 1741 havde opfordret Händel til at afholde en række oratoriekoncerter i provinshovedstaden Dublin den følgende sæson. Manglende kendskab til musiklivet her har utvivlsomt været årsag til, at Händel holdt værket inden for så beskedne vokale og instrumentale rammer. Hvor oratoriet *Israel i Ægypten* fra 1739 var domineret af magtfulde korsatser for ottestemmigt dobbeltkor og et efter den tids forhold imponerende orkesteropbud med fløjter, oboer, fagotter, trompeter, basuner, pauker og strygere med dobbelt kontinuogruppe, så var besætningen i *Messias* begrænset til et absolut minimum: solokvartet, firestemmigt kor og strygere, som på enkelte højdepunkter blev forstærket med trompeter og pauker.³ Det hindrede dog ikke, at opførelserne i Dublin i 1742 blev en succes, og trods modstand fra kirkelig side blev værket i Händels sidste 16 leveår opført hele 23 gange i London – en opførelsestradition, der fortsatte også efter Händels død.⁴

MESSIAS I TYSKLAND FRA 1772

I Tyskland bredte kendskabet til *Messias* sig forbavsende langsomt, og de manglende opførelser skyldtes formodentlig, at de færreste tyskere var i stand til at synge på engelsk, og at en tysk oversættelse endnu ikke forelå. I Hamborg afholdt den tyske teolog Christoph Daniel Ebeling en årlig koncertrække, og her opførtes i 1771 Händels

¹ Christopher Hogwood, *Handel* (London, 1984), 167.

² Ibid. 153 ff.

³ Ved sine opførelser af *Messias* benyttede Händel normalt to sopran- og to altolister, dvs. i alt seks solister. I et enkelt kor (nr. 30, "Lift up your heads") er sopranstemmen delt i de indledende takter. Ved henvisning til enkeltsatser i *Messias* (HWV 56) anvendes i det følgende nummereringen fra Walter Eisen og Margret Eisen (eds.), *Händel-Handbuch*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1978-86), ifølge hvilken de enkelte satser i værkets tre dele har følgende numre: 1. del: nr. 1-18, 2. del: nr. 19-39, 3. del: nr. 40-48.

⁴ Anthony Hicks, 'Handel, George Frideric' (work-list), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, viii (London, 1980), 118.

Alexander's Feast med tysk tekst under ledelse af den engelske komponist og cembalist Michael Arne.⁵ Det følgende år, den 15. april 1772 fulgte så, atter under Michael Arnes ledelse og med hans senere kone, Miss Venables i sopranpartiet, den første opførelse af *Messias* i Tyskland. Ebeling stod igen som arrangør, og mens denne første koncert var af privat karakter, fulgte den 21. maj en offentlig fremførelse med de samme medvirkende. Da *Alexander's Feast* var blevet fremført på tysk, antog man længe, at det også var tilfældet ved opførelserne af *Messias*.⁶ Under kommenteringsarbejdet på den store samlede udgave af digteren Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstocks værker er imidlertid en tekstbog dukket op blandt Klopstocks efterladte papirer i Hamborg. Den er ikke dateret, men er interessant ved at indeholde teksten til *Messias* opstillet parallelt på henholdsvis engelsk og tysk. Den engelske tekst svarer til teksten hos Charles Jennens, mens den tyske tekst tydeligvis ikke er en oversættelse fra engelsk, men hentet fra Luthers tyske bibel. Den passer ikke til Händels musik og er blot beregnet som orientering for et tysk publikum. Da alle de følgende opførelser med stor sandsynlighed blev sunget på tysk, må den pågældende tekstbog nødvendigvis være fremstillet til de første opførelser i 1772, hvor der følgelig blev sunget på engelsk.⁷

Nytårsaften, den 31. december 1775, arrangerede Ebeling en privat opførelse af *Messias* under ledelse af Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, og denne gang blev der sunget på tysk. Klopstock, der var en nær ven af Ebeling, skriver i et brev den 22. maj 1776 under omtale af den pågældende koncert, "dazu Ebeling und ich einen deutschen Text gemacht haben".⁸ Senere fulgte opførelser i 1777 og 1778 i frimurerlogen i Hamborg, atter under ledelse af C.P.E. Bach. Vi savner tekstbøger fra disse opførelser, men der blev sandsynligvis igen sunget på tysk, og man må antage, at Klopstock og Ebelings tyske tekst, som i 1775 ikke omfattede alle værkets satser, efterhånden blev kompletteret til fuldstændighed,⁹ nemlig som den fremstår i den senere trykte udgave fra 1809.¹⁰

Ikke alle opførelser var lige vellykkede. I Mannheim løste Abbé Vogler i 1777 det intrikate tekstproblem ved at opføre værket på italiensk, idet de medvirkende overvejende var italienske sangere. Samtidig havde Vogler ikke blot forsynet Händels

⁵ Michael Arne (1740-86), søn af den mere kendte dr. Thomas Augustin Arne (1710-78), havde et særligt forhold til *Messias*, eftersom han var vokset op hos sin faster, den kendte skuespillerinde og sangerinde Susanne Cibber, som gjorde et usædvanligt indtryk ved førsteopførelsen af *Messias* i Dublin 1742. Også senere medvirkede hun ved en række af Händels oratorieopførelser i London.

⁶ Walther Siegmund-Schultze, 'Über die ersten *Messias*-Aufführungen in Deutschland', *Händel-Jahrbuch*, 6 (1960), 51ff.

⁷ H.J. Kreutzer, 'Das Libretto zu Händels "Messiah" und seine deutschen Übersetzungen', i Dietrich Berke og Harald Heckmann (eds.), *Festschrift Wolfgang Rehm zum 60. Geburtstag* (Kassel, 1989), 62.

⁸ Ute Schwab, 'Der *Messias*. In Musik gesetzt von Händel. Schwerin 1780, gedruckt mit Bärensprungenschen Schriften', in Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *Händel-Rezeption der frühen Goethe-Zeit. Kolloquium Goethe-Museum Düsseldorf 1997* (Marburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 9; Kassel, 2000), 167.

⁹ *Ibid.* 168.

¹⁰ *Händels Oratorium Der *Messias* im Clavierauszuge von C.F.G. Schwencke mit deutschem Texte von Klopstock und Ebeling* (Hamborg, 1809).

instrumentalsats med en række ‘forbedringer’ i tidens smag, men også indføjet egne satsler efter behag. Opførelsen blev en skandale, og overleveringen vil vide, at den da 21-årige Mozart allerede under generalprøven i protest skulle have forladt kirken, hvor opførelsen fandt sted.¹¹

I 1780 opførtes værket i Schwerin eller muligvis på det nærliggende hertugelige slot, Ludwigslust – hverken tid eller sted lader sig præcist fastslå. Men i modsætning til mange samtidige opførelser i det øvrige Tyskland kunne man her høre værket i dets fulde længde. Tekstbog og opførelsesmateriale er bevaret, og den tyske tekst viser et tydeligt slægtskab med den Klopstock-Ebelingske version.¹² Orkestersatsen holder sig – ligesom det formodentlig var tilfældet i Hamborg – til den originale engelske version uden tilføjede ‘forbedringer’. På baggrund af det overleverede stemmemateriale mener Walther Siegmund-Schultze endda at kunne fastslå, at der her er tale om den mest værkstro gengivelse i Tyskland i det 18. århundrede overhovedet.¹³

Dette var næppe tilfældet med opførelserne 1780 og 1781 i Weimar, hvortil Johann Gottfried Herder havde skabt en teologisk set indsigtfuld og digterisk meget vellykket oversættelse, som dog kun med besvær lod sig tilpasse Händels musik. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, der overværede begge koncerter, var dog meget begejstret og giver i sine dagbøger udtryk for de “nye ideer om deklamation”, som oplevelsen havde bibragt ham.¹⁴

Det var dog rygtet om de store ‘Handel Commemoration’-opførelser i London 1784 og 1785, der for alvor satte gang i opførelserne på kontinentet. En af de største beundrere af Händels musik var Johann Adam Hiller, som den 19. maj 1786 opførte en stort anlagt version af *Messias* i domkirken i Berlin. Orkestret talte 185 musikere fra tyske orkestre samlet langvejs fra, og koret bestod af såvel såkaldte principalsangere som almindelige korsangere, hentet fra skolerne i Berlin og Potsdam. Blandt principalsangerne var et stort antal italienske professionelle solister, der sang såvel korstemmer som solopartier, og af samme grund blev værket opført på italiensk.¹⁵

Hillers veneration for Händel strakte sig dog ikke så langt som til også at benytte Händels originale instrumentation, idet han efter eget udsagn udarbejdede en fuldstændig ny instrumentering “således som Händel selv ville have skrevet det i vore dage”.¹⁶ Resultatet var opsigtsvækkende. Således blev den obligate violinstemme i arien “If God be for us” delvist omskrevet til en virtuos solo for fagot – for blot at nævne en enkelt af de mange ‘forbedringer’. Men opførelsen blev en stormende succes, som der gik ry af over hele Europa.¹⁷

Den vigtigste europæiske opførelse af *Messias* fandt imidlertid sted i Wien i marts 1789. Det var som bekendt lykkedes for Baron van Swieten at overtale Mozart til at

¹¹ Siegmund-Schultze, ‘Über die ersten Messias-Aufführungen’, 57.

¹² Schwab, ‘Der Messias’, 162 ff.

¹³ Siegmund-Schultze, ‘Über die ersten Messias-Aufführungen’, 70.

¹⁴ Ibid. 59 (forfatterens oversættelse).

¹⁵ Ibid. 61 ff.

¹⁶ Hogwood, *Handel*, 246 (forfatterens oversættelse).

¹⁷ Ibid.

nyinstrumentere flere af Händels værker, heriblandt *Messias*. Den tyske tekst var en kun sporadisk ændret version af Klopstock-Ebelings og det samlede resultat var så vellykket, at Mozarts udgave af *Messias* skulle blive den almindeligst benyttede ved opførelser af værket til langt op i det 20. århundrede.

FØRSTEOPFØRELSEN I KØBENHAVN 1786

Men allerede tre år før den omtalte opførelse i Wien og kun en måned før Hillers berømte opførelse i Berlin nåede *Messias* til København. Koncerten fandt sted onsdag den 19. april 1786, og det var Det harmoniske Selskab, populært kaldet Harmonien, der havde indbudt til sæsonens sidste koncert i fasteperioden, en dansk førsteopførelse af Händels *Messias*. Første del skulle opføres denne aften, resten den følgende onsdag.¹⁸ Opførelserne fandt sted i selskabets nye koncertsal i Vingårdsstræde og salen var på den første aften fyldt til bristepunktet med forventningsfulde tilhørere.¹⁹

Som noget nyt i København blev koncerten anmeldt, og vi er derfor så heldige at have en udførlig rapport om opførelsens forløb. Anmelderen var af tysk afstamning og hed Peter Grønland. Han var på dette tidspunkt 25 år og en af Københavns mange dygtige musikamatører. Udover sit borgerlige arbejde, bl.a. som administrator for Den kongelige Porcelænsfabrik, var Grønland komponist, men gjorde sig især bemærket ved sine artikler om musik til flere tidsskrifter, heriblandt Cramers *Magazin der Musik*, der udkom i Hamborg.

Det var ikke uden problemer at ville opføre *Messias*. Ganske vist rådede Harmonien over et glimrende orkester, bestående af talentfulde amatører fra det københavnske borgerskab og med ingen ringere end kapelmesteren for Det kongelige Kapel, J.E. Hartmann i spidsen som koncertmester. Men selskabet havde ikke noget kor, og på Det kongelige Teater havde man hverken et fast operakor eller for den sags skyld en stab af operasolister. Man klarede sig på den tid ved at benytte sangbegavede skuespillere også ved opsætning af operaer.²⁰ I sin anmeldelse kan Grønland derfor heller ikke dy sig for at omtale Hartmanns bekymring vedrørende den forestående opførelse:

¹⁸ V.C. Ravn, 'Konserter og musikalske Selskaber i ældre Tid', *Festskrift i Anledning af Musikforeningens Halvhundredaarsdag*, bind 1 (København, 1886), 123. For nærmere detaljer vedrørende opførelserne af *Messias* i København fra førsteopførelsen i 1786 til den første komplette opførelse i 1954 henvises til Bilag 1.

¹⁹ 1783 var Det harmoniske Selskab flyttet til vinhandler Colstrups ejendom i Vingårdsstræde nr. 6, hvor det fik en koncertsal, som på grund af sine fortræffelige egenskaber i mange år var byens mest søgte koncertlokale. Der er tale om et af Københavns ældste huse, helt tilbage fra tiden omkring byens grundlæggelse i 1125. Kong Hans lod her dyrke vin til brug ved hoffet, heraf navnet "Kong Hans' vingård", hvilket afspejler sig i gadenavnet. Ved skæbnens gunst slap bygningen uskadt både ved Københavns brand i 1795 og ved englændernes bombardement af byen i 1807. Det harmoniske Selskab holdt til i den smukke sal, indtil koncerterne blev indstillet omkring 1830. Salen benyttes nu som repræsentationslokale for stormagasinet *Magasin*.

²⁰ Ravn, 'Konserter og musikalske Selskaber', 123 ff.

Der Concertmeister Hartmann sagte zu K. [Kunzen], dass man in den Zeitungen gelesen hätte, wie so prächtig die Händelschen Compositionen in London aufgeführt worden, und wie grosse Wirkungen diese Meisterwerke des Genies und Fleisses auf die Ohren und Herzen der Zuhörer gethan. Man habe daher beschlossen, seinen Messias auch hier zu geben, um zu hören, welche Wirkungen er hervorbringen müsste, wenn er schlecht aufgeführt würde. Und das haben wir in der That erfahren.²¹

Forventningerne blandt de medvirkende var således ikke store, men det skulle vise sig at gå langt værre, end nogen havde forestillet sig. Peter Grønland fortsætter:

Es war fast zum Erbarmen, die Chöre anzuhören, die nur einfach besetzt waren. Alle Solo's wurden von den Chorsängern gesungen, deren Aushalten ich indessen dabey bewundern muss. Mamsell Behrwaldt und Madame Coldingen sangen; erstere den Discant, letztere den Alt. Der Tenor war am bessten besetzt mit dem Hrn. Rossing, Schauspieler der hiesigen Gesellschaft; und der Bass ward durch Hr. Mustedt, gleichfalls Schauspieler, gesungen. ... und über die Execution nicht viel Detailirtes, da sie bey der einzelnen Besetzung nichts mehr, als höchstens mittelmässig seyn konnte, aber sich nicht einmal so hoch verstieg.²²

I endnu en rum tid fortsætter Grønland i sin anmeldelse med at nedgøre solisternes præstationer. Sopranen må høre for, at hun er skabagtig og hendes "sang kunne næppe kaldes sang", altsangeren har efter Grønlands mening så svag en stemme, at det næppe er hørbart, "men så meget des bedre, da den er ret fad og klinger ilde", og bassen hr. Musted får at vide, at hans stemme var "for rå og prustende til, at han kunne have ydet mere, end han gjorde".²³ Men om tenoren Rosing hedder det:

Von dem Tenoristen entsinne ich mich nicht, nur ein einziges Solo gehört zu haben. Und das bedaure ich, weil er eine starke, reine und gefällige Stimme von weitem Umfang und vorzüglicher Schmeidigkeit besitzt. Vielleicht ist die Ursache, dass er kein Solo sang, darin zu suchen, dass er das Deutsche nicht spricht; oder hat der Componist, wie ich nicht glauben kann, die Tenorstimme gar nicht bedacht?²⁴

Ikke underligt, at publikum var forvirret over at høre dette så højt berømmede værk i en så mangelfuld udførelse. Det gav sig udslag i, at mens salen ved opførelsen af 1. del var "fuld som den ikke har været hele vinteren", var der halvtomt ved opførelsen af 2. og 3. del ugen efter, "og havde der været endnu en del af musikken tilbage, ville der kun være kommet få den tredje aften", som Grønland sarkastisk tilføjer.²⁵

Men Grønlands kommentarer giver os flere interessante oplysninger. Den spydige hentydning til tenorens manglende kendskab til tysk må nødvendigvis betyde, at der blev sunget på tysk. Det fremgår også, at Grønland næppe kan have været bekendt

²¹ Peter Grønland, anmeldelse i Carl Friedrich Cramer (ed.), *Magazin der Musik*, Zweyter Jahrgang, Zweyte Hälfte (Hamburg, 1786; repr. Hildesheim, New York, 1971), 960-67, her 960.

²² Ibid. 961. Grønland synes ikke alt for fortrolig med solisternes navne, som ifølge Ravn burde staves Berwald, Colding, Rosing og Musted.

²³ Ibid. Oversættelse her og i det følgende ved forfatteren.

²⁴ Ibid. 962.

²⁵ Ibid. 963.

med værket på forhånd eller haft adgang til nodematerialet, for i så fald ville der ikke være grund til at rejse tvivl om, hvorvidt Händel havde skrevet solo for tenorstemmen. Og har der foreligget et tekstprogram, kan dette ikke – hvad der var helt normalt på den tid – have indholdt oplysninger om, hvem der sang hvad. Og et tekstprogram må sandsynligvis have foreligget, for ellers ville Grønland næppe have været i stand til i sin anmeldelse korrekt at citere titlerne på tre af satserne i den tyske version: “Denn sieh, eine Jungfrau wird schwanger, gebieret einen Sohn”, “Doch du liessest ihn im Grabe nicht”, “O Tod! wo ist dein Stachel? Wo dein Sieg, O Hölle! wo ist er?”²⁶

Det interessante ved Grønlands angivelser er, at de citerede tyske titler næsten ordret svarer til den førnævnte *Messias*-oversættelse af Klopstock og Ebeling. Det er derfor nærliggende at antage, at den Klopstock-Ebelingske tekst blev benyttet ved opførelsen i København.

Det var imidlertid ikke teksten, men musikken, der måtte stå for skud. I byens toneangivende kredse herskede en vis skepsis med hensyn til barokmusik. Det kom især til udtryk hos Johann Adolph Scheibe, som i 1740 var kommet til København med kongelig udnævnelse til ‘Kapelmester ved Musikken’. Scheibe var en varm fortaler for den ny tids musikidealer og forholdt sig kritisk overfor Händels og især Bachs værker. Denne holdning kom til at præge dele af det københavnske musikliv helt frem til Scheibes død i 1776. Denne ‘barokfjendtlige’ indstilling genfinder vi også hos Peter Grønland i hans anmeldelse:

Indessen hat es sein Gutes, dass man solche Werke als Heiligthümer hält, die nur selten, und daher desto feyerlicher vorgezeigt [sic!] werden. ... Was ich in Absicht der Musik selbst bemerkte, will ich lieber für mich behalten; denn ich möchte mich auch wo[h], wenn ichs öffentlich hier sagte, dem Missverständniss zu sehr aussetzen, da die mehrsten so blindlings an Händels Oratorien, als an alle Seiten vollkommen und unübertrefflichen Werken hängen.²⁷

Grønland er med andre ord klar over, at han nærmer sig et sprængfarligt emne. For dog at kunne sige noget positivt om Händels værk, roser han i høje toner komponisten for den smagfuldhed, hvormed bibelteksterne er sammenstillet. Denne ros burde dog nok snarere være tilfaldet Händels librettist Charles Jennens. Om musikken selv er der imidlertid ikke meget godt at sige:

Indessen dürfte viel darin vorkommen, was ein Kunstrichter von Geschmack jetzt nicht mehr dulden würde, und dazu rechne ich die gar zu grosse Vorliebe für die Fugen, wobey die Kunst der Darstellung und dem Ausdruck fast alles raubt. Viele Gedanken sind dadurch, dass die neuern sie Händeln gar zu oft abgestolen haben, kraftlos geworden; auch wo der Ausdruck es nicht verlangt, endigen sich dennoch oft die Chöre und Solos mit dem ehemals so beliebten kurzen Adagiosats; die Instrumente sind zu wenig gebraucht, und das Gängelband des Alters fässelte auch Händeln noch zu sehr.²⁸

²⁶ Ibid. 961, 962 og 966. Det drejer sig om satserne nr. 8, 29 og 44.

²⁷ Ibid. 964, 966.

²⁸ Ibid. 965.

Her lades ikke sten på sten tilbage, men med den afsluttende bemærkning om instrumenternes ringe udnyttelse fortæller Grønland os indirekte, at man ved opførelsen i København må have benyttet Händels originale, enkle instrumentation, som jo netop for den ny tids øren følte så utilstrækkelig, at Mozart med sin version i 1789 måtte bøde på ‘manglerne’.

Grønland slutter sin anmeldelse med at postulere, at hvis Händel var blevet genfødt og “lærte at gennemskue de andre skønne kunster og videnskaber efter den nugældende smag”, så ville han være den første til at dadle barokmusikken – “Og således ville Händel bestemt selv være blevet en Gluck”.²⁹

MESSIAS I GLEMSEL, KØBENHAVN 1786-1852

Grønland deltog aktivt i det københavnske musikliv til sin død i 1825 og fik med sine synspunkter stor betydning ikke blot for Weyse, der en overgang var hans elev, men også på indflydelsesrige komponister som J.A.P. Schulz og F.L.Æ. Kunzen. Det var en medvirkende årsag til, at de barokke korværker i en lang årrække helt forsvandt fra koncertrepertoiret. Publikum foretrak de enklere og lettere tilgængelige vokalværker af Schulz og Kunzen. Især Schulz var populær. Han skrev i årene 1788-95 en række oratorier og kantater, som med deres enkle, ukunstlede tonesprog og beskedne omfang i den grad faldt i københavnernes smag, at man for at finde et passende sidestykke til ham ligefrem sammenlignede med den position, Händel havde haft i London eller Gluck i Paris³⁰ (jf. Grønlands fremskrivning af Händel som wienerklassisk komponist).

Kunzens værker opnåede aldrig den samme popularitet, dog med undtagelse af hans mest kendte oratorium *Skabningens Halleluja* med tekst af Jens Baggesen, oprindeligt skrevet til hoffets passionskoncerter i 1797. Oratoriet blev opført talrige gange siden, bl.a. ved en koncert i Det harmoniske Selskab i 1801, hvor syngemesteren ved Det kongelige Teater H.O.C. Zinck roser de syngende for den særdeles gode udførelse og tilføjer det fromme ønske, “at dog alle vore Kor, saaledes som her, hellere kun vare firdobbelt besatte, end at et stort Personale møder op, hvoraf den ene Halvdel synger slet, og den anden Halvdel slet ikke synger”.³¹

Siden 1791 havde Det kongelige Kapel afholdt to årlige velgørenhedskoncerter til fordel for Kapellets Enkekasse. Den ene af disse koncerter havde verdsligt indhold og holdtes på teatret, den anden var en kirkekoncert, som i begyndelsen afholdtes i den daværende slotskirke, men som efter det første Christiansborgs brand i 1794 blev holdt i Helligaands Kirken, der blev betragtet som den i musikalsk henseende bedst egnede til kirkemusik. Men efter Slaget på Reden den 2. april 1801 opstod et nyt behov for velgørenhed. Kommissionen for Kvæstede og de Faldnes Efterladte besluttede at afholde en kapelkoncert med opførelse af et helt nyt og meget omtalt værk: Haydns *Skabelsen*. Førstepførelsen havde fundet sted i Wien tre år tidligere, i

²⁹ Ibid. 967.

³⁰ Ravn, ‘Koncerter og musikalske Selskaber’, 167.

³¹ H.O.C. Zinck, *Die nörliche Harfe* (København, 1801), 12.

1800 blev partituret udgivet, og samme år gik der ry af de storslåede opførelser i både Paris og London.

Denne gang stod det klart, at der var brug for et stort kor. Som noget hidtil uhørt i Danmark blev der samlet næsten 200 medvirkende, professionelle og amatører i forening. Opførelsen fandt sted under Kunzens ledelse den 14. oktober 1801 i den daværende Vor Frue Kirke og blev gentaget 14 dage senere til fordel for fattigvæsenet. Tilstromningen var enorm. Man anslog, at der var henved 3000 tilhørere til hver af koncerterne. Virkningen af de mange medvirkende undlod ikke at gøre indtryk på publikum, men derudover fik musikken en blandet modtagelse. Nogle fandt den "mere kunstig end indtagende", og selv opførelsens dirigent, Kunzen, skrev efterfølgende en kritisk anmeldelse, hvor han ikke blot dadlede Haydn for de mange 'gammeldags' elementer i musikken, men også for orkestersatsens dominerende rolle i forhold til sangstemmerne: "Hvad han har gjort ud deraf, er da også hverken mer eller mindre end en uendelig Symfoni gennemvævet med Recitationer og ophøjede Kor".³² Ikke blot Bach og Händel, men også Haydn blev nu – skønt sidstnævnte stadig i live – anset for gammeldags og fortidige.

I kølvandet på englandskrigen 1801-14 fulgte i Danmark en kraftig økonomisk afmatning. Den ramte ikke mindst embedsmænd og det bedre borgerskab ved 'Negocien', dvs. netop den kreds, som var kernen i de musikalske selskabers virksomhed og den økonomiske garant for koncerternes afholdelse. Af nød og tvang måtte man derfor i disse år holde sig til koncertvirksomhed, hvor de medvirkende var amatører. Man opførte fortrinsvis værker af de mange hjemlige komponister, suppleret med nogle få af de store korværker af Haydn, Mozart og Beethoven. Barokmusik derimod kom ikke på tale.³³ Udenfor amatørernes kreds var der imidlertid ikke megen interesse for disse store værker. Ravn beskriver rammende den daværende situation:

I det offentlige Koncertliv kom folkelig flerstemmig Sang endog til at udøve en Tiltrækningskraft, som ikke kunde andet end vække de sædvanlige Koncertgiveres Misundelse. Medens fortræffelige Virtuoser musicerede for tomme Bænke, havde Koncerter af "bøhmiske Bjærgfolk" og Tyrolerselskaber fuldt Hus. ... Der kan næppe tænkes nogen mere grell Illustration til Musiksmagens Forfald paa denne Tid end Theaterdirektionens Ide at engagere et Tyrolerselskab for at trække Hus til Beethovens Fidelio, og den fordoblede Indtægt, som denne kolossale Smagløshed indbragte Kassen.³⁴

Ikke underligt, at koncertlivet i disse år var på vågeblus, og at opførelser af passioner og oratorier efterhånden faldt helt bort.

Der var dog enkelte undtagelser. I foråret 1837 afholdtes i den genopbyggede Vor Frue Kirke en koncert til fordel for det påtænkte Mozart-monument i Salz-

³² Kunzen i en anmeldelse i *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, som hans gode ven J.G.K. Spazier var begyndt at udgive i Leipzig samme år (1801); her gengivet efter Ravn, 'Koncerter og musikalske Selskaber', 168.

³³ Ibid. 170.

³⁴ Ibid. 178.

burg.³⁵ Ved koncerten opførtes hovedsagelig værker af Mozart, bl.a. hans *Requiem*, men også et uddrag af Händels *Messias* kunne høres ved denne lejlighed.³⁶ Det havde vist sig muligt at samle et kor i København, og allerede samme efterår oprettede den nystiftede *Musikforening* et fast kor, der i modsætning til de hidtil foretrukne mandskor omfattede både damer og herrer. Kordirigenten hr. Lund øvede med damerne, mens den unge J.P.E. Hartmann øvede med herrerne. Ved en koncert i Hofteatret kunne man snart efter høre koret præsentere sig med intet mindre end de første II numre af Mendelssohns oratorium *Paulus*. Det var en sensationel nyhed. Værket var blevet uropført i Leipzig i marts 1837. Med en opførelse allerede den 19. november samme år i København placerede byen sig foran de fleste af de øvrige musikalske centre i Europa.³⁷ Denne vilje til at præsentere samtidens musik skulle blive karakteristisk i Musikforeningens første år.

MESSIAS I 'GADES UDVALG' 1852-70

Man har hidtil antaget, at *Messias* var et af de bedst kendte barokværker i sidste halvdel af 1800-tallets København, idet det relativt hyppigt var programsat i Musikforeningen under Gades ledelse. Det fremførtes ganske vist 'i udvalg', men dette udvalg har ved nærmere eftersyn vist sig at være så beskedent, at man næppe med rimelighed kan tale om en opførelse af *Messias* som værk.

Det var den slesvig-holstenske opstand i 1848, der bragte Danmark og Tyskland i krig, og Niels W. Gade, der ellers netop var påbegyndt en strålende karriere som dirigent for Gewandthausorkestret i Leipzig, følte sig tvunget til at opgive sin stilling og vende tilbage til København. Han blev snart efter valgt til Musikforeningens bestyrelse og året efter som dirigent for foreningen. Gades første koncert i Musikforeningen fandt sted på Hofteatret 2. november 1850, og som noget nyt omfattede den både selvstændige korsatser og instrumentalsolister. For at give plads til ældre tiders musik begyndte man også at afholde særlige koncerter med dette repertoire, og den første fandt sted lørdag den 24. april 1852 i Kasinos lille sal under betegnelsen: "Første historiske Koncert". Som det fremgår af det bevarede program, omfattede den følgende værker:³⁸

³⁵ Den daværende Vor Frue Kirke med det mere end 100 meter høje spir var under Københavns bombardement i 1807 englændernes foretrukne mål, og kirken nedbrændte til grunden. Efter i nogle år at have henligget som ruin, blev alt revet ned, og en ny kirke genopbygget af C.F. Hansen i klassicistisk stil og indviet den 7. juni 1829. Som Københavns største offentlige lokale blev Vor Frue Kirke snart hjemsted for talrige koncerter.

³⁶ Angul Hammerich, 'Musikforeningens Historie 1836-1886', *Festskrift i Anledning af Musikforeningens Halvhundredaarsdag*, bind 2 (København, 1886), 19. Noget program er ikke overleveret fra denne koncert, men efter koncertens samlede omfang at dømme har det omtalte uddrag af *Messias* næppe drejet sig om andet end "Halleluja"-koret.

³⁷ Ibid. 27 ff.

³⁸ Oplysningerne her og i det følgende stammer alle fra de pågældende programmer fra Musikforeningen, Cæciliaforeningen og de øvrige omtalte foreninger. Programmerne kan findes i Småtryksafdelingen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, København.

1. Bach, J.S.: Suite für Orchester (comp. ca. 1740).
2. Händel, G.F.: Udvalg af Oratoriet "Messias" (comp. 1741).
3. a. Gluck, J.C.: Overture til "Iphigenia i Aulis" (comp. 1773).
b. – – Aria af "Iphigenia i Tauris" (comp. 1779).
4. Haydn, J.: Symphonie for Orchester i Ddur (comp. 1799).³⁹

I bladene annoncerede man flittigt, og koncertens trækplaster var Bachs Suite i D-dur, hvoraf der opførtes fire satser og hvor Gade selv ville fremføre soloen i den berømte Air. I programmet var der tilstæbt stor afveksling, så man ikke kom til at trætte publikum. En særlig omtale fortjener *Messias*-udvalget. Det var sammenstillet af Gade selv og kom med små variationer til at repræsentere dette oratorium fem af de seks gange, det blev opført i Musikforeningens næsten 100-årige historie. Af programmet fremgår det, at 'Gades udvalg' bestod af følgende tre afsnit fra *Messias*, alle forsynet med dansk tekst:

1. Pifa (kun i kort version, t. 1-11) (nr. 12)
Recitativ: "Og der vare Hyrder på Marken" (rec. secco + nr. 13a + rec. secco); teksten er forkortet og det afsluttende rec. accomp. (nr. 14) er udeladt. Efter det andet secco recitativ fortsættes derfor noget uformidlet med:
Chor: "Ære være Gud i det Høie" (nr. 15)
2. Aria: "Hvor liflig er hans Sendebuds Røst" (nr. 34a), attacca [sic!] til:
3. Chor: "Halleluja!" (nr. 39)

I Musikforeningens arkiv finder vi nodematerialet til solist, kor og orkester i sirligt udarbejdede, håndskrevne stemmer, og samme sted finder vi desuden det benyttede partitur til Händels *Messias* i Mozarts bearbejdelse.⁴⁰ Partituret bærer udover de nævnte numre ikke præg af praktisk brug, men ved netop disse tre numre er fastsyet bogmærker af små elfenbensplader til hjælp ved bladvending under opførelsen. Ved bemeldte koncert i 1852 var en af Musikforeningens mest skattede kunstnere, sopranen madam Sahlgreen,⁴¹ solist i den fremførte Gluck-arie. Af et (nu overstreget) notat på omslaget til sopransolostemmen fremgår det, at hun ligeledes var betroet det ovennævnte *Messias*-sopranparti. Som det fremgår, blev der sunget på dansk, og denne tradition fortsatte for *Messias* gennem årene i Musikforeningen. Det håndskrevne materiale rakte til i alle årene, og der blev aldrig anskaffet trykt nodemateriale til kor eller orkester.

Sin lidenhed til trods – eller måske netop på grund heraf – blev 'Gades udvalg' af *Messias* det hyppigst opførte Händelværk i Musikforeningen. De øvrige af Händels korværker hørtes næsten alle blot en enkelt gang og altid i udvalg, dvs. i stærkt

³⁹ Angivelsen af kompositionsår var på denne tid ofte behæftet med fejl. Hele tre af de opgivne fem årstal er forkerte. Orkestersuiten af Bach (nr. 3 i D) regnes nu til ca. 1729-31, *Iphigenia i Aulis* til 1774 og endelig Haydns Symfoni nr. 104 til 1795.

⁴⁰ Stemmematerialet i Musikforeningens Arkiv på Det kongelige Bibliotek, København, bærer signaturen Mf 219a; partituret er fra Breitkopf & Härtel (Leipzig, 1803).

⁴¹ Louise Zahlgreen var første gang solist i Musikforeningen i 1843.

beskåret udgave. Det drejede sig om *Alexanders Fest* (1851, tysk tekst), *Israel i Ægypten* (1859, tysk tekst), *Kroningsanthem fra 1727* (1864, dansk tekst, to opførelser), *Jubilate* (1870, dansk tekst) og *Acis og Galatea* (1892, tysk tekst).

Var Händel således sparsomt repræsenteret i Musikforeningens repertoire, stod det endnu værre til med Bach. Det hyppigst opførte værk var Kantate til 16. søndag efter Trinitatis: *Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben* (BWV 8), som i årene 1870-85 fik ikke mindre end ni opførelser. *Magnificat* blev i forkortet udgave opført to gange i 1885, og endelig kunne man fra Juleoratoriets 2. del ved flere lejligheder høre den yndede arie, "Schlafe, mein Liebster", sunget af den i foreningen meget benyttede altsolist fru Zinck.⁴² Der blev dog gjort afbigt, da Gade efter Mendelssohns forbillede valgte at opføre Bachs Mattæuspassion i Christiansborg Slotskirke i påsken 1775. Der blev sunget på dansk, og opførelsen blev en københavnerbegivenhed, der blev gentaget i både 1876 og 1880.

Efter 1870 hørtes 'Gades udvalg' af *Messias* ikke mere i Musikforeningen, formodentlig fordi den konkurrerende *Cæciliaforeningen* fra 1877 begyndte med gentagne opførelser i et uddrag, der omfattede det meste af værket. Gades lille smagsprøve blev dog ikke helt glemt. Materialet blev nemlig udlånt til Det kongelige Teater, hvor korpersonalet havde tradition for en årlig koncert i Vor Frue Kirke til fordel for Chorpersonalets Pensionsfond. Ved koncerten påskedag den 17. april 1870 kunne man derfor endnu engang høre de tre kendte afsnit under ledelse af Gade selv. Som solist havde man ønsket den også på teatret højt værdsatte fru Zinck, som besad en udpræget altstemme, der navnlig i dybden havde en usædvanlig fylde. Af koncertprogrammet fremgår det, at man noget utraditionelt ønskede at benytte fru Zinck også i sopranpartiet i *Messias*. Men recitativet (nr. 13a med rec.) har tilsyneladende ligget for højt, for blandt de bevarede manuskriptblade er indføjet et nodeark, der i Gades karakteristiske håndskrift giver en helt nykomponeret version af recitativet med påskriften: "Indrettet for Alt Solo" (se Ill. 1). De tilsvarende ændringer er klæbet ind i de bevarede orkesterstemmer.⁴³ Det blev en af fru Zincks sidste koncerter, da hun året efter måtte trække sig tilbage af helbredsmæssige årsager.⁴⁴

MESSIAS OG CÆCILIAFORENINGEN 1877-1933

Det skulle blive komponisten og dirigenten Frederik Rung, som atter bragte *Messias* til opførelse i København. Da hans far Henrik Rung døde i 1871, var det en selvfølge, at sønnen skulle overtage ledelsen af a cappella-koret Cæciliaforeningen,⁴⁵ som faderen havde stiftet i 1851, og som i disse år var en betydelig faktor i det københavnske musikliv i skarp konkurrence med Musikforeningen. Ved faderens død var Frederik

⁴² Josephine Zinck var den mest benyttede og værdsatte altsolist i Musikforeningen, hvor hun første gang medvirkede i 1851.

⁴³ Jf. note 40.

⁴⁴ En gennemgang af programmerne for korpersonalets årlige velgørenhedskoncert i årene 1869-1910 afslører, at *Messias* talrige gange er repræsenteret ved en enkeltstående arie, men ikke mere ved korsatser.

⁴⁵ Carl Thrane, *Cæciliaforeningen og dens stifter* (København, 1901), 149.

dog kun 17 år gammel, og han skønnedes trods sit uomtvistelige talent ikke moden nok til det ansvarsfulde job. Foreningen fortsatte derfor i nogle år under den respekterede gamle kapelmester ved Det kongelige Teater Holger Paulli, som i det store og hele fortsatte a cappella-traditionen, men dog sluttede sit virke med hele tre opførelser af Haydns *Skabelsen* i Christiansborg Slotskirke i maj 1877. Hermed var vejen banet for det, der skulle blive så karakteristisk for Frederik Rung: opførelsen af de store klassiske korværker side om side med bevarelsen af den oprindelige a cappella-tradition.

Som det var tilfældet med faderen skulle også Frederik Rung hente sin inspiration i udlandet.⁴⁶ I årene 1875-77 var han i flere omgange på studieophold rundt i Europa og fik bl.a. i Wien lejlighed til at høre glimrende opførelser af Verdis *Aida* og *Requiem* under komponistens egen ledelse. Endnu større betydning fik dog en 14 dages udflugt til London i 1877. Her overværede han i Krystalpaladset tre store Händelopførelser, bl.a. *Israel i Ægypten* og *Messias* med henvend 4000 sangere i koret, og det gjorde et stærkt indtryk på ham.⁴⁷

Efter denne oplevelse rejste Frederik Rung tilbage til Danmark og dirigerede for første gang Cæciliaforeningen den 3. juni 1877 ved en koncert med Haydns *Skabelsen* (indstuderet af Paulli) i Roskilde Domkirke. Hans første selvstændige opførelse med koret fandt sted den følgende sæson, hvor man efter en pause på 91 år atter kunne høre *Der Messias* i København i andet end Gades sparsomme udvalg. Opførelsen fandt sted i Christiansborg Slotskirke lørdag den 3. november 1877, og som titlen antyder, blev der sunget på tysk, idet man fulgte den i 1867 på musikforlaget Peters nyudgivne version af *Messias* i Mozarts instrumentation.⁴⁸

Værket blev opført i udvalg, men denne gang omfattede udvalget næsten alle satser fra både 1. og 2. del. Der sluttedes med "Halleluja", idet tredje del stort set blev udeladt. Dog indføjedes trompetarien med forudgående recitativ, et påfund, som man dog senere opgav.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Henrik Rung havde i årene 1837-40 opholdt sig i Rom, hvor han tilegnede sig den italienske bel canto-tradition og blev betaget af den tidlige italienske a cappella-musik, som den blev sunget af de pavelige sangere i Det Sixtinske Kapel. Denne musik kom til at danne grundstammen i Cæciliaforeningens repertoire; Thrane, *Cæciliaforeningen*, 39 ff.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 210.

⁴⁸ *Der Messias, Oratorium von G.F. Händel mit hinzugefügter Instrumentierung von W.A. Mozart*. Partitur, C.F. Peters, No 4548 (Leipzig og Berlin); udgivet i 1867 ifølge O.E. Deutsch, *Musikverlagsnummern* (Berlin, 1961). Instrumenteringen er Mozarts, men med tilføjelse af de satser, som Mozart havde udeladt (nr. 31, 32 og 46), i Hillers berømte og berygtede udsættelse, hvor ikke mindst arien nr. 46, "Wenn Gott ist für uns", var bemærkelsesværdig med den indføjede virtuose fagotsolo. I Cæciliaforeningen kom det dog i første omgang ikke til at spille nogen rolle, da man valgte at opføre værket i udvalg, hvorved de pågældende Hillerske satser faldt væk. Cæciliaforeningens materiale til *Messias* er bevaret i foreningens arkiv på Det kongelige Bibliotek, København (sign. Cf 48), og omfatter partitur, orkesterstemmer og korstemmer samt enkelte klaverudtog til solistbrug. Materialet vidner om flittig brug af 1. og 2. del.

⁴⁹ I sin endelige version (1902) kom Frederik Rungs udvalg til at omfatte 1. del (med udeladelse af nr. 7 og 16) og 2. del (udeladelse af nr. 24-25, 29, 31-33 og 37), mens 3. del helt blev udeladt. Man bemærker, at fem af de ni udeladte satser er koloratorsatser, som det store kor (200 sangere) eller solisten (nr. 16, "Rejoice!") ikke var i stand til at udføre. Alligevel var Frederik Rungs udvalg foretaget med smag og kan med små variationer stadig høres i dag.

Dengang som nu blev amatøropførelser sjældent anmeldt, men ved denne særlige lejlighed blev der gjort en undtagelse, idet *Berlingske politiske og Avertissements-Tidende* mandag den 5. november 1877 bragte en usigneret anmeldelse. Der var stor ros til både solister, kor og dirigent, men det er slående, at mange af Peter Grønlands synspunkter, der fremkom 91 år tidligere, fortsat kommer til udtryk. Anmelderen nærmest undskylder på Händels vegne for “svaghederne” i kompositionen og forstår godt, hvis “alt for meget af Händels musik på en gang let kan virke trættende på et moderne øre”:

Cæciliaforeningens første Concert fandt sted i Løverdags i Slotskirken, hvor Udførelsen af Händels “Messias” (1ste og 2den Del) havde samlet en meget talrig Tilhørerkreds. ... Den Händel’ske Musiks Særpræg er det fyldige Udtryk for hvad der er mandigt, festligt og ophøjet; Componisten eier tilvisse ogsaa Udtryk for religiøs Inderlighed og Tro, men uden nogen Tilsætning af moderne Sentimentalitet; for musikalsk forvante Øren kunne händelske Chorsange betragtes som et Staalbad, vel skikket til at rense en forkjælet musikalsk Smag. ...

Ved Siden af Mesterens Genialitet kommer herved i Betragtning, at disse Værker, i hvilke Chorsangene altid ere Hovedsagen, have en gjennemgaende Familielighed, idet bestemte musikalske Vendinger, Tanker og Grundfigurer gjentage sig, saa at det mere er Arten, der virker i sin Almindelighed, hvorimod Stoffets Individualisering træder tilbage. Denne Overvægt af det Typiske og det Almeengyldige over det individuelle Element i Musiken maa dog ikke betragtes som en Mangel, da den er eiendommelig for alle ældre Mestre, Haydn med indbefattet, i Modsætning til den nyere Tid, i hvilken Componistens Subjectivitet bliver prædominerende, ofte mere end ønskeligt.⁵⁰

Ved den følgende koncert året efter udgik værkets tredje del helt, men blev til gengæld opført ved en selvstændig koncert i 1881. Denne del af værket syntes dog slet ikke at falde i publikums smag, for man gentog aldrig forsøget. Frederik Rung ledede Cæciliaforeningen 1877-1912, og i den tid opførtes *Messias* fire gange i Mozarts version,⁵¹ mens orkestermaterialet – for at imødekomme tidens smag – ved en opførelse i 1902 erstattedes med den af Robert Franz foretagne bearbejdelse af Mozarts version.⁵²

Frem til Cæciliaforeningens opløsning i 1933 opførtes værket i alt ni gange på 56 år (jf. Bilag 1);⁵³ der var således tale om et relativt hyppigt opført værk, men langt fra om nogen årligt tilbagevendende tradition. Rung søgte at præsentere et stort udvalg af værker, som ikke tidligere eller kun sjældent havde været opført i København. Af Händel opførtes udover *Messias* seks af de øvrige Händeloperatorier 1-2 gange hver, og af Bach kunne man høre *Juleoratoriet* to gange, *Johannes-passionen* syv gange, *Matteus-passionen* tre gange og ikke mindst *H-mol Messen*, der opførtes hele seks gange i denne periode. Hertil kom en række motetter og kantater. Var Bach og Händel blevet forsømt i Musikforeningen, kom de nu i forreste række i Cæciliaforeningen.

⁵⁰ *Berlingske politiske og Avertissements-Tidende*, 5. nov. 1877.

⁵¹ Opførelsen den 25. april 1881 omfattede dog som nævnt kun 3. del.

⁵² *Der Messias. Oratorium von G.F. Händel. Under Zugrundelegung der Mozart’schen Partitur mit den nötigen Ergänzungen herausgegeben von Robert Franz* (Leipzig, 1884).

⁵³ Opførelsen den 27. april 1931 var en afskedskoncert for P.S. Rung-Keller og omfattede kun fem af værkets satser.

Da Frederik Rung i 1912 trak sig tilbage som dirigent, var koret på over 200 medlemmer, og det kan derfor ikke undre, at hans efterfølger P.S. Rung-Keller fortsatte med at opføre de store korværker, og især Bach måtte holde for. I årene 1912-31 opførtes *Johannespassionen* fem gange og *Matteuspasjonen* hele syv gange. I samme tidsrum opførtes *Messias* tre gange, stadig i den bearbejdede version af Mozart/Franz.

I 1931 var dirigenthvervet overgået til den 34-årige organist og dirigent Mogens Wöldike og dermed blæste der nye vinde vedrørende udførelsen af barokmusik. Ved opførelsen af *Messias* påskedag den 16. april 1933 i Vor Frue Kirke hørtes værket atter – for første gang i 147 år – i den originale instrumentering, dvs. strygere, orgel og cembalo, samt på enkelte højdepunkter trompeter og pauker. I koncertens programnoter argumenterer Jens Peter Larsen overbevisende for denne tilbagevenden til den oprindelige instrumentation. Efter en redegørelse for værkets enestående tekstlige opbygning og indre sammenhæng beklages det, at der sker en udeladelse af hele 3. del samt en overspringelse af otte satser fra de øvrige dele, “da en fuldstændig Opførelse vilde vare mindst 3-4 Timer”.⁵⁴ Og helt let er det heller ikke at forklare, hvorfor man i stedet for den oprindelige engelske tekst har valgt at lade Harald Vilstrup foretage en ny dansk oversættelse. Argumentet var, at den under alle omstændigheder var bedre end den Klopstock-Ebelingske tyske tekst, som havde været anvendt ved alle tidligere opførelser i Cæciliaforeningen. Og som eksempel på den danske teksts fortrin nævner Larsen bl.a. deklamationen af koret “All we like sheep”, “der er væsentlig svækket, naar det [i den tyske version] hedder ‘Der Heerde gleich’ – men næsten af forhøjet Virkning til det danske ‘Vi var som Faar’ ”.⁵⁵

Men i praksis var virkningen en anden. Mange år frem i tiden skulle dette sted give anledning til højlydt munterhed blandt tilhørerne. En ændring til stavrimet: “Som får i flok”, gjorde ikke sagen stort bedre. Dette var blot en af de mange lidt komiske oversættelser, der førte til, at man omsider langt op i det 20. århundrede gik over til den originale engelske tekst.⁵⁶

Når vi ved nærværende undersøgelse har holdt os til Musikforeningen og Cæciliaforeningen, skyldes det, at ingen af de øvrige musikforeninger i København i sidste halvdel af det 19. århundrede var relevante i forbindelse med opførelser af *Messias*. Ganske vist rådede Koncertforeningen (1874-93) også over både kor og orkester, men denne forening så det som sin opgave “stedse at kunne gjøre sig bekendt med Ind- og Udlandets bedste nyere Frembringelser”.⁵⁷ Af programlægningen fremgår det, at der var tale om en bevidst progressiv linie. Ældre tiders musik opførtes sjældent. Af Bach hørtes intet; af Händel blot et udvalg fra *l'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed il Moderato* og oratoriet *Samson*, der her opførtes for første gang i Danmark (1878).⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Cæciliaforeningens program, koncert nr. 328.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Akademisk Orkester og Kor benyttede 1946-64 samme danske tekst ved den årlige *Messias*-opførelse.

⁵⁷ Torben Schousboe, ‘Koncertforeningen i København. Et bidrag til det københavnske musikklivs historie i slutningen af det 19. århundrede’, *Dansk Aarvog for Musikforskning*, 6 (1968-72), 171.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 191.

Messias I DANMARKS RADIO 1935-94

I 1926 var den legendariske kammersanger Emil Holm blevet driftsleder for de påbegyndte radioudsendelser i Danmark, og på hans initiativ dannedes allerede i 1928 Statsradiofoniens Symfoniorkester og i 1932 Radiokoret. Det skulle blive skæbnesvangert for de private musikforeninger i København. De bedste musikere og sangere søgte de nye stillinger med det resultat, at foreningerne indenfor få år måtte lukke: Musikforeningen i 1931, Filharmonisk Selskab i 1932, Cæciliaforeningen og Palestrinakoret begge i 1934.

Det var nu Statsradiofonien, der skulle forvalte det klassiske musikalske arvegods, og det lykkedes da også i årene 1935-1994 at få programsat *Messias* hele 11 gange, dog i de fleste tilfælde i en reduceret version. Den første opførelse fandt sted ved en torsdagskoncert den 17. oktober 1935, hvor Nikolaj Malko dirigerede 1.-3. del i udvalg. Mogens Wöldike var ansvarlig for de følgende fire opførelser, som alle var i større eller mindre udvalg, og helt frem til 1953 med benyttelse af Harald Vilstrups omdiskuterede danske oversættelse.⁵⁹

Torsdagskoncerternes længde var pr. tradition begrænset til under to timer, og det forhindrede i mange år en komplet opførelse af *Messias* i Danmarks Radio. Det lykkedes dog for Mogens Wöldike med en torsdagskoncert den 17. december 1964 og senere for John Alldis den 20. december 1973. Begge koncerter lå – som det fremgår – i december, og sluttede sig dermed til den nu etablerede juletradition. Dette opgav man dog igen ved de seneste opførelser i 1987 (Richard Hickox) og 1994 (Uwe Gronostay), hvor koncerterne lå i fastetiden og var begrænset til 1.-3. del i udvalg.⁶⁰

FØRSTE FULDSTÆNDIGE OPFØRELSE I KØBENHAVN 1954

En dansk førsteopførelse af Händels værk med alle tre dele ubeskåret og med den originale engelske tekst lod således – 200 år efter værkets tilblivelse – stadig vente på sig. Det skete først, da Københavns Dreng- og Mandskor under Wöldikes ledelse opførte værket i sin oprindelige helhed ved en koncert i Odd-Fellowpalæet den 4. marts 1954. Modtagelsen hos publikum og anmeldere var overordentlig positiv. Under overskriften 'Händels sande ansigt' skrev anmelderen Robert Naur:

Det var Mogens Wöldikes store fortjeneste, at han magtede at bære aftenens opførelse af den uforkortede *Messias* uden at miste koncentrationen. Han havde sit store publikum med sig, og den efterfølgende reaktion viste, at det kan lade sig gøre at holde tankerne samlede hos nutidsmennesker gennem en så gigantisk musikledsagelse. ... Københavns Drengkor havde en meget stor aften. Korsatserne bar præg af virkelig tilbunds-gående indstuderingsarbejde og hvor klang især sopranstemmerne smukt. Solopartierne var overdådigt besat med den engelske Jennifer Vyvyan, Else Brems, Uno Ebrelius og Kim Borg, og Det kgl. Kapel bidrog med dets fineste klang til denne store opførelse.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Helge Baun Sørensen, *Radiokoret 1932-82* (København, 1982), 42 ff.

⁶⁰ Programmer fra Danmarks Radio, Småtryksafdelingen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, København.

⁶¹ Robert Naur, 'Händels sande ansigt', *Information*, 6. marts 1954.

Koncerten blev gentaget den følgende aften, dog kun 1. og 2. del – noget af en præstation for de mange medvirkende drenge, som også måtte stå model til en fuld skoledag ind imellem. Ved Den danske Musik- og Balletfestival i maj samme år opførte Drengekorset værket endnu en gang, og skønt Händels musik tydeligvis lå Wöldike stærkt på sinde, skal vi helt frem til 1977, før Drengekorset atter opfører *Messias*, 1. og 2. del, mens 3. del måtte vente til det følgende år, idet en samlet opførelse ville være for tidskrævende i indstudering.⁶² Men på dette tidspunkt blev *Messias* også opført hvert år ved juletid af flere amatørkor.

MESSIAS SOM JULETRADITION – AKADEMISK ORKESTER OG KOR FRA 1946

Blandt de få overlevende musikforeninger efter krisen i 1930'erne var Akademisk Orkester. Foreningen havde i 1932 fået pianisten og dirigenten Walter Meyer-Radon som ny leder, og ham lykkedes det i 1935 at samle de tiloversblevne sangere fra de nedlagte korforeninger i Akademisk Kor. Ensembleterne voksede hurtigt, og allerede året efter var der 95 spillende og 170 syngende medlemmer. Repertoiret omfattede hovedsagelig de store klassiske og romantiske korværker som fx *Skabelsen*, *Årstiderne*, Beethovens 9. symfoni og *Ein deutsches Requiem*.⁶³

Under anden verdenskrig blev det besluttet at opføre Händels *Messias*. Proverne begyndte i 1943, men på grund af forholdene i de sidste krigsår fandt opførelsen først sted den 6. marts 1946 i Vor Frue Kirke i København. Da man af let forståelige grunde ikke ønskede at synge på tysk, valgtes den danske tekst af Harald Vilstrup fra 1933. Koncerten blev et tilløbsstykke og måtte gentages ugen efter. Nærmest ved et tilfælde fik man da den ide at gentage opførelsen ved juletid, og det er bemærkelsesværdigt, fordi på en enkelt untagelse nær (Wöldike med Radiokoret den 7. december 1939) har *ingen* af de *Messias*-opførelser, vi hidtil har omtalt, fundet sted i adventstiden. Men Akademisk Orkester og Kor gentog dette de følgende år og kom derved til at skabe en særdeles livskraftig tradition. Værket opførtes stort set i det omfang, som i sin tid blev fastlagt af Frederik Rung, men nu med benyttelse af Händels originale instrumentation. På nær et enkelt år (1951) fortsatte denne årlige tradition uden ændringer frem til 1964, hvor en ny dirigent, Ringoldas Kaufmanas, fik gennemført, at man gik over til at synge den engelske originaltekst.

I 1975 var nærværende forfatter tiltrådt som dirigent for Akademisk Orkester og Kor og det betød en ændring af traditionerne omkring *Messias*. I 1976 blev de hidtil oversprungne satser i 1. og 2. del medtaget, og fra 1983 opførtes alle værkets tre dele uden overspringelser. Dette er siden bibeholdt. Til mange ældre medlemmers overraskelse var den samlede spilletid (knap tre timer) ikke væsentlig længere end tidligere, da man kun opførte 'Rungs udvalg'. Holdningen til barokmusikkens tempi havde i disse år ændret sig væsentligt.

⁶² Meddelt forfatteren af sanginspektør på Sankt Annæ Gymnasium, Niels Møller.

⁶³ Morten Topp, *Akademisk Orkester i 100 år – en kronike fra foreningens arkiver. Akademisk Orkester og Kor 1899-1999* (Privattryk, København, 1999), 4-15.

Publikumstilstrømningen øgedes markant op imod årtusindskiftet. I 1976 blev det nødvendigt med to adventsopførelser i Domkirken, i 1988 med tre opførelser, og enkelte år kunne der endda være fire opførelser med fuldt hus. Det har betydet, at Akademisk Kor siden starten i 1946 og frem til 2004 har haft mere end 100 opførelser af værket.

I de første år var Akademisk Kor ene om denne årlige juleopførelse, men fra 1957 begyndte dirigenten og organisten Arne Bertelsen under beskedne forhold på et tilsvarende projekt. Koncerterne fandt sted i Messiaskirken i Charlottenlund, hvor Bertelsen dirigerede kirkens ungdomskor, mens han selv akkompagnerede fra orgelbænken. Værket var i begyndelsen stærkt beskåret, mens det under den efterfølgende dirigent Ib Bindel fra 2001 blev opført uden overspringelser.

MESSIAS-EUFORIEN

Op igennem 1960'erne og 70'erne opstod der i København en række nye kammerkor. En ny, selvstændig ungdom ønskede ikke blot at indgå i de store 'gamle' kor, men søgte nye kor med nye udfordringer. Det udelukkede dog ikke, at de også ønskede at indgå i *Messias*-traditionen, og det havde den fordel, at korstørrelse og korsyngemåde i langt højere grad svarede til rammerne for Händels egne opførelser i London. Mens der i årene 1946-76 var 1-2, allerhøjest 3 årlige opførelser i december, skete der fra 1977 en drastisk vækst i det samlede antal opførelser. Dette skyldtes dels, at nye kor kom til, dels at de fleste kor nu opførte værket flere gange.

I Tabel 1 bringes en kronologisk oversigt over hvilke kor, der i perioden 1946-2003 begyndte at opføre *Messias* i Storkøbenhavn, og som siden har fortsat denne tradition. De fleste af disse kor opfører fortsat værket to eller flere gange hvert år i december. Seks kor (markeret med *) opfører *Messias* og *Juleoratoriet* på skift hvert andet år. I parentes er anført det samlede antal opførelser i København det pågældende år. Udover de her opregnede kor indgår i det samlede antal opførelser en del andre kor, som kun en enkelt gang eller lejlighedsvis har taget del i december *Messias*-eufori. Endelig fremgår det af sidste kolonne i oversigten, hvilket udvalg af værket, der blev præsenteret ved de første opførelser med det pågældende kor.⁶⁴

Antallet af opførelser i december svinger noget fra år til år, men er generelt voksende frem til 1998. Når antallet af opførelser topper i 1998, skyldes det helt enkelt, at stort set alle de kor, der kan synge *Messias*, rent faktisk også gør det, bortset fra nogle ganske få, fx Bach-koret og koret ved Den tyske Kirke, som foretrækker at opføre *Juleoratoriet*. Når næsten alle kor opfører værket to eller flere gange, skyldes naturligvis først og fremmest, at der er et publikum til disse mange opførelser. Men der er også et økonomisk aspekt. Selv med totalt udsolgt hus og ganske høje billetpriser, kan en enkelt opførelse med deltagelse af professionelle solister og musikere ikke undgå at føre til et betydeligt underskud for koret. Imidlertid vokser udgifterne

⁶⁴ Oversigten bygger på koncertannoncer og koncertoversigter samt oplysninger fra de pågældende kors hjemmesider. Enkelte ikke bekendtgjorte *Messias*-opførelser kan muligvis føjes til listen, der derfor må betragtes som en minimumsangivelse. Opgørelsen omfatter udelukkende koncerter i Storkøbenhavn, dvs. København med omliggende forstæder.

| År | Samlet antal opførelser i København | Kor | Dirigent | Udvalg |
|------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1946 | (1-2) | Akademisk Kor | Walter Meyer-Radon | 1.-2. del i udvalg |
| 1957 | (2-3) | Messias Kirkens Kor | Arne Bertelsen | 1.-2. del i udvalg |
| 1977 | (6) | Camerata | Per Enevold | 1.-3. del i udvalg |
| 1978 | (8) | Filipperkoret | Gunnar Svensson | 1.-3. del i udvalg |
| 1981 | (10) | Kildevældskirkens Kammerkor* | Gunnar Brønholt | var. udvalg |
| 1982 | (8) | Koncertforeningens Kor* | Steen Lindholm | 1.-3. del i udvalg |
| 1988 | (14) | Sokkelund Sangkor | Morten Schuldt-Jensen | 1.-2. del |
| 1991 | (16) | Carmina | Peter Hanke | 1.-3. del i udvalg |
| 1994 | (11) | Skt. Annæ Pigechor* | Flemming Windekilde | 1.-3. del i udvalg |
| 1995 | (15) | Copenhagen Oratorio Choir | Torsten Mariegaard | 1.-2. del |
| 1996 | (12) | Euphonia* | Ole Reuss Schmidt | 1.-3. del |
| 1997 | (16) | Esrum-Hellerupkoret | Henrik Palsmar | 1.-2. del |
| 1998 | (27) | Tritonus | John Høybye | 1.-3. del i udvalg |
| | | Eliaskirkens Kor* | Lars N. Sardemann | 1.-2. del |
| | | Københavns Kantatekor* | Torben Svendsen | 1.-2. del i udvalg |
| 1999 | (23) | Musica | Roland Haraldson | 1.-3. del |
| 2003 | (25) | Voces Copenhagen | Peter Hanke | 1.-3. del i udvalg |

Tabel 1.

ikke proportionalt med antallet af koncerter, og denne lille budgettekniske finesse er en ikke uvæsentlig årsag til de mange gentagne opførelser. Skønt antallet af opførelser siden 1998 har været svagt vigende, synes det samlede antal dog at have stabiliseret sig på omkring 25 årlige opførelser af *Messias* i december måned. Med et forsigtigt gæt på gennemsnitligt ca. 400 tilhørere pr. koncert betyder det, at mindst 10.000 mennesker i Københavnsområdet årligt overværer en sådan opførelse.

MESSIAS I UDVALG ELLER I KOMPLET VERSION?

Blandt de ca. 25 årlige opførelser findes flere forskellige versioner og udvalg. Men også her er der sket en interessant udvikling. 'Gades udvalg' med kun tre afsnit ser vi ikke mere, men langt de fleste kor har fra starten taget udgangspunkt i 'Rungs udvalg', dvs. 1.-2. del i udvalg. Årsagen hertil var dels at undgå de mere intrikate korsatser, dels at begrænse koncertens længde af hensyn til publikum. Det var denne version, der blev benyttet af alle helt frem til 1954.

Gennem de seneste 25-30 år er der dog sket en betydelig kvalitetsforbedring af korskningen i Danmark. Det er ikke længere nødvendigt med de særlige hensyn, man tidligere måtte tage til korsangerne, og som betød, at de 'vanskelige' satser i *Messias* måtte springes over. Tværtimod ønsker mange kor netop at prøve kræfter med disse satser.

Løsningen at opføre alle værkets tre dele komplet lod dog som nævnt vente længe på sig, og efter Mogens Wöldikes samlede opførelser i 1954 og 1964, skal vi frem til 1983, før Akademisk Kor som nævnt begyndte at opføre værket komplet. Fra 1989 gik også Kammerkoret Camerata over til at opføre værket komplet, og status var nu, at der dette år kunne høres fem opførelser komplet, mens ni var i varierende udvalg. Men udviklingen henimod komplette opførelser fortsatte, og i 2003 fordelte de 25 opførelser sig således: tre opførelser af 1.-2. del i udvalg, fem opførelser af 1.-3. del i udvalg, seks opførelser af 1.-2. del komplet, og 11 opførelser af 1.-3. del komplet.

Der er med andre ord sket en markant stigning i antallet af komplette opførelser. Dette kan skyldes flere forhold. Utvivlsomt spiller det ind, at Messias efterhånden findes i talrige cd-indspilninger, som alle indeholder værket i komplet form. Mange tilhørere 'forbereder' sig notorisk ved at gennemhøre værket hjemme inden opførelsen finder sted, og for den type tilhørere vil det naturligvis virke forstyrrende med overspringelser. Dette kan dog ikke alene forklare, at så mange mennesker er villige til at stå i kø i timevis for at komme ind at sidde på nogle umagelige kirkebænke og lytte til barokmusik i tre timer stort set uden pause. Der må være noget ved værket, ved omstændighederne omkring opførelserne og muligvis ved tilhørerne selv, som bevirker denne forbløffende tilstrømning.

MESSIAS-EFFEKTEN

Ligesom Händels øvrige oratorier var *Messias* oprindeligt beregnet til opførelse på teatret i fastetiden, hvor opera ikke var tilladt. Den tekstlige sammenstilling af bibelciterer omfatter dog alle kirkeårets højdepunkter i en cyklisk form, der tager sit udgangspunkt i advent. Der er derfor god mening i – trods den oprindelige intention – at opføre værket ved juletid og i en kirke. Værket tilføres derved en kvalitet, som næppe ville fremkomme ved tilsvarende opførelser ved fastetid i en koncertsal eller på et teater. Hertil kommer, at Händel med sin melodiske enkelhed og sit rytmiske drive for mange mennesker er lettere tilgængelig end fx Bach. Det er en af de væsentligste årsager til, at *Messias* – alt andet lige – fortsat opføres 3-4 gange så hyppigt som Juleoratoriet.

Samtidig er der sket en holdningsændring hos publikum. Hvor man ved koncerterne for 25 år siden hovedsagelig mødte det bedre borgerskab med pæne kulturelle manerer, er disse nu suppleret med et nyt publikum af unge mennesker med et mere afslappet forhold til den traditionelle koncertsituation. Det viser sig blandt andet ved, at mange medbringer pude eller klapstol og sætter sig i koncentreret lytten overalt, hvor der er den mindste plads på kirkegulvet.⁶⁵ Betydningfuldt nok har det ikke betydet større uro i salen; tværtimod hersker en usædvanlig tysthed under koncertforløbet, og mange tilhørere befinder sig tilsyneladende i en art meditativ tilstand. Selv ved de kirkelige højtider finder man ikke et så massivt fremmøde eller

⁶⁵ For en udførlig beskrivelse se Thomas Viggo Pedersen, 'Lyksaligt det folk', *Årbog for Københavns Stift 1988*, (København, 1988), 17 ff.

en så intens medleven, og denne forskel mellem kirken som kulturelt samlingspunkt og som forkyndelsessted har vakt opmærksomhed og er blevet diskuteret også i teologiske kredse.⁶⁶

Der er derfor al mulig grund til at antage, at Charles Jennens geniale udvalg af bibeltekster i forening med Händels rytmisk spændte og ekstatiske musik har vakt genklang hos mange yngre mennesker, som i de seneste år har søgt nye veje til 'det uudsigelige', og som ikke nødvendigvis søger det i folkekirken. Og så længe denne søgen fortsætter, vil der nok fortsat være kø foran de københavnske kirker, når *Messias* opføres ved juletid.

⁶⁶ Jf. fx Jørgen I. Jensen, *Den fjerne kirke* (København, 1995), 287ff.

| <i>År</i> | <i>Dato</i> | <i>Sted</i> | <i>Arrangør / Kor</i> | <i>Dirigent</i> |
|-----------|-------------|---------------------|---|------------------|
| 1786 | 19. april | Vingårdsstr. 6 | Det harmoniske Selskab | J.E. Hartmann |
| | 26. april | | | |
| 1837 | (Forår) | Vor Frue Kirke | (Koncert til fordel for Mozart-monumentet i Salzburg) | (ukendt) |
| 1852 | 24. april | Kasino | Musikforeningen, ("Første historiske Concert") | Niels W. Gade |
| 1853 | 19. nov. | Kasino | Musikforeningen | Niels W. Gade |
| 1862 | 29. april | Kasino | Musikforeningen | Niels W. Gade |
| 1868 | 15. dec. | Kasino | Musikforeningen | Niels W. Gade |
| 1870 | 17. apr. | Vor Frue Kirke | Det kgl. Theaters Chorpersonale | Niels W. Gade |
| 1870 | 13. dec. | Kasino | Musikforeningen | Niels W. Gade |
| 1877 | 3. nov. | Chr.borg Slotskirke | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 83 | Frederik Rung |
| 1878 | 15. nov. | Chr.borg Slotskirke | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 86 | Frederik Rung |
| 1881 | 25. april | Chr.borg Slotskirke | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 99 | Frederik Rung |
| 1885 | 25. nov. | Chr.borg Slotskirke | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 117 | Frederik Rung |
| 1902 | 3. nov. | Odd-Fellowpalæet | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 187 | Frederik Rung |
| 1917 | 26. nov. | Odd-Fellowpalæet | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 278 | P.S. Rung-Keller |
| 1923 | 23. jan. | Odd-Fellowpalæet | Musikforeningen | Carl Nielsen |
| 1926 | 29. okt. | Odd-Fellowpalæet | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 307 | P.S. Rung-Keller |
| 1931 | 27. apr. | Odd-Fellowpalæet | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 322 (Afskedskoncert for Rung-Keller) | P.S. Rung-Keller |
| 1933 | 16. apr. | Vor Frue Kirke | Cæciliaforeningen, konc. nr. 328 | Mogens Wöldike |
| 1935 | 17. okt. | Odd-Fellowpalæet | DR/Torsdagskoncert/Radiokoret | Nikolaj Malko |
| 1939 | 7. dec. | Vor Frue Kirke | DR/Radiokoret | Mogens Wöldike |
| 1941 | 15. sept. | Stærekassen | DR/Radiokoret (<i>Messias</i> 200 år) | Mogens Wöldike |
| 1946 | 6. marts | Vor Frue Kirke | AOK/Akademisk Kor | W. Meyer-Radon |
| 1946-50 | dec. | Vor Frue Kirke | AOK/Akademisk Kor | W. Meyer-Radon |
| 1948 | 9. dec. | DR koncertsal | DR/Torsdagskoncert | Mogens Wöldike |
| 1950 | 25. okt. | DR, transmission | DR/Radiokoret | Mogens Wöldike |
| 1952-54 | dec. | Vor Frue Kirke | AOK/Akademisk Kor | W. Meyer-Radon |
| 1954 | 4. marts | Odd-Fellowpalæet | Københavns Drengekor | Mogens Wöldike |

Bilag 1. Opførelser af *Messias* i København fra førsteopførelsen i 1786 til den første komplette opførelse i 1954.

| <i>Udvalg (HWV 56, nr. 1-48)</i> | <i>Nodemateriale (instrumentering)</i> | <i>Tekst</i> |
|--|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. del i udvalg | (orig. version) | Tysk (Klopstock-Ebeling) |
| 2.-3. del i udvalg | | |
| (39?) | (ukendt) | (ukendt) |
| 'Gades udvalg': 12, 13a, 15, 34a, 39 | Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803, afskrift | Dansk |
| 'Gades udvalg' | Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803 | Dansk |
| 'Gades udvalg' | Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803 | Dansk |
| 'Gades udvalg', variant: 8, 39 | Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803 | Dansk |
| 'Gades udvalg' | Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803 | Dansk |
| 'Gades udvalg', variant: 34a, 39 | Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803 | Dansk |
| 1.-3. del i udvalg: 1-4, 8-18/19-30, 34a-39/42-43 | Peters, 1867 (Mozart / Hiller) | Tysk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg: 1-4, 8-18/19-27, 30, 34a-39 | Peters, 1867 (Mozart / Hiller) | Tysk |
| 3. del: 40-48 | Peters, 1867 (Mozart / Hiller) | Tysk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg (som 1878) | Peters, 1867 (Mozart / Hiller) | Tysk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg: 1-6, 8-15, 17-18/ 19-23, 26-28, 30, 34a-36a, 38a-39 | Kistner, 1884 (Mozart / Franz) | Tysk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg: 1-6, 8-15, 17-18/ 19-23, 26-30, 34a-36a, 38a-39 | Kistner, 1884 (Mozart / Franz) | Tysk |
| To arier og "Halleluja": 9-10/36a, 39 | Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803 (arierne på tysk, Hallelujakoret på dansk) | Tysk / Dansk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg | Kistner, 1884 (Mozart / Franz) | Tysk |
| 4, 8, 16, 47, 39 | Kistner, 1884 (Mozart / Franz) | Tysk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg | Peters, 1931 (orig. version) | Dansk |
| 1.-3. del i udvalg | (ukendt) | Tysk |
| 1. del | Peters, 1931 | Dansk |
| 3. del | Peters, 1931 | Dansk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg | Peters, 1931 | Dansk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg | Peters, 1931 | Dansk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg | Peters, 1931 | Dansk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg | Peters, 1931 | Dansk |
| 1.-2. del i udvalg | Peters, 1931 | Dansk |
| 1.-3. del komplet | Peters, 1931 | Engelsk |

SUMMARY

When *Messiah* Came to Copenhagen
Two Centuries of *Messiah* Reception in Copenhagen

After Handel's death in 1759 the knowledge of *Messiah* spread surprisingly slow on the continent, presumably because few outside the U.K. were able to sing in English. A German translation by F.G. Klopstock and C.D. Ebeling was used for the first time in 1775 at a performance conducted by C.F.E. Bach in Hamburg. The translation formed the basis for Mozart's arrangement of Handel's instrumentation and for most of the performances in German-speaking areas well into the twentieth century. That the music society, 'Det harmoniske Selskab', in Copenhagen wished to perform *Messiah* in 1786 might have been due to the rumours of the great Handel performances in London in 1784 and 1785. Since neither a suitable choir nor qualified soloists were available, the parts were sung by a solo quartet thus contributing to the complete failure, which is apparent from Peter Grønland's review of the event. Hence this particular performance strengthened the general reluctance to perform Baroque music — a reluctance that had prevailed since J.A. Scheibe's arrival in Copenhagen in 1740.

For many years the Baroque choral works disappeared completely from the concert repertoire. Apart from the very modest extract of the work performed by N.W. Gade in 'Musikforeningen' (mainly nos. 12-15, 34a and 39), a more extensive extract of *Messiah* was not seen again in Copenhagen until 1877, when the conductor Frederik Rung led 'Cæciliaforeningen' in a successful performance in German at Christiansborg Slotskirke. However, in a contemporary review there were still traces of the sceptical attitude towards Baroque music expressed so strongly by Grønland 91 years earlier. Up to 1933 'Cæciliaforeningen' had performed the work nine times after which Danish National Radio took over and until 1994 the work was performed 11 times, mostly in a reduced version and in the early years often sung in Danish. The first complete performance of *Messiah*, however, took place in 1954 with Mogens Wöldike and Københavns Drengkor.

The fact that *Messiah* has become a Christmas tradition is due to the music society, 'Akademisk Orkester og Kor' (AOK), who has performed the work in Københavns Domkirke every year since 1946 with 1951 as the only exception. Over the years the audiences were of a moderate size but from 1975 the numbers increased, and in the 1990s AOK gave 3-4 annual, full house performances. Many Copenhagen choirs supported the *Messiah* tradition, which meant that around 25 performances of Handel's work could be heard at Christmas shortly before the millennium. Almost half of these were full-length performances, thus emphasizing that text and music form a whole.

Obituaries

GERHARD SCHEPELERN

15.9.1915-6.2.2004

Skulle man ud fra Gerhard Schepelerns slægtsforhold have spået om hans fremtid, så måtte det være som præst, han skulle have gjort sig gældende. Men tidligt fik musikken tag i provst Johannes Schepelerns søn i Gentofte, som efter studentereksamen i 1933 i seks år studerede musik ved Københavns Universitet.

Faget var endnu på dette tidspunkt ungt, og undervisningen foregik i 'Panums Værelse' bag festsalen i hovedbygningen på Frue Plads. Sang og anden musiceren spillede også dengang en stor rolle for de musikstuderende, og snart fandt Schepelern sammen med flere af sine studiekammerater, blandt andre Dagmar (Aggi) Christensen, der senere blev hans hustru og en højt respekteret talepædagog ved Musikvidenskabeligt Institut, Københavns Universitet og Statens Teaterskole. Det frodige musikliv i studieårene er smukt beskrevet af en anden studiekammerat, Anne Sophie Seidelin, i hendes erindringsbog fra 1997, *De unge år*.

I 1939 valgte Gerhard Schepelern at forlade universitetet, og efter direktionsstudier hos Fritz Busch fungerede han 1943-44 som repetitør ved operaen i Lübeck. I 1945 foranstaltede han i København en koncertopførelse af Mozarts *Don Giovanni*, som efter at være blevet gentaget i Århus banede vejen for oprettelsen af Den Jyske Opera. Sammen med operasangeren og instruktøren Holger Boland blev Schepelern en drivende kraft i det kunstneriske arbejde, som lå bag grundlæggelsen i 1947 og senere driften af den nye operainstitution. I sine 22 år som kapelmester ved Den Jyske Opera nåede Gerhard Schepelern at dirigere 29 forskellige operaer.

Sideløbende med sin praktiske musikudøvelse var Schepelern en flittig forfatter af musiklitterære bøger. Hans produktion spænder fra oversættelsen og bearbejdelsen af Gereon Brodins *En värld av musik*, der udkom som *Koncerthaandbogen I-III* i 1956-59 – et populært værk af høj indholdsmæssig kvalitet – til udarbejdelsen af *Operabogen*, der i 2001 kom i 12. udgave, og hvis fremskudte position blandt danske operaførere for længst er slået fast.

Men også egentlig videnskabelige værker fylder i Schepelerns publikationsliste. I det omfattende arbejde *Italienerne paa Hofteatret* fra 1976 leverer han en indgående beskrivelse af de italienske operagæstespil i København i 1840-50'erne. Typisk er hans trang til at skabe overblik, som betyder, at læserne i tilgift får flere nyttige fortegnelser, i dette værk bl.a. over de vigtigste udenlandske operagæstespil i København 1703-1899. For denne afhandling tildeltes Gerhard Schepelern i 1980 lic.phil.-graden i dramaturgi fra Aarhus Universitet.

Interessen for Wagner resulterede i 1983 i den lille publikation *Tekstkilderne til Wagners Nibelungens Ring og deres betydning for værket* og i 1988 i *Wagners Operaer i Danmark*, som er et væsentligt bidrag til dansk Wagner-reception. I 1989 udkom den store monografi over Giuseppe Siboni, der udfyldte en lakune i dansk musikhistorie. Som dens undertitel, *Et Afsnit af Operaens Historie ude og hjemme hovedsagelig paa Grundlag af hidtil ubenyttede trykte og utrykte Kilder*, antyder, har også denne publikation sit egentlige fokus i operahistorien. Blandt meget interessant stof indeholder dette tobindsværk en værdifuld dokumentation af Sibonis italienske baggrund.

I 1995 udgav Schepelern sin sidste større bog, *Operaens historie i Danmark 1634-1975*, som er en meget personlig og værdifuld beretning om dansk operahistorie, fortalt af en, der i mange årtier så hver eneste operaopsætning i landet. Hvad man i øvrigt lægger mærke til i dette værk er, at den i sproglig henseende stærkt konservative forfatter her skifter til retskrivningsreformen af 1948 knap et halvt århundrede efter dens ikrafttræden. Denne bevidsthed om det

ortografiske og i det hele taget sproglige er symptomatisk for Schepeleers bøger, der alle desuden udmærker sig ved en detailrigdom, en forkærlighed for en factspræget stil samt ud-søgte illustrationer.

I forordet til Siboni-værket hedder det: "Om selve Bogen kan jeg sige, at jeg har stræbt efter Wahrheit fremfor Dichtung og efter at gøre det helt klart, hvornår der er Tale om Kendsgerninger, og hvornår jeg bevæger mig ind paa Formodningernes usikre Grund. Jeg har i videst muligt Omfang ladet Kendsgerningerne tale og har derfor kun kommenteret dem, hvor jeg fandt det paakrævet". Mon ikke dette kan opfattes som en slags videnskabeligt 'credo'?

De, der har haft den oplevelse at besøge Gerhard Schepeleer i det hyggelige hjem på Bregnevej i Gentofte, vil vide, at hans indsigt i dansk operahistorie var formidabel. Med en hukommelse, som var langt bedre end de flestes, kunne han karakterisere opsætninger, enkelte sangere eller dirigenter fra en svunden tid. Han fortalte for få år siden, at han ved et besøg hos en ældre slægtning i Hellerup i slutningen af 1990'erne var gået forbi en indgangsdør, som bar et lille skilt med navnet Mary Alice Therp – den danske sopran, der var tilknyttet Det Kongelige Teater 1923-35. Schepeleer havde banket på døren, og ud var kommet den tidligere så feterede og nu næsten 100-årige sangerinde. Uden at blinke benyttede han lejligheden til at takke hende for hendes fine medvirken som overhofmesterinden i den urpremiereopsætning af Finn Høffdings opera *Kejserens nye Klæder*, han som dreng havde oplevet ved et af sine første opera-besøg på teatret. Det var den 19. januar 1929!

Claus Rollum-Larsen

Reports

Research Projects

GENRE AS DISCOURSE – ON THE CONCEPT OF HIP HOP IN DANISH POPULAR MUSIC CRITICISM

My Ph.D. project (Department of Musicology, University of Aarhus, 2003-6) is concerned with genre in popular music, and especially with the discursive constitution of genre concepts. This constitution is in my opinion pragmatic – tied to certain practices, people and places within popular music culture – and I focus my investigation on a specific case, namely the constitution of the concept of hip hop in Danish popular music criticism (newspapers, music magazines, fan- and netzines).

There are a number of reasons for this focus. Journalistic popular music criticism plays an important role in the introduction, negotiation and preservation of genres, and this is due to the fact that genres are concepts. They are, to put it differently, part of a conceptualization of music, and though this conceptualization may be understood as an aspect of a broader genre specific social and cultural practice (a genre culture), it is literally hard to talk about a genre (culture) without some kind of labelling. Genres rely on some kind of articulation, and an important site of this articulation is popular music criticism. This explains, apart from my object, also the discursive orientation of my study, at the same time as it underlines the importance of looking at the features of popular music criticism as an institution. A prominent feature is the mix of implied parties: of general and specialized media, professional and amateur writers, fans and critics etc. The point is that genre concepts are constituted not only by representatives of the genre culture, but also by writers with affection for other genres, with other aesthetic, economic or political interests.

In attempting to grasp this complexity and to focus on the discursive practice of popular music criticism I apply a combination of discourse analytical approaches and the cultural sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. This poses a challenge in combining a dynamic conception of Bourdieu's notion of field with a notion of the order of discourse – a notion derived from critical discourse analysis that denominates a configuration of discourses in relation to a certain topic (in this case hip hop).

In describing the constitution of the concept of hip hop in the emergent discourse of hip hop criticism, I imply a thesis, that divides the constitution of the concept into three phases: one, in which hip hop and related concepts (e.g. scratch, break dance, rap etc.) are introduced; a second, marked by a greater degree of negotiation of these concepts within what can now be considered an established discourse on hip hop; and a third phase, in which this discourse has been expanded giving way to an understanding of hip hop as a rather vague super genre. These phases structure the twenty years of Danish hip hop criticism chronologically but are not clearly demarcated. They refer to overall tendencies in a very complex development and rely on basic discursive processes: first an introduction of a new vocabulary leading to the establishing of a discourse, then attempts to close this discourse and a simultaneous opening as result of this negotiation. Referring to these general processes I hope to shed light on the constitution of genre concepts perhaps beyond the case of Danish hip hop criticism.

Mads Krogh

ROCK CULTURE ON DANISH TELEVISION FROM THE 50S TO THE 80S

As television and rock music in Denmark were born at the same time, television has played an active role in the establishment, the development and the definition of Danish rock culture. My Ph.D. project (2003-6, Department of Musicology, University of Copenhagen) sets out to investigate the history of rock as it appears in the programming policy of the Danish licence-funded, public service Broadcasting Corporation (Danmarks Radio) focussing on its years of monopoly (1951-88). Following the overall idea that transmission through the media involves an influence by the technology and organizational structure of the media system, it is my assumption that this influence takes place and can be read at an overall socio-cultural level, i.e. television's promotion of rock culture as an institution on the musical scene, and at a textual level, i.e. by a thorough analysis of selected television programmes. This assumption leads me to an investigation of the popular music broadcasted, and its relation to the surrounding field of popular music in order to understand the internal structure of the broadcasting corporation and the place of popular music within it, as well as the relations between the institution and the surrounding musical scene. Apart from making individuals (and groups) famous, TV-programmes at the same time help define what it implicates to be a rock star. Through visualization of musical sequences, conventions arise about musicians' appearance, performance and expressions, and the technological development may be seen as both an expression of and a reason for musical and sociological shifts in interest.

My primary research material consists of broadcast material and interviews with those involved in producing music on television. My work is inspired by recent writings emphasising the interdependent relationship between sound and vision (Nicholas Cook, Birger Langkjær), the relationship between live and 'mediatized' performance (Simon Frith, Philip Auslander) as well as an increased interest in the influence of institutional structures and discursive processes on the constitution of genres and the negotiation of values (i.e. the cultural sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and a discourse analytical approach). My work is part of the interdisciplinary research project 'Danish rock culture from the 50s to the 80s' (see www.rockhistorie.dk for further information).

Anja Mølle Lindelof

COMPUTERMUSIK – MELLEM PROGRAMDESIGN OG MUSIKALSK INTENTION

Computerteknologi indgår i dag som en væsentlig faktor i de fleste produktionsprocesser og opførelsespraksiser af musik. Teknologiens indflydelse på musik og musikliv burde derfor optage en central del af den musikvidenskabelige diskurs. Ikke desto mindre lider den etablerede musikvidenskab af berøringsangst over for computerteknologi. Dette udmønter sig i enten en afvisning af feltet som tilhørende datalogien eller en stemping af feltet som ekspertkultur grundet i musikvidenskabens uvilje mod at udarbejde et passende analyseapparat. Mit mål med ph.d.-projektet 'Computermusik – mellem programdesign og musikalsk intention. En undersøgelse af relationen mellem teknik og æstetik i den collage-baserede computermusiks produktions- og receptionsside' (Musikvidenskabeligt Institut, Københavns Universitet, 2004-7) er at udfylde dette teoretiske tomrum ved at udarbejde en sammenhængende terminologi og analysemetode til beskrivelse af samspillet mellem computerprogram og musikalsk intention i computermusikken.

Jeg vil i mit projekt forsøge at trænge bag om computermusikken for at undersøge hvilke roller computeren kan siges at spille i kompositionsprocessen. Min tese er at computermusikprogrammet ikke er et neutralt redskab til komposition af musik, men tværtimod påvirker

musikken klangligt og æstetisk ved at spore brugeren ind på en bestemt musikopfattelse gennem en tilsyneladende neutral kompositionspraksis. Program og musik kan således begge forstås som resultater af et samfunds forhåndenværende tekniske midler og kulturelt betingede æstetiske forestillinger. For overhovedet at få adgang til computermusikprogrammets funktioner må man som bruger underordne sig programmets spilleregler.

Bag designet af computermusikprogrammet ligger skjulte antagelser om hvem standardbrugeren/komponisten er og dermed hvilken slags musik denne standardbruger/komponist ønsker at lave. På baggrund af programmets designmæssige sammensætning af kompositoriske redskaber og grafiske repræsentation af lyd og struktur kan man aflæse forskellige antagelser om hvad lyd er, hvad musikalsk form er og hvordan musik opstår. Disse antagelser viser ikke alene tilbage til programdesignerens forestilling om hvad musikalsk praksis er, men afspejler valg og fravalg taget i løbet af programmets årelange udviklingsproces. Summen af disse valg danner tilsammen programmets egen erfaring eller tradition, hvortil knytter sig forskellige æstetiske forestillinger om hvad musik er. Standardbrugeren/komponistens arbejde med computermusikprogrammet kan således forstås som en udveksling af 'erfaringer' på tværs af programmets brugergrænseflade. I dette spændingsfelt mellem programdesign og standardbrugeren/komponistens musikalske intention – programmets muligheder defineret af dets design overfor komponistens evne til at udnytte disse rammer – bliver computermusikværket til.

Ingeborg Okkels

KILLING ME SOFTLY WITH HIS SONG

My Ph.D. project (2004-7, Department of Musicology, University of Copenhagen) is an investigation of Danish cover versions of international rock and pop songs from the 1950s to the late 80s. The title of the project refers to a Danish cover version of the famous pop song, which in Danish was translated into 'Kylling med Soft Ice og Pølser', that is 'Chicken with Soft Ice and Sausages'. The project is part of the interdisciplinary research project on Danish Rock Culture, founded by The Danish Research Council for the Humanities (2003-6; for further information see *Danish Yearbook of Musicology*, 31 (2003), 91-92, or www.rockkultur.dk).

From 1950 to 1990 a huge number of popular songs were translated into Danish, including literal translations, rewritten or paraphrased texts as well as meaningless texts, which imitate the sound of the pronunciation of the text rather than its meaning. Nevertheless, the practices of translation have not been considered of much relevance in Danish popular music history, especially rock history. It seems as if the status of the songs as unoriginal in some way plays a major part in the aesthetical and cultural valuation.

My investigation of the musical landscape of the 50s and 60s has confirmed that the practice of translating songs played a very important role in the development of Danish popular music during this period. From the early 50s American popular songs were translated on a grand scale. The preferred style was Tin Pan Alley, represented by artists like Bing Crosby, Nat King Cole and Doris Day. In Denmark, the most important single artist was Gustav Winckler, who started his career as a Bing Crosby imitator. During the fifties Winckler and a few other artists recorded a very large number of Danish cover versions of international hits. The record industry grew enormously, and by 1955 it was a specialized and well-functioning hit factory. The normal way of producing a hit was by using specialists in different fields. First the rights to translate a song were bought by a publishing company; then the record company contacted an author, who wrote a text; next step was to find the musicians who would arrange the music; and finally they found the artist, who was to perform the song. This procedure worked fine and

was the main production practice until the end of the 60s. The first rock songs in Danish were produced this way, too.

In the late 60s the popular music scene was split into a high sphere of authentic rock and a low sphere of 'fake' pop. The question of authenticity was very much considered a question of honesty: 'are you in it for the money or because you love it?' The discussion also influenced Danish rock history. It is one of my main arguments that the reason translated songs are considered less important in Danish rock history is due to the fact that the songs are not original or authentic in a strict ideological way rather than to a lack of quality. The concepts of originality and authenticity are central to my study and will be closely examined.

Henrik Smith-Sivertsen

Conferences

14TH NORDIC MUSICOLOGICAL CONGRESS, HELSINKI, 11-14 AUGUST 2004

Hosted by the Sibelius Academy the 14th *Nordic Musicological Congress* saw the gathering of over 200 music scholars in the heart of Helsinki during four beautiful summer days – and one memorable cloudburst! Dating back to 1948 this congress remains the one major recurring Nordic musicological event and in my view still constitutes an important forum for exchange and debate. Befitting its title most participating scholars are affiliated to Nordic institutions of education and research. However this year about one quarter of all delegates came from outside the Nordic countries representing almost twenty different nationalities, which added an international tinge to the proceedings, nowadays held almost entirely in English.

In their call for papers the programme committee had announced five broad themes that as a whole could embrace just about any research topic: 1) performing and culture; 2) music cultures in Northern Europe (primarily centred around the Baltic Sea); 3) interactions between musical practice and research; 4) musical analysis and interpretation; and 5) music education and psychology. None of these themes was specifically Nordic. The myriad of themes, approaches and debates that made up the more than one hundred and fifty short papers presented in somewhat packed afternoon programmes made a more than tentative thematic grouping of the many parallel sessions quite impossible. Having to choose which paper to attend among five or six simultaneous presentations and create one's own path through up to nine of these in one afternoon was quite a challenge. But by concentrating all paper sessions in one building and maintaining a tight time schedule the organizers did secure the flexibility required for delegates to shop around although the continuing flow of people in and out of the lecture rooms at the end and beginning of each paper reading could be quite distracting. This classic fragmentation of a conference into the free pursuit of individual interests did accentuate the paradigmatically separate and somewhat autonomous worlds that constitute the various ongoing research activities that we call musicology. Dialogues (or at least attempts at such) across theoretical and methodological positions that are almost literally worlds apart were secured mainly by the panel set-up in the morning keynote sessions, whereas, in my experience, the afternoon sessions, partly due to paper grouping, tended to form more or less self-contained enclaves where mutual confirmation rather than the challenge of entrenched positions seemed the order of the day.

Contrasting with the vast number of single papers was the group presentation of a major ongoing state-funded Danish research project by no less than eight scholars. Within the framework title 'Studies in Danish Rock Culture' thematically different projects all based on sociological and/or ethnomusicological methodologies are pursued by individual researchers

constituting the first collective academic effort to deal with Danish rock music and culture – a timely project in view of the internationally ever expanding research field of popular music, within which so many of today’s important meta-theoretical and -methodological debates take place.

As a counterbalance to the fragmented afternoons, every morning programme was structured as a keynote lecture related the overall themes and followed by panel response and discussion. The four (announced) keynote speakers and their lecture titles were: Carl Schachter (USA): ‘The Scherzo of Schubert’s Piano Sonata in B flat, D. 960: Analysis and Performance’; Richard Middleton (UK): ‘Performing Culture, Appropriating the Phallus’ (an analytical exploration of Patti Smith’s recorded performance of Van Morrison’s ‘Gloria’); Estelle R. Jorgensen (USA): ‘“This-with-That”: A Dialectical Approach to Teaching for Musical Imagination’ (focussing on Brahms’ Intermezzo, op. 118, no. 2); and finally Hermann Danuser (Germany): ‘On the Logic of Musical Reading’ (using the example of Brahms’ Rhapsody for Piano, op. 79, no. 1). However, as professor Danuser fell ill shortly before the congress, Tomi Mäkelä took on the ungrateful and perhaps pointless task of reading Danuser’s unfinished manuscript.

Thus all four keynote speakers were non-Nordic and none of them addressed Nordic issues as such or issues of special relevance to a Nordic forum. Though representing quite different approaches all lectures, by professors well into or nearing the end of their careers, were work specific and, with the sole exception of Middleton, dealt with canonical classical music. Lectures of a more meta-thematic nature were, I felt, sorely missed. However, the panel responses did in various ways broaden each lecture topic and brought different perspectives into play inviting dialogue and discussion.

Within the chosen format the congress as a whole ran smoothly and was indeed handled well by the organizers. Spiced with cultural and social events, like a visit to Sibelius’ home Ainola, an organ recital by Jan Lehtola playing contemporary Finnish music, and the buffet dinner given by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (apparently a musicological conference can still be viewed as an important cultural event), the offerings were plenty and located in a city that is in itself welcoming.

Looking back at the event a couple of months later the impression of a congress perhaps unwittingly in the process of loosing its identity still lingers, a self-proclaimed Nordic congress that seems to become less and less Nordic. Of course, this process may only reflect key changes in academic orientation in general. As to the planning of future conferences it might nevertheless be worth considering the implications of this ongoing internationalization, which in my view does weaken the function of the congress as a specific Nordic forum (which may be considered outdated anyway). Also the sheer number of paper presentations adds to this sense of loss of focus. Perhaps the time has come for a major reconceptualization of the *Nordic Musicological Congress* that could sharpen and thus raise its profile, whatever it be. Striking the right balance in a time of academic turmoil is no easy task, but boldly striking a different balance might be worth a try.

Steen Kaargaard Nielsen

BÉLA BARTÓK AND NATIONALISM, COPENHAGEN 2004

On 24-25 September 2004, Copenhagen played host to an international symposium entitled *Béla Bartók and Nationalism*. The symposium was part of a Bartók Week in Copenhagen held to mark the entry of Hungary into the EU. The symposium itself was organized by the Department of Musicology at the University of Copenhagen with the Danish Cultural Institute and the Hungarian Embassy. In addition there were musical offerings from the Royal Danish

Academy of Music in Copenhagen and the Danish National Choir/DR. The total number of participants was about fifty.

The first day of the symposium was held at the Department of Musicology and was introduced by Simone Hohmaier, Berlin. Then papers by the undersigned and students at the University of Copenhagen were presented and discussed. The second day of the symposium took place in the hall of the Danish Museum of Decorative Art, where three papers were presented on the theme, by László Somfai (keynote speaker) and László Vikárius, both from the Bartók Archives in Budapest, and by Simone Hohmaier. These three papers are published in the present yearbook. In conclusion everyone participated in a round-table discussion based on the overall theme of the symposium. The whole symposium was held in English.

The principal result of the symposium was its contribution to the debate on the idea of 'national art' that has often been discussed in connection with Bartók, but which was put into focus here and illuminated from several angles. It is a highly topical issue today. The discussions and papers helped to clarify the status of the national in relation to the composer's intentions and the reception of the works in their own and later times. In particular the symposium shed light on how encounters between differing views of national art come to expression, for example in the form of different conceptions of 'Hungarian-ness in music', different ideas of 'Hungary' (before/after 1920, culture or state) and the varying interpretations of the lines of tradition going back into the past, for example to Franz Liszt, Ferenc Erkel, Richard Strauss or 'German music'. The topicality of these discussions is underscored by the analogies to the situation in other countries. Thus the symposium became a contribution both to international Bartók scholarship, to which new aspects were added with the focus on the role of the national and nationalism, and to the general debate on nationality and nationalism in relation to the medium of music.

Michael Fjeldsoe

MUSIK UND KULTURELLE IDENTITÄT, WEIMAR 2004

Der 13. Internationale Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung fand vom 16. bis zum 21. September 2004 in Weimar statt. Als Überschrift der gesamten Veranstaltung hatte man 'Musik und kulturelle Identität' gewählt. Dadurch wurde ein Versuch gemacht, die deutsche Musikwissenschaft von ihrem Image einer den traditionellen Zugängen verpflichteten Wissenschaft zu befreien und dem in den letzten Jahren zunehmenden Einfluss der Ethnologie und der Cultural Studies gerecht zu werden. Gewissenhaft wurde in den zahlreichen Symposien und gebündelten freien Forschungsreferaten von den meisten Referenten und Moderatoren die Frage nach Musik und kultureller Identität erörtert.

Ein Roundtable zum Thema eröffnete den Kongress. Hier sprach als erster Philip Bohlman, University of Chicago, über Identität als etwas, was nicht in der Musik oder in der Kultur vorhanden ist, sondern irgendwo dazwischen entsteht. Solche Anregungen zum methodischen Nach- und Neudenken aus ethnologischer Sicht haben zwar nicht den ganzen Kongress beherrscht, und für einen 'Außenseiter', der zum ersten Mal einen großen deutschen Kongress besuchte, war der Haupteindruck, dass die deutsche Tradition durchaus in Bewegung sei, dass ihre Eigenart aber auf keine Weise gefährdet sei. Sollte durch diese Bemerkung der Eindruck entstehen, dass das Thema einer Art akademischer 'Political Correctness' entspricht, wäre das ungerecht, eher könnte man von einer inszenierten Rahmendiskussion sprechen, innerhalb welcher die verschiedensten Beiträge einen gemeinsamen Bezug erhielten.

Da immer fünf bis sieben Parallelsessionen liefen, wird kein Teilnehmer den ganzen Kongress erlebt haben. Allerlei Musik aus allen Zeiten und Orten war vertreten, sowie alle Arten von

Musikwissenschaft. Einige Schwerpunkte lassen sich aber identifizieren, z.B. wurde Musik und nationale Identität sowie Musik in totalitären Staaten in mehreren Sessions zur Diskussion gestellt. Darin spiegelt sich das erhöhte Interesse an diesen Forschungsgebieten wider. Wurde der Frage nach Musik und kultureller Identität meistens ohne Zwischenfälle nachgegangen, wurde die Frage nach nationaler Identität mit größter Intensität verfolgt – besonders in den Fällen, wo die Referenten einen neu gebildeten Nationalstaat vertraten. Hier, wie auch in den Diskussionen über Totalitarismus, waren die Ansichten der Teilnehmer oft deutlich von persönlichen Erfahrungen geprägt. Am deutlichsten kam dies zum Ausdruck, wenn Teilnehmer aus dem früheren Ost- und Westdeutschland ihre Auffassungen zum Totalitarismus und DDR-Wirklichkeit aufeinanderprallen ließen. Dass der DDR-Musik überhaupt selbstständige Sessions gewidmet waren, wurde übrigens als eine der Neuerungen der Programmlegung hervorgehoben.

Die Veranstalter hatten alles im Griff, die Organisation war vorbildlich. Viele Konzerte und Ausflüge wurden angeboten, und die Stadt Weimar ist eine beeindruckende Kulturstadt. Wie die Bevölkerung sich um diese Stadt kümmerte, kam durch die vielen Veranstaltungen anlässlich der durch Feuer zerstörten Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek deutlich zum Ausdruck, die nicht nur viele Menschen zum Spenden veranlassten, sondern auch ihre tiefe Betroffenheit über den Verlust der Kulturgüter bekundeten.

Michael Ejfeldsøe

HISTORICAL SOURCES OF TRADITIONAL MUSIC – 15TH MEETING OF THE STUDY GROUP ON HISTORICAL SOURCES OF TRADITIONAL MUSIC, INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TRADITIONAL MUSIC (ICTM), SEGGAU, 2004

The purpose of this ICTM study group (www.ethnomusic.ucla.edu/ICTM/beta/stg) is to investigate the historical development of orally transmitted music and to focus on methodological source critique based on – among others – written documents and iconographical material. Since 1967 the study group has arranged conferences (e.g. 1995 in Copenhagen), the contributions of which are published in a number of reports.

At the meeting in Seggau near Graz in Austria, taking place on 27 April - 1 May 2004, ethnomusicologists from eight European countries discussed two different topics: 1) historical recordings of traditional music: commercial versus archival; and 2) the relationship between instrumental and vocal interpretation in a historical perspective.

Twelve papers on the first topic presented some of the general challenges archiving faces as well as the challenges of doing research on different sound recording types (with material from Norway, Albania, Bulgaria, India, Mongolia, China, Bali, and Mexico). Moreover, they portrayed the heterogeneity of commercial and archival recordings, and different types of relationships. The sources differ very much regarding authenticity, quality, availability and representation, but show in fact two sides of the same coin.

Eight papers dealt with the second topic of vocal-instrumental relationships and focused on different performing styles (based on material among others from Norway, Russia, Hungary, Slovakia, Serbia-Montenegro, and Brazil). The papers were related to an earlier study group discussion that raised issues on the problems of interpreting source material and of throwing light on the historical processes behind the traditional music of today.

Many archives possess valuable historical sound recording material and are currently involved in re-editions. Focusing on collecting traditions demands reflection on the role of the archives that provide historical recordings for actual research, including opening up for com-

mercial sound material. Around two decades ago, ethnomusicologists started to focus on the growing number of available phonograms and historical sound material, but among scholars the so-called field recordings still are regarded as more authentic, often leaving commercial recordings underestimated. In fact, both types of so-called archival or commercial recordings might provide immense information; commercial recordings help to understand the field recordings made at the same time. Participants at the meeting emphasized the need to pay more attention to historical commercial recordings and incorporate them in actual research. There is clearly a lack of knowledge world-wide as to the richness of existing early recording material as well. A combination of historical archival and commercial recordings that considers the pros and cons of both types of materials would complete the historical picture of musical culture.

Papers from the previous two meetings (Innsbruck 2000, Münster 2002) are ready for publication, and probably will appear in Web format, which will also be considered for the current material from the Seggau meeting. The next ICTM Study Group meeting will be organized by the Phonogramm-Archiv at the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, scheduled to be held in the spring of 2006.

Annette Erler

Danish Musicological Society, 2004

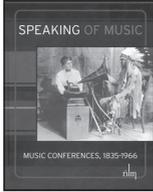
In accordance with the decision taken by the board in 2003 to cease arranging the traditional members' meetings, 2004 was dominated by one singular event, the one-day symposium celebrating the 50th anniversary of the society. As usual, though, the general assembly, which took place on 24 March, was followed by a lecture, in which the editors of *Gads Musikleksikon* (Gad's Music Dictionary, Copenhagen, 2003), Finn Gravesen and Martin Knakkegaard, presented their views on lexicographic work.

The 50th anniversary symposium was held at the Department of Musicology, University of Copenhagen, on 24 April. Under the heading *Danish Musicological Research in the 21st Century* the day was divided into two main themes. First a panel discussion on 'Organization, management and promotion in Danish musicology' featuring five panellists: Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, Niels Krabbe, Charlotte Rørdam Larsen, Ansa Lønstrup, and Martin Knakkegaard. And second, four individual presentations related to 'Research in Danish music culture in the twentieth century': Michael Fjeldsøe on 'Kulturradikalismens musik' (The music of the cultural left wing movement), Erling Kullberg on 'Nye toner i Danmark – Dansk musik og musikdebat i 1960'erne' (New music in Denmark – Danish music and music debate in the 1960s), Peder Kaj Pedersen on 'Bernhard Christensen i dansk musikkultur' (Bernhard Christensen in Danish music culture) and Annemette Kirkegaard on 'Dansk rockkultur: Identitet i musiketnologisk belysning' (Danish rock culture: Identity in the light of ethnomusicology). The formal part of the symposium was concluded with a celebratory lecture by Henrik Glahn, 'Christian III's valgsprog i samtidens digtning og musik' (Christian III's motto in contemporary poetry and music). The symposium, which was attended by a total of 60-70 participants, closed with a concert and dinner.

In general, the feedback on the symposium was very positive, which is why the board has prepared yet another symposium to be held in April 2005, addressing the issue 'Themes of musical analysis in Danish musicology'. (General information on the society can be found on pp. 134-35).

Thomas Holme Hansen

Book Reviews



James R. Cowdery, Zdravko Blažević, and Barry S. Brook (eds.)
Speaking of Music: Music Conferences, 1835-1966
 RILM Retrospective Series, 4; New York: Répertoire International de
 Littérature Musicale, 2004; xxii, 740 pp., illus.
 ISBN 1-932765-00-X, ISSN 1547-9390
 USD 65 (indiv.), USD 295 (instit.)

RILM Abstracts of Music Literature is probably the best known and most frequently utilized database on music literature worldwide. Everyone knows RILM, and at the same time everyone knows the most essential limitation of RILM: the registration of literature only from 1967 and onwards. With the purpose of covering selected materials published prior to this date the *RILM Retrospective Series* was launched on the initiative of one of RILM's founders, Barry S. Brook (1918-97). Up until the publication of the present volume of the series, *Speaking of Music: Music Conferences, 1835-1966*, edited by Brook, James R. Cowdery and Zdravko Blažević, only three volumes have been published, namely the annotated bibliographies on 1. *Thematic catalogues in music* (B.S. Brook, 1972, rev. edn. 1997), 2. *Thèses de doctorat en langue française relatives à la musique* (J. Gribenski, 1979), and 3. *Guitar and vihuela* (M.A. McCutcheon, 1985), respectively.

Like the rest of the RILM-volumes, *Speaking of Music* – consisting entirely of lists, abstracts and registers – is a pure reference book containing myriads of bibliographic facts presented in entries that follow the usual editorial and formatting conventions of RILM. In addition to the necessary directions for use (pp. xvii-xix) James Cowdery's preface constitutes the only four pages of running text in the volume. He recounts the genesis of the book spanning more than a quarter of a century, and refers to a number of previously published bibliographic compilations of congress reports that *Speaking of Music* naturally has taken as a starting point (pp. xiii-xiv). At the same time Cowdery answers an obvious question regarding the documentation of such musicological gatherings, which can leave behind 'traces' from next-to-nothing to fully worked-out collections of articles: what is the degree of coverage? In this respect the editors have made a wise 'inclusive' choice, in that *Speaking of Music* provides citation even in those cases where the conference report includes neither full papers nor abstracts, but only the titles and authors of the papers presented (p. xiv). This has resulted in a total of 6,459 bibliographic entries collected and edited by a substantial team of editors and no less than 125 abstractors.

The volume is divided into abstracts and indexes. The abstract section, which constitutes the main core of the volume, is divided into two parts. Firstly, a chronologically ordered (secondarily by city) index of all the congress reports and symposium proceedings from the years 1835-1966 including a full listing of all the papers given (record numbers 1-511, pp. 1-108). Secondly, the collection of abstracts of the individual conference papers, subdivided into 11 main categories, which altogether cover the basic classification scheme of *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature* with almost 100 classes (nos. 512-6,459, pp. 109-583; when reference in the following is made to entry numbers the abbreviation *SoM* for *Speaking of Music* will be used). The index section contains brief but valuable indexes on 'Conference locations' and 'Conference sponsors', and the volume is rounded off by an extensive index on 'Authors and subjects' spanning a total of nearly 150 pages.

Congress proceedings can be published in a number of ways, i.e. as a single volume book, as part of a series of books, as a special issue of a journal, or just as a larger or smaller contribution in an (inter-)national journal. The fact that all types are represented in *Speaking of Music* reflects on the one side the commendable inclusiveness of RILM and on the other side it almost automatically must indicate that it will not be difficult to come up with congresses that are missing in *Speaking of Music*. But how many congress reports were actually published during the period 1835-1966?

In the advertising material for *Speaking of Music* it is stated, that the book is 'a bibliography of some 6,000 papers ... from nearly 500 conferences'. While the first figure appears accurate, the second – not inessential figure – must be described as an overstatement. In the section indexing the reports, 'Chronology and contents', several of the reports have been assigned more than one number at the same time as the paragraph contains quite a few reviews of symposium proceedings. For instance, the Musicological Congress in Basel 1924 occupies the numbers 102 (Bericht), 103 (Festschrift) and 104-13 (reviews). When the 511 record numbers are corrected accordingly, the total number of conferences is reduced to c. 410.

Regarding 'missing' conferences, according to Nigel Simeone in his paragraph on 'Congress reports' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn. (London, 2001), 'the musical congress report has its origins in the second half of the 19th century, specifically in the publication of papers given at three conferences on sacred music (1860-64 Paris and Mechelen) ...' (vol. 6, p. 300), an information confirmed by David A. Thresher's listing of 'Congress reports' in Appendix IB of the *New Grove* (ibid., vol. 28, p. 43). Nevertheless, although the *New Grove* appendix is cited as a source for *Speaking of Music* (p. xiv), the report covering these events, *De la musique religieuse* (ed. by T.J. de Vroye and X. Van Elewyck; Paris and Leuven, 1866), is for some reason not listed here, indicating either a remarkable shortcoming on behalf of the RILM editors or a remarkable misinterpretation on Simeone's side.

Another – and especially to a Scandinavian reader unfortunate – lacuna is the complete lack of documentation of the Nordic musicological congresses initiated in 1948 and since then continued (c.) every fourth year. Although the first congress report in book format was not published until after the eighth congress in Gothenburg in 1979, the preceding congresses are well documented in reports published in Scandinavian journals, e.g. the following: regarding the 1st conference in Oslo 1948, cf. *Norsk Musikkgrenskning*, (1947-50), pp. 12-23; the 2nd in Stockholm/Uppsala 1954, cf. *Norsk Musikkgrenskning*, (1954-55), pp. 11-13; the 3rd in Copenhagen 1958, cf. *Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning*, (1961), pp. 76-85; the 4th in Stockholm/Uppsala 1962, cf. *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, 45 (1963), pp. 123-37 (in addition, it is noted that no traces of the 5th conference in Århus 1966 – a report of which can be found in *Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning*, (1966-67), pp. 165-86 – are to be found in the 'real' RILM of 1967 ff. either).

As mentioned above, the editors have chosen to include reviews of the proceedings, an aspect, though, that is neither mentioned nor elaborated in the preface of the book. It is quickly ascertained that the registered reviews (c. 70 in all) are very unevenly distributed across the period 1835-1966, and apart from seven 'isolated' reviews dating from 1963-66 *Speaking of Music* does not include reviews published later than 1939. Moreover, a comparison with the recordings in Marie Briquet's *La musique dans les congrès internationaux (1835-1939)* (Paris, 1961) – referred to as Barry S. Brook's 'starting point' (p. xiii) – shows that for the period up until the Second World War, *Speaking of Music* does not contain entries that are not already present in Briquet. In this context it is also interesting that Briquet registers several reviews, which are absent in *Speaking of Music*, e.g. J.I. Prieto's review of the third IMS congress in Barcelona, 1936 (*SoM*, no. 224), apparently published in *España sacro musical*, 7 (1936), pp. 713-20 (Briquet, no. 80). Summing up it can be stated that for the period preceding World War II *Speaking of*

Music apparently is not as comprehensive as Briquet's catalogue, and as to the subsequent years nearly no registrations at all can be found in *Speaking of Music*.

There is yet another aspect emphasizing the fact that a catalogue like Marie Briquet's is not altogether outdated – and for the same reason can not be said to be replaced by *Speaking of Music*. In Briquet one can find 'traces' of important congresses, which have not been documented by a published report. Considering the above-mentioned inclusive choice it is thus unfortunate – and incomprehensible – that *Speaking of Music* does not contain information on e.g. the Second International Congress of the IMS in Cambridge 1933. Briquet, on the other hand, lists the authors and titles of the papers presented together with reviews published in the same year by Knud Jeppesen in *Acta Musicologica*, og P.-M. Masson in *Revue de musicologie* (Briquet, no. 79). Also regarding the Sixth International Congress of the IMS in Oxford 1955 no information can be found in *Speaking of Music*. Of course, the line has to be drawn at some point, but when information is readily available in the published 'predecessors' of *Speaking of Music*, the reason not to take advantage hereof can be difficult to grasp.

The section on 'Chronology and contents' at the beginning of *Speaking of Music* is directly connected to the first of the indexes, 'Conference locations', in which all the conferences are listed in a well-arranged way along with their entry numbers according to the pattern nation-city-conference theme. At one glance this index gives you a lot of information regarding the locations of musicological activities during this 130-year period. In approximate numbers the conferences was primarily located in France and Belgium (25%), Germany, Austria and Switzerland (25%), and Italy (10%). The English-speaking countries do not account for more than 10% of the conferences, while the remaining 30% is distributed among other nations. The dominance of France is further emphasized when looking through the first pages of the chronology section; with very few exceptions all conferences from 1835 to the turn of the century were held in France.

A closer inspection of the section on conference locations, though, unfortunately reveals a number of shortcomings. The major event of 1909, the 'Haydn-Zentenarfeier' in Vienna (*SoM*, no. 65), with an impressive international attendance, is for some reason not registered in the index of locations, and neither are a number of other conferences (cf. *SoM*, nos. 13, 58, 172-75, 199, 265, 303 and 305). In addition, it seems a bit odd that one spelling of the names of cities is used in the chronology section, and another in the index, e.g. 'Florence'/'Firenze', 'Vienna'/'Wien'.

The extensive index on authors and subjects provides good insight into which subjects dominated the musicological agenda during this period, and which musicologists participated in the presentations and discussions. With the above-mentioned limitations and shortcomings in mind, though, one should not expect to be able to establish a complete conference attendance list of a particular musicologist (bearing in mind the IMS conference in Cambridge 1933, or the Nordic conferences), but the index does provide a pattern of the most active participants regarding conference attendance (e.g. only one musicologist – Walter Wiora – is registered with more than 30 entries, and less than ten persons with more than 20).

As far as Danish musicology is concerned, *Speaking of Music* naturally provides information as well. It is hardly surprising that Angul Hammerich is the first one registered, that is as a participant in the Second Congress of the International Musical Society in Basel in 1906 (*SoM*, no. 53); and for the above-mentioned Haydn-Zentenarfeier in 1909, Hammerich was accompanied by William Behrend, P.S. Rung-Keller and Hjalmar Thuren (no. 65). A total of approximately 30 Danes appear in *Speaking of Music*, the majority with one or two entries. No matter for surprise either that one musicologist in particular places himself in a class of his own, namely Knud Jeppesen with an attendance of ten conferences.

Apart from the degree of coverage a publication like *Speaking of Music* must be measured by the reliability of the bibliographical facts. It is crucial to the whole idea of the book that it appears trustworthy even – or especially – in detail. It therefore seems relevant to carry out a spot test. A random pick on a shelf of conference reports presents the reviewer with the *Bericht über den neunten internationalen Kongress Salzburg 1964*, edited by Franz Giegling, and published by Bärenreiter in two volumes in 1964 and 1966 respectively.

According to Nigel Simeone a particular type of report published in Eastern Europe from the late 1950s onwards is characteristic in that it not only ‘includes formal papers but also transcripts of extended remarks made as part of subsequent discussions, in four languages’ (‘Congress reports’, p. 301). Although the *Salzburg Bericht* can not count as East European it is marked by exactly these characteristics, and thus, admittedly, is not one of the easiest to record. Vol. 1 consists of ‘Aufsätze zu den Symposia’, while vol. 2 consists of the ‘Protokolle von den Symposia und Round Tables’. In the following, I focus shortly on the 14 Round Tables (RT; although not numbered in the proceedings, they are here given consecutive numbers).

As indicated on the first page of each ‘Protokolle’ each RT consists of a ‘Vorsitzender (président, chairman)’, a ‘Sekretär(-in) (secrétaire, reporter)’ and a number of ‘Teilnehmer (participants, panel)’. The 14 protocols have all been written by the reporter (in one instance, RT-2, in cooperation with the chairman, cf. *SoM*, no. 2551). For whatever reason, in *Speaking of Music* nine of the RTs (2-7, 12-14) are listed in their appropriate categories under the name of the reporter (cf. *SoM*, nos. 2551, 1141, 6130, 3249, 1112, 1590, 5112, 3939 and 3898), four of the RTs (1, 8-9, 11) are listed under the chairman’s name (*SoM*, nos. 1021, 1714, 1670 and 4374), while RT-10 are listed under neither the reporter’s nor the chairman’s name, but under the name of one of the participants (*SoM*, no. 957; in addition, this entry does not mention the chairman, J.V. Keldyš, although it ought to according to the index, p. 660). The confusion resulting from this unsystematic approach (presumably carried out by the RILM abstractor David Bloom) is enhanced even further when one compares the *Bericht’s* information on the eight Symposia with the main entry on the congress report in *Speaking of Music* (no. 491): although identically structured in the *Bericht*, the eight symposia appear with great variety (e.g. only regarding the third symposium are all the participants listed in no. 491).

Even though this one spot test has revealed (nearly) no actual errors in the registration of bibliographic data in *Speaking of Music*, the lack of stringency, the absence of immediate logic and the uncertainty as to the systematic approach leaves the reader with a gnawing doubt regarding the crucial aspect of reliability.

Of course, the editors are aware of omissions and shortcomings in the present volume, and according to the preface it is hoped ‘that our readers will call our attention to others’ (p. xiv). With the preceding observations the present reviewer has hopefully made a small contribution in this respect. However, when everything is taken into consideration – the span of years, the width of publications, the number of actors, the scope of ideas and the degree of complexity – *Speaking of Music* is a unique and very valuable and useful bibliographic tool that records vast amounts of information hitherto not readily available in one single volume. And, in the words of Cowdery, ‘... there can always be a second edition’ (ibid.).

Further information on RILM can be found at www.rilm.org or at the Danish RILM-web-site www.kb.dk/kb/dept/nbo/ma/rilm.

Thomas Holme Hansen



Michael Chesnutt, *The Medieval Danish Liturgy of St Knud Lavard* (repr. from *Opuscula*, xi, ed. Britta Olrik Frederiksen, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana, 42, Copenhagen 2003); Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 2003
168 pp., illus., music exx.
ISBN 87-7876-343-6
DKK 450

There are many Knuds (= Knut, Canute, Cnut) in Danish history; a few were kings and two were saints. Denmark's first official saint was both: Knud II, sometimes called IV and perhaps therefore usually referred to as King Knud the Saint (St. Knud *rex*), was murdered in the church dedicated to St. Alban, *protomartyr anglorum*, in Odense on 10 July 1086. After canonization by Pope Pascal II at the end of 1099, he himself became *protomartyr danorum* (Translation 19 April 1100 or 1101). A generation later, on 7 January 1131, his nephew, also named Knud, was treacherously murdered in Haraldsted Woods near Ringsted (Zealand). He was subsequently canonized by Pope Alexander III (bull of 8 November 1169) and translated at a great ceremony in the church of the Benedictine monastery at Ringsted on 25 June 1170. This Knud was not a king, but he was the son of a king and he was murdered because he seemed likely to become one, contrary to the ambitions of his cousin Magnus. He bore the title of Duke of Slesvig and is therefore known as St. Knud *dux*, to distinguish him from his uncle, or more commonly St. Knud Lavard (= Lord).

As *protomartyr danorum* St. Knud *rex* became the national saint of Denmark; a chapel is dedicated to him in a church, S. Maria in Traspontina, near St. Peter's in Rome and he figures still in the calendar of the Roman Church – though on a date, 19 January, that would seem to suggest some confusion regarding the two saints Knud, being a conflation of the day of the Translation of the one and the month of the martyrdom of the other. St. Knud Lavard, on the other hand, is regarded as the patron saint of Zealand, though in the Middle Ages his cult was more widespread throughout Denmark, Skåne (the formerly Danish part of Sweden) and into north Germany. It is a tragedy comparable to the loss of the music of the Office of St. Alban (*protomartyr anglorum*) that the music of St. Knud *rex* (*protomartyr danorum*) is now unknown. However the case of the Danish saint is particularly unfortunate, since even the original form of the text of his Office, which was monastic, no longer exists; the Office of St. Knud *rex* is known today only in the revised form of the *Breviarium Ottoniense* that was printed in 1482-3 (and again in 1497), during the period in which the monastic (Benedictine) chapter of the cathedral of Odense was secularized. The situation with regard to St. Knud Lavard is fortunately quite different: by an extraordinary stroke of luck, a book bought by a German nobleman at auction in Leipzig in the 1820s turned out to contain the liturgical material, complete with music, of the monastic celebration of the Offices, with their respective Proper Masses, of both the Feast of the Passion (7 January) and the Feast of the Translation (25 June) of St. Knud Lavard. It is this document (Kiel, Univ. Bibl. MS S.H. 8 A. 8^o) – and anything remotely related to it – that is the subject of Michael Chesnutt's very interesting book.

It is, of course, not the first time it has been studied; as Chesnutt relates (pp. 6-7), the text was printed in three editions in Germany in the nineteenth century (twice by G. Waitz, 1858 and 1892, and once by R. Usinger, 1875) and once again ('most recently') at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Danish philologist M.Cl. Gertz in part II of his *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, i-iii (Copenhagen 1908-12). According to the present author, 'None of these previous editions ... is satisfactory or even complete' (p. 7) and the time must therefore be considered ripe for a new edition for the new century. Usinger made a valuable, if not entirely successful, effort to establish the liturgical structure of the material, while Gertz deliberately concentrated

on presenting excellent readings of the literary/historical texts of the manuscript and of the sources related to it – an unsurpassed wealth of material – but had little regard for the liturgical context. By providing a philological edition of the texts of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard in the Kiel MS within the framework of the liturgy, Michael Chesnutt has produced the edition that he and I and presumably most of the readers of this journal have long wanted.¹

The edition of the text is preceded by an Introduction of equal length, which divides the book into almost exactly two halves of *c.* 80 pages each. In this first half the author describes the manuscript, which also includes two other texts: a version of the Roskilde Chronicle (of which the last folio is missing) and a well known medieval fable of a monk who, enchanted by the lovely song of a bird, leaves his monastery only to discover, when he returns, that 200 years have passed.² The Kiel MS, therefore, is clearly not itself a liturgical MS and Michael Chesnutt tries to envisage how and when this copy of the liturgy came into existence. He goes on to describe the other manuscripts and printed books that contain material derived from or related to the texts contained in the Kiel MS and attempts to account for and to establish a series of stemmata that will illustrate these relationships. These arguments lead to an important – and in my view controversial – chapter on the ‘Provenance and historical development of the liturgy’, followed by an account of the later history of the legend of Knud Lavard.

The second part contains the actual edition of the text, which is thoughtfully provided (in Appendix II) with an English translation of the eight lessons read at Nocturnes I and II of Matins *In passione* (7 January) and the further eight lessons read at Nocturnes I and II *In translatione* (25 June), together with the texts of the *Responsoria*, which were sung after the eight lessons *In passione* and used again after the lessons *In translatione*. These constitute a separate, very concise, historical account of the life of the saint that culminates in a brief mention of his miracles and are apparently what is referred to internally as an *Hystoria* (p. 116 §10, l. 694). The editing of the text seems to me meticulous; it will undoubtedly be reviewed elsewhere by a proper philologist, so I propose to use the few lines at my disposal here to discuss one or two of the issues raised in the Introduction. Before leaving the edition, however, I would just mention that the only major disagreement I have with the editor with regard to his liturgical dispositions occurs at the end of Vespers II *In passione* (p. 114). Three antiphons are entered here, which the editor supplies with the rubric *ad canticum triumphaliter cantandum* in the belief that they are alternative antiphons to the Magnificat canticle (footnote to lines 654–56). In my opinion these are Suffrages, the last two Memorials, to judge from their texts.

The celebration of the Translation of the newly-canonized Knud Lavard took place on 25 June 1170 in the presence of the king, Valdemar the Great, who was the saint’s son, and an illustrious company of clergy and nobility. For this occasion a Proper Office must certainly have been ‘composed’ (however this process is to be understood) and it is most logical to assume that this was done at Ringsted, where it was going to be needed. The Kiel MS is generally considered to be from the thirteenth century and usually assumed to be from its

¹ Only the music remains unpublished: a complete edition, including the music, of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard edited by the present reviewer from the Kiel MS is in course of publication by the Royal Library in Copenhagen in collaboration with the Institute of Medieval Music in Ottawa. The edition will be published in two volumes, comprising a colour facsimile of the manuscript together with an edition of the text and the music in modern notation, and will include a historical essay by Professor Thomas Riis of Kiel University.

² It is told, for example, of a monk of Afflighem during the abbacy of Fulgentius (names that will have rich associations for medieval musicologists) at the end of the 11th century in *Niederländische Sagen*, ed. J.W. Wolf (Leipzig, 1843), 230, and retold by Carl Engel, one-time Librarian of Congress, in *Musical Myths and Facts* II (London, 1876), 141–42.

latter half, though there is really no firm evidence to determine its date, and the obvious question is: what relation does the Kiel copy have to the original prepared for the festive occasion? In the section ‘Working method of the scribe’ (pp. 13-19) the author imagines the scribe compiling this complete chronological sequence of the items required for the various services in honour of St. Knud Lavard by searching through the books containing the various categories of liturgical material in a library and extracting from them the relevant material, which he has then copied out. We might do it in this way today if we wanted to reconstruct the Office and/or Mass of a medieval saint, but is it unrealistic to suppose that at least for a period of years after 1170 some kind of ‘master score’ was still in existence? One must suppose that the monk or monks entrusted with the assignment of preparing the liturgical celebration of the saint produced a ‘score’ of all that was needed and that from it copies of certain parts were made as required for the use of the various participants in the ritual. These would not have been immediately copied into the monastery’s liturgical books, however; such books were not recopied every time some new material came along and until such time as the abbot decided to commission a new Antiphonal or Gradual the ‘master copy’ would have stayed in the library. Copies of the whole celebration could have been ordered by other monastic communities, such as the related community in Odense (which constituted the cathedral chapter) or by the episcopal library at nearby Roskilde, or for that matter by any other interested library or scholar. No monastic copy other than the Kiel MS exists, however, and it is not known for whom it was prepared.

The author does not favour such a simple and uncomplicated transmission – indeed two of the three fine facsimile pages printed in the edition are included in order to provide ‘visible evidence that the scribe of K [the Kiel MS] compiled *art. 1* [the Knud Lavard liturgy] from a set of such functionally limited books’ (p. 14) as are postulated in his multiple-source theory. I fail to follow him in this: what bothers him is that (as shown in Plate 1 of the edition) in the sequence of Offices at the Feast of Translation, Matins proceeds to Prime without mention of Lauds. This he assumes to be due to a fault in a supposed ‘ordinal’ on which the scribe was relying to direct him from one source to another. He might then complain that the ordinal was also defective with regard to Compline at both the Passion and the Translation feasts, as these are similarly passed over without mention. However Michael Chesnutt is not concerned about these latter omissions, presumably because he supposes they were tacitly intended to be supplied from the Commons. The same might be argued for the missing Lauds – but the question is, are Lauds in fact missing, or are they included in the general rubric (to which he refers on p. 15) that occurs at the beginning of Matins: *Ymnus, Antifone, et V[ersiculi] de passione. Hystoria per totum de passione*, which directs that the hymns, antiphons, versicles and responsories of the Passion are to be used also for the Translation? Against this Chesnutt raises the shrewd objection that the antiphon *Benedictus Dominus* for the canticle of Zacharie *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* at Lauds makes a reference to the Gospel of the day of the Passion service, which does not apply to that of the Translation service. However, it might be argued that it is the textual relationship between the antiphon and the canticle, which is characteristic of the antiphons and their psalms or canticles throughout the Knud Lavard liturgy, that is important here. In any case, one notices that the much later transmissions of the Office at both Odense and Roskilde do not hesitate to use the antiphon *Benedictus Dominus* from the Passion also at Lauds of the Translation (pp. 41, 45).

Neither can I follow Michael Chesnutt in what he calls ‘a puzzle at the very beginning of the codex’ (p. 16). The puzzle is the appearance of the *incipit* of the antiphon *Tecum principium* in the upper left-hand corner of the first page, to which his solution is quite correct: it indicates that the Passion service of Knud Lavard on 7 January, which begins with First Vespers on the

evening of 6 January, gives precedence to the concurrent Second Vespers of the more important Feast of the Epiphany, at which *Tecum principium* is the first of the psalm antiphons. When the four psalms of Epiphany's Second Vespers have been sung, First Vespers of Knud Lavard's service continues with the chapter reading beginning *Beatus vir*, distinguished by a large initial in the manuscript. Chesnutt goes to some lengths to explain the perplexing situation in which he imagines the scribe of the Kiel MS to have found himself, but it is in fact quite normal – if, that is, the liturgical practice (the Use) that is being followed is English rather than Continental. In Roman practice the antiphon *Tecum principium* occurs at Christmas, whereas in English practice it is also used in connection with Epiphany and the Octave following. The situation of St. Knud on 7 January is thus not unique; the same thing happens at the celebration of the Translation of St. Judoc on 9 January in the Hyde Abbey Breviary.³ In the edition (p. 87), the editor refers to the insertion of the *incipit* of *Tecum principium* as 'evidently a scribal afterthought'; I consider it rather as a key, a flag signalling the origin of the literary and musical celebration of this Danish saint in an environment of English liturgical practice – a view which I am pleased to note Michael Chesnutt is prepared to accept for other reasons (pp. 62-63). He observes (p. 17) that First Vespers at the Translation feast on 25 June does not make a similar concession to Second Vespers of the Feast of St. John Baptist (24 June) but asserts itself with a proper psalm antiphon *Ave martyr gloriose*. This may perhaps be taken as a reflection of the actual historical situation that obtained in Ringsted on 25 June 1170, when the king and all the other dignitaries were assembled for the purpose of invoking the 'glorious martyr' (I don't think that there can be any doubt that his status as a martyr was emphasized from the very start, regardless of possible reservations in some quarters). If the Passion feast came subsequently to be treated as the saint's primary feast, on this first occasion (and in accordance with Pope Alexander's apparent intentions) the Translation was the great festal occasion and must necessarily declare itself from the outset (cf. p. 55).

There follows (pp. 19-54) a consideration of later occurrences, both manuscript and printed, of liturgical or historical material having relation to the contents of the Kiel MS. All date from the end of the fifteenth century or later and of these the most substantial are the liturgical books printed for the various Danish cathedrals between 1483 and 1519. To understand the author's learned arguments, which are based on a plethora of quotations and cross-references, it is recommended that one install oneself in the Royal Library or the Arnamagnæan Collection, surrounded by their richness of sources, or at least have Gertz's edition, in which many of the texts are edited, at hand. Chesnutt's codicological analyses and collations are astute and complicated, but ultimately inconclusive. There are many interesting and instructive observations, but the hope of establishing the line of descent between the Kiel MS and the printed Breviaries and Missals seems to me futile; the one is monastic and from the thirteenth century, whereas the others are all secular and at least two centuries younger. To bridge the gap between them in time and purpose the author is obliged to introduce a number of hypothetical intermediate stages showing various desired characteristics; this is fair enough, but not, in the long run, very helpful.

The section treating of the 'Provenance and historical development of the liturgy' (pp. 54-67) I have already referred to above as 'controversial'. Passing over a number of issues which cannot be taken up in this brief review, my reference is primarily to the surprising invention of a secular original of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard, perhaps a product of the 'campaign for liturgical uniformity launched by Bishop Absalon in 1187'. This, it is supposed,

³ J.B.L. Tolhurst (ed.), *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, iii (Henry Bradshaw Society, 76; London, 1938), f. 189.

was subsequently expanded by the Benedictines at Ringsted for monastic use and it is this that has been transmitted in the Kiel MS (p. 58). With this drastic suggestion Michael Chesnutt turns the traditional – and I must say seemingly logical – assumption as to the order of events on its head. Whereas it has heretofore been thought reasonable to regard the Kiel MS as a thirteenth-century copy of the liturgical services that were prepared at Ringsted in honour of the new saint, of which the Translation service at least was ready for use on 25 June 1170, the new theory would remove it even further from the colourful scene of medieval pomp and piety which it has always seemed to conjure up. The author of this theory makes no suggestion as to what then was sung in Ringsted monastery church when King Valdemar came to witness, as the culmination of a long campaign, the Translation of his father. He rather diffidently suggests, with reference to the cases of St. Olaf in Norway and St. Thorlak in Iceland, that the liturgical observance of St. Knud Lavard was ‘based in the first instance on the Common of Saints and only later adorned with proper texts’ (p. 54). The Common may well have provided the framework ‘in the first instance’ (which may have been for unauthorized services as early as the middle of the twelfth century), but there is a notable difference between the cases of St. Olaf and St. Thorlak, on the one hand, and St. Knud Lavard, on the other: the first two were never canonized by papal edict, whereas Knud Lavard’s canonization was announced in a papal bull in which the date on which he was to be so celebrated was specified. It is unthinkable that under these circumstances the occasion would not have been celebrated with all the richness of ceremony that the monks of Ringsted could muster. I am therefore not convinced by this radical conjecture; I find here no certain evidence to justify the rewriting of history.

The book is difficult reading, even if one is reasonably familiar with the subject, but it is rewarding – albeit, in my opinion, mistaken in some important respects. It leads one about in a world of medieval Danish literature and introduces one to a rich bibliography. Above all, it provides us with a new edition of the texts of the Offices and Masses of St. Knud Lavard that is, I believe, for the most part philologically and liturgically reliable. As a publication of the Arnamagnæan Institute of the University of Copenhagen it is scarcely necessary to say that it is admirably edited and virtually free of typographical errors – though surely a collection of sequences is a *Sequentiary*, not a *Sequentiary* (pp. 35, 37)?

John Bergsagel



Jens Hesselager, *Making Sense of Sounds. Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Ideas of Instrumentation*

Copenhagen: Dansk Musik Tidsskrifts Forlag, 2004

201 pp., music exx.

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DKK 150

Mit der revidierten Fassung seiner an der Universität von Kopenhagen entstandenen Dissertation (2001) widmet sich Hesselager dem komplexen Verhältnis von Instrumentation und Interpretation. Instrumentationstechniken und Klangfarben werden mit dem Verstehen und Erleben von Musik in Beziehung gesetzt. Zugleich hat sich diese englischsprachige Monographie zum Ziel gesetzt, die bislang überwiegend in deutscher Sprache geführte Diskussion auf eine internationale Ebene zu heben. In einem ersten Kapitel stellt der Verfasser verschiedene Konzepte und Problemfelder in der Art eines Ideenkatalogs zum Themenkomplex ‘Instrumentation’ vor. Dabei verzichtet er bewusst auf Vollständigkeit und Chronologie, er intendiert vielmehr eine vergleichende Präsentation der Positionen Hugo Riemanns (1882), Ferdinand Simon

Gassners (1849) und E.T.A. Hoffmanns (1814/15), und zeigt an ihnen den Wandel der Werturteile in dem anvisierten Zeitrahmen auf.

Das zweite Kapitel beginnt mit der Unterscheidung zwischen kleinem und großem Ensemble, die Boulez als die ‘beiden Pole’ in der Welt der Instrumentalmusik eingeführt hat und als unterschiedliche ‘musikalische Objekte’ begreift, die entweder von innen oder von außen heraus generiert werden. Dies veranschaulicht Hesselager am Beispiel von Debussys *Jeux* (Takt 100ff.) und referiert Boulez’ Analysen von Weberns *Fünf Stücke für Orchester*, op. 10 und seine *Symphonie*, op. 21 (Takt 1-10) als Beispiel für die Technik des ‘small ensemble’ (Stichwort: Klangfarbenmelodie) und von *Farben* aus Schönbergs *Fünf Orchesterstücke*, op. 16 (1909) als Beispiel für die ‘large ensemble’-Technik. Boulez’ hergestellte Assoziation der ‘large ensemble’-Techniken mit Adornos Phantasmagorie-Begriff nimmt Hesselager zum Anlass, diesen Begriff und seine korrespondierenden orchestralen Techniken ausführlich zu diskutieren und sie anhand von Wagners *Tannhäuser* und Mahlers *Lied von der Erde* zu konkretisieren.

Charles Ives’ Kunstgriff – am Ende seiner vier Stunden andauernden *Concord Sonata* für Klavier eine kurze Flöten-Partie einzubinden –, ist der Aufhänger für das dritte, relativ konzise gehaltene Kapitel, in dem Hesselager u.a. in Auseinandersetzung mit ästhetischen Werturteilen Riemanns und Adornos in die Thematik der ‘orchestral unity’ einführt. Richard Strauss’ Aussage, jedes Werk von Wagner besitze eine eigene Instrumentation, gewissermaßen sein eigenes Orchester, wird ebenso diskutiert wie Adornos Ausführungen über die Idee der Einheit – eine Idee (als Beispiel dient Wagners *Lohengrin*), die nur in des Hörers Vorstellung als eine imaginierte Totalität existiert, eine Synthese bestehend aus Details, die als Projektion konstruiert nichts anderes ist als das Produkt der Vorstellung des Interpretierenden, ausgelöst durch die Partitur oder Aufführung eines Werkes.

Im Zentrum des vierten und umfangreichsten Kapitels der Arbeit steht die Diskussion um zwei, zumindest in der westlich geprägten Musiktradition tradierte Konventionen: die Anfertigung eines Particells und die Praxis der Transkription – letztere im Sinne der Umsetzung eines Stückes für einen anderen Klangkörper, vor allem mit Klavier als Ausgangs- oder Zielinstrument. Erklärtes Ziel des Autors ist es, die Funktionen des Particells mit den Orchestertraditionen des 19. Jahrhunderts zu verknüpfen: So werden Wagners *Rheingold* und *Walküre* zitiert, für die Wagner keinen Particell anfertigte, da diese Praxis jenen Kompositionen unangemessen schien. So hilfreich das Particell im Allgemeinen für die Organisation musikalischer Ideen sein mochte, so unzweckmäßig schien es Wagner gewesen zu sein. Grund dafür war die innen stark und außen schwach ausgeprägte Komplexität dieser Werke, wie der Verfasser plausibel darlegt.

Hesselager stellt auf dieser Basis zwei Definitionsmodelle des Begriffs ‘translation’ vor, die auf die Beziehung zwischen einem Text und seiner sprachlichen Übersetzung rekurren. Erstens: “A distinction is made between *what is said* and *the way it is said*. In this case *what is said* is understood as the content, or perhaps the spirit, of the text or either as that which was *intended* by the author or that which it *really* means. The translation can then be claimed to preserve the content, spirit or intention of the original while merely changing the inessential surface.” (S. 107) Und zweitens: “Every statement, including the original text, is considered a fleeting moment in an all-encompassing, infinite flux of derivations where no original statement can ever be pointed to. The translation then merely participates in this grand play of drifting meanings, on a par with the so-called ‘original’ version of the text.” (ibid.) Diese empfiehlt er, auch auf die Beziehung zwischen einem Klavierstück und einer transkribierten Orchesterversion anzuwenden, und demonstriert dies an zwei Transkriptionen, nämlich an Alban Bergs Instrumentation seiner *Sieben frühen Lieder* und Pierre Boulez’ *Notations I-IV* für Orchester.

Hesselager kommt zu dem, allerdings keineswegs innovativen Zwischenergebnis, dass Instrumentation dabei hilft, Strukturen, melodische Linien, Themen, Farbtöne, verschiedene Klangquellen u.a. zu unterscheiden. Dieser Funktion wäre man sich zwar zu jedem Zeitpunkt der Musikgeschichte bewusst gewesen, sie hätte aber erst im musikästhetischen Disput um absolute und programmatische Musik an Aktualität gewonnen. Auch sei zumindest seit Beginn des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts die Frage, was Musik und Musikverstehen bedeute, in Zusammenhang mit der Thematik der Instrumentation erörtert worden, doch sei dieser Zusammenhang lange Zeit als nebensächlich aufgefasst worden, da ästhetische Werturteile Instrumentation nicht selten als arbiträr oder nicht essentiell vernachlässigten. Und so hätten Diskussionen über Instrumentation und musikalisches Verstehen häufig nur darauf gezielt, die Rolle der Instrumentation zu bagatellisieren, um Interpretationsstrategien zu finden, die von solchen Erwägungen ungestört 'funktionieren' könnten.

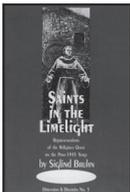
Dieses Zwischenfazit ist der Ausgangspunkt für die in den beiden letzten Kapiteln geführte Diskussion der Frage, welche Konsequenzen sich ergeben, wenn Instrumentation für die Bedeutung von 'Musikverstehen' nicht als marginale, sondern als zentrale aufgefasst wird. Die These liegt auf der Hand: Die Signifikanz von Instrumentation ist zu rehabilitieren, da die 'Oberfläche' von Musik diejenige ist, die Bedeutung enthüllt. Diese Position ist eine Kritik an den bestehenden Wertvorstellungen und ihrer Vermittlung. Hesselager stellt jene tradierten und institutionalisierten Werte und die entsprechenden pädagogischen Verfahrensweisen – wie 'Gehörbildung', Kontrapunktlehre, Formanalyse, Vom-Blatt-Spielen etc. – infrage und postuliert gleichzeitig, über jene Werte erneut zu reflektieren. Er kritisiert nicht nur die Art und Weise, wie Instrumentation lange Zeit im musikästhetischen Diskurs marginalisiert wurde, sondern distanziert sich explizit von Adornos und Riemanns Auffassung, der gemäß Musik nur dann wertvoll sei, wenn Instrumentation gegenüber der musikalischen Idee unterwürfig ("subserviant") wäre.

Vor dem Hintergrund, dass stets auch die Interessen des Fragenden sowie die eingesetzte Fragemethodik einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf die Ergebnisse ausübt, erhofft sich Hesselager, mit seinen Überlegungen einen unvoreingenommenen Zugang zu der Thematik und andere Hinsichten auf diese Problemlage eröffnet zu haben und resümiert, dass musikalische Klänge und der Sinn, den man aus ihnen zieht, dialektisch verknüpft sind: entweder man deute die Klänge als Mittel zum Zweck, und strebe somit nach dem Verstehen des musikalischen Diskurses in Abgrenzung von seiner Konkretisierung, oder man deute sie als Zweck in sich, in diesem Fall strebe man danach, die Konkretisierung als den eigentlichen Diskurs zu verstehen, den es zu interpretieren gelte.

Erfreulich ist, dass mit der nun überarbeiteten Fassung, welche inhaltlich mit der 2001 eingereichten Dissertation im wesentlichen kongruent ist, ein Buch vorgelegt wird, das beide Aspekte – Instrumentation und Musikverstehen – sinnfällig und auf innovative Weise miteinander verknüpft. Dabei wird das zu Anfang erklärte Ziel, auch ein interessiertes Nichtfachpublikum anzusprechen, erreicht. Allerdings ist es bedauerlich, dass angesichts der äußerst detailreichen Darlegung musikästhetischer Schriften und Positionen Hesselagers eigene Musikanalysen zu wenig Raum einnehmen; so hätte man sich insgesamt mehr Eigenleistung gewünscht. Unverständlich bleibt beispielsweise die Tatsache, dass der Autor – obgleich der Titel es vermuten lässt – aus dem Bereich des 19. Jahrhunderts lediglich Wagners Werke exemplarisch bespricht. Zugegebenermaßen ist die Themenbegrenzung aufgrund der komplexen und vielschichtigen Entwicklungen auf allen Ebenen, die bereits eine eigenständige Untersuchung wert sind, verständlich, doch wäre hier eine musikanalytische Ausweitung auf andere europäische Komponisten jener Zeit wünschenswert und sicherlich für das Gesamtergebnis auch fruchtbar gewesen.

Schließlich sei angemerkt, dass zwar kleinere formale Mängel auffallen – wie die falsche Zuordnung bzw. das teilweise Fehlen der Kolumnentitel, wodurch das Zurechtfinden im Buch erschwert wird, oder die insgesamt schlecht redigierte Druckfassung, deren zahlreiche orthographische Fehler durch das Korrekturlesen eines Muttersprachlers hätten vermieden werden können –, die jedoch den positiven Gesamteindruck der Publikation nicht wesentlich schmälern. Dies gilt besonders wenn man bedenkt, dass jenem Gebiet von musikwissenschaftlicher Seite her – gemessen an seiner Verbreitung – bislang relativ wenig Aufmerksamkeit zugekommen ist, und es Hesselager somit gelungen ist, angesichts der letztlich schwer fassbaren Thematik dennoch wichtige Denkanstöße zu vermitteln. Die Lektüre zeigt nicht nur, auf welche Weise man sich etwa aus ästhetischer oder historischer Perspektive Instrumentationsfragen und dem Musikverstehen nähern kann, sondern schärft vor allem den Blick für die enge Verschränkung jener Themenkomplexe und schafft damit die erforderliche Bewertungsgrundlage wenn es heißt: “Making Sense of Sounds”.

Nicole K. Strohmann



Siglind Bruhn: *Saints in the Limelight. Representations of the Religious Quest on the Post-1945 Operatic Stage*

Dimension & Diversity Series, 5; Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2003

635 pp., illus.

ISBN 1-57647-096-2

USD 54

A new trend in interdisciplinary studies often produces some fascinating results both for scholars and other interested readers. A new work by the German-American scholar Siglind Bruhn, *Saints in the Limelight. Representations of the Religious Quest on the Post-1945 Operatic Stage*, is indeed the kind of book that makes you wonder why it has not been written before.

The work is divided into seven parts with an introduction and a conclusion, and it also includes seven appendices, bibliographical references and an index. The author analyses 38 operatic stage works written by 31 composers from 16 countries in Europe and North America.

A first glance at the cover may not exactly reveal the treasure inside. The violet cover picturing a monk against the background of ancient walls might lead one to suppose the book deals with The Middle Ages. Violet, the liturgical colour of both Advent and Lent, the time of penance and expiation, is commonly associated with the word ‘saint’. We are given no clue as to who the monk could be. The word ‘Operatic’ is missing on the title page, a quite confusing mistake, which might suggest that the book deals with theatre performances only, and not with operas. Furthermore, a mere glance at the table of contents confirms that this is, in fact, a very unusual book. The seven parts of the book have the following titles: ‘Allegories and the Embodied Christ’, ‘National Heroes’, ‘Antiheroes’, ‘Messengers of Christ’s Saving Grace’, ‘Teachers of the Compassionate Path’, ‘Charismatics and Mystics’, and finally, ‘Victims and Martyrs’. While the reader is most likely familiar with the names of many of the protagonists of the operatic works and their composers, he or she will probably encounter several unfamiliar ones as well. Moreover, it quickly becomes clear that the author transgresses the bounds of what the Church sees as a saint. Besides well-known Catholic saints, such as St. Joan of Arc, Thomas of Canterbury, St. Francis of Assisi, there are names which are familiar from other cultural contexts (Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi), Church-reformer Luther (in a Catholic context hardly a saint, rather the opposite) and finally, names you have probably never heard of (the protagonist of Gian-Carlo Menotti’s *The Saint of Bleeker Street* or Manoloios from

Bohuslav Martinu's *Greek Passion*). Among others, we also find the Lutheran priest Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a victim of the Nazi regime in Germany. It is a fascinating, multifarious and in many cases, startling selection. If you are puzzled by what in a saintly context may be unfamiliar names, then check out the author's definition of saint, which can be found in the introductory chapter: 'individuals responding to a religious vocation'. 'These' – Bruhn continues – 'are called saints for easier reference' (p. xv). 'They are not all material for papal canonization but include people on the fringes of the established church – heretics and reformers – as well as fictional heroes' (p. xvi). Your observations from examining the table of contents may well be confirmed now, as you read that 'Certain saintly persons come from non-Christian traditions' (*ibid.*).

While reading the book, I was constantly overwhelmed and delighted by the sheer amassment of knowledge in one tome. Each new character, new saint, is introduced by a concise account summing up the facts of his or her personal story. The chapter dealing with Joan of Arc, for instance, contains a five-page historical and hagiographical account, a two-page specification of 'The Maid of Orleans in Theatrical Guise' and finally, a two-page account of 'Joan of Arc in the Opera and the Cinema'. Only then do we get to the analyses of four musical works based on the life and deeds of Joan of Arc: Arthur Honegger's (1935), Henri Tomasi's (1955), Norman Dello Joio's (1959), and finally Giselher Klebe's (1975). Each analysis starts by examining the libretto first and then the music itself. Siglind Bruhn is a master of highly focused musical analysis. Her elucidation of the most important characteristics brings great clarity to the understanding of the operatic work. This is a highly sophisticated contribution to the field of musical hermeneutics, of reading the musical text with the aim of understanding the particular story in the most appropriate way. Siglind Bruhn is able to abstract from the possible interpretations of the music made by the composer himself, which, after all, is the litmus test of all successful hermeneutical approaches.

The Danish reader will be pleased to find analyses of two works by Danish composers, Per Nørgård's *Siddharta* (1979) and Nils Holger Petersen's *Vigilie for Thomas Becket* (1989). It was in the reading of the analyses of these works that I fully came to appreciate Siglind Bruhn's achievements. Her profound analyses add complexity and multidimensionality to the understanding of these works.

Siglind Bruhn's theoretical considerations, found both in the introduction and in the concluding chapter, are of great interest. In the introduction, for instance, the author examines the relationship between the church and the theatre. The opera as a genre had been regarded variously as 'a chapel of Satan despoiling the Church of God,' taken from a German pamphlet from 1729, (p. xxii and footnote 12) and as a quasi-liturgical celebration (Wagner's *Bühnenweihfestspiel*, p. xxiv). To avoid some of the prejudices towards the religious quest in opera, many composers used other designations for their music theatre works, such as, music drama, mystery, passion opera, liturgical opera, or church opera, and many others. What I miss in Bruhn's examinations is reflection on the composers' confessional affiliations. Is it, for example, easier for a Protestant to write an opera with a religious quest, than it might be for a Catholic or a Russian Orthodox composer? How do the composers choose to show their 'saintly' protagonists in relationship to their own religious beliefs?

A very important question is raised in the concluding chapter: 'Why Now? Why Opera?': 'what prompts composers of the mid- and late twentieth century – an epoch marked by widespread lack of interest in conventional religiosity and a deliberate pluralism of values, a time that shuns the idea of universal moral exemplars – to explore the spiritual and the numinous and to do so in the music-dramatic medium' (p. 586). The author gives a number of answers. It might be because many of the examined protagonists are not perfect individuals, but quite

the opposite, the imperfect and weak ones, the persons that, in spite of this imperfection, might be raised to sainthood. As such they might be used as models for modern people. They are also quite often independent individuals, both in regard to secular society and the reigning religious establishment.

In our time, a time of materialism and non-belief, the metaphysical, or, as Bruhn calls it, ‘eternal questions’ (p. 587), are in fact very urgent, maybe more urgent, than they have ever been before. ‘Saints are models insofar as they characteristically keep their eyes fixed on a goal that transcends the material, mortal life. They stand not only for the yearning that aspires to the absolute, but also and prominently for the ability to eclipse allegedly given limitations’ (ibid.). Siglind Bruhn assumes that composers choose opera as the vehicle for their religious yearning because opera is a genre ‘that has never been coopted and appropriated by traditional expressions of religion’ (p. 588). And as such, it offers a great deal of freedom for the modern composer, freedom concerning his or her own interpretations of this particular issue.

Apart from all its previously mentioned virtues, Siglind Bruhn’s book is extremely well-written. The language is concise, elegant and sophisticated, and the reader is led to the heart of the matter by a firm but friendly hand.

Eva Maria Jensen



Petter Stigar, *Elementær harmonilære. Korallharmonisering, kontrapunkt, generalbass og variasjonssatser*

Bergen: Fakkbokforlaget, 2004

362 pp., music exx.

ISBN 82-450-0067-1

NOK 428

Udgivelsen er en 350 sider lang indføring i elementær harmonilære og klassiske satslærediscipliner. Forfatteren er førsteamanuensis ved Griegakademiet ved Universitetet i Bergen, der siden 1995 har samlet musikuddannelserne fra konservatoriet, lærerhøjskolen og universitetet under en hat. Han anser satslære for at være såvel et aktivitets- som et refleksionsfag, og bogen er opbygget således, at udvalgte analysesystemer indarbejdes og diskuteres undervejs. Det drejer sig primært om harmoniske analyser og Schenkerinspirerede reduktionsanalyser, idet hensigten med bogen – ifølge præsentationen på dens bagside – er at fremhæve ligevægtsforholdet mellem samklangsmæssige og lineære strukturer i tonal musik.

Bogen har herudover to erklærede hovedformål. Det ene er at “slå et slag for den klassiske satslæren, som alment betragtes som en forudsætning for beskjæftigelse med klassisk musik på seriøst nivå” (s. 4). Det andet er at formidle en amerikansk satslærepædagogisk tradition – et valg, som på den ene side indebærer en afvisning af den Riemann-funderede funktionsanalyse, som traditionelt anvendes ved skandinaviske uddannelsesinstitutioner, til fordel for en funktionstillempt trinanalyse. På den anden side indebærer det et bidrag til harmonilære-fagområdet i form af en præsentation af Schenkerinspirerede reduktionsanalyser, som kan afdække enkle, lineære sats tekniske grundmønstre, hvor akkord-for-akkord-analysen er utilstrækkelig.

Målgruppe og genstandsområde lægges klart i forordet. Arbejdet henvender sig til studenter på universitets- og højskoleniveau uden sats tekniske forudsætninger og behandler vesteuropæisk musik fra senrenæssance til tidlig romantik med “vekt på Bach og wienerklassikerne” (s. 4). Således er der heller ingen tvivl om værdisynet, hverken i forordet eller senere, hvor de kendte komponister omtales i vendinger som “de store mestre” (s. 6), “de største blant de store” og “ingen ringere enn” (s. 224).

Helhedsindtrykket er, at bogen er et omfattende og grundigt arbejde, præget af indsigt i stoffet, illustreret med fine eksempler og med et nydeligt layout. Bogens første 206 sider (kap. 1-16) behandler grundlæggende harmonilære kombineret med firstemmig koralats og med reduktionsanalyser placeret relevante steder til belysning af det pågældende emne. Dernæst præsenteres kontrapunkt ud fra Johann Joseph Fux's fem arter baseret på amerikansk litteratur om emnet (primært Felix Salzers og Carl Schachters *Counterpoint in Composition*, 1989), fulgt af en meget summarisk historik vedrørende *prima* og *secunda prattica* med henblik på introduktion af generalbas. Efter behandlingen af denne fortsættes i nævnte rækkefølge med harmoniske sekvenser, variation på akkordrække, en kort præsentation og diskussion af Schenkeranalyse, altererede akkorder og tema med variationer. Hvert af de i alt 24 kapitler afsluttes med en kort opsummering af de vigtigste pointer og et sæt opgaver i det gennemgåede stof.

Ideen at lade satslære og analyse belyse hinanden er på mange måder produktiv men har også svagheder. Selve den faglige systematik og logik er i store træk forsvarlig; emnerne supplerer og bygger logisk videre på hinanden. Eksempelvis danner Fux's artslære et godt systematisk grundlag for udarbejdelsen af koralvariationer, som igen bygger på elementær viden om bl.a. akkordfremmede toner, og de løbende reduktionsanalyser baner – ud over i sig selv at være givende – vejen for en umiddelbar forståelse af Schenkers ide og metode præsenteret i slutningen af bogen. Men set fra et pædagogisk synspunkt er der risiko for, at den valgte strukturering kan virke forvirrende på den urutinerede studerende, og ind imellem savnes mere samlede fremstillinger af den enkelte satslæredisciplin.

De satstekniske emner tildeles ikke lige megen plads i bogen, og konsekvensen bliver, at nogle af områderne trods bogens omfang bliver så summarisk behandlere, at det er tvivlsomt om der kan opnås forsvarlige håndværksmæssige færdigheder og stilfornemmelse i alle discipliner uden at konsultere anden grundlæggende litteratur. Dertil kommer, at de særlige præmisser for satsudarbejdelse i visse tilfælde forbliver lidt uklare, f.eks. i koralafsnittet, hvor satsreglerne aldrig bliver helt tydelige. Mange af de viste eksempler er på kanten af almindeligt vedtagne principper. Således opfordres der eksplicit til at bruge skjulte paralleller, af forfatteren kaldet "Bach-kvinter" (fx s. 66, 67 og i spilleøvelsen eks. 7.1, s. 83), og i den første satsopgave med forudholdsdissonanser skal der "i dette specielle tilfælde ... springes til forholdningskvarten" (opg. 2, s. 106). Desuden fremhæves forudhold med stor septim som særlig godt fulgt af et forbedringsforslag: "Forandringen medfører at det springes en ters til forholdningstonen. Igjen anbefales en mild overtredelse af de klassiske satslæregler" (s. 207-8).

Kapitlerne om harmonilære og koralharmonisering er for så vidt systematiske og giver en grundig indføring i trinanalyse-systemet, men fremstillingen har ind imellem karakter af oprensning. Der går lang tid, inden den musikalske mening bliver klar: s. 56 bringes det første musikeksempel med I og V, og IV introduceres første gang s. 85. En helhedspræsentation af dur/mol-harmonikkens fundamentale akkordhierarki bragt i begyndelsen ville have skærpet overblikket over akkordernes placering og funktion indenfor den "harmoniske syntaks", som først sammenfattes s. 197-98.

Valget af trinsystemet som analysemodel har indlysende fordele ved sin internationale udbredelse, men en sideløbende, supplerende indarbejdelse af funktionsanalyseapparatet ville imidlertid have været en stor fordel. At funktionssystemet kun berøres sporadisk betyder, at der ikke er skabt nødvendige forudsætninger for at kunne begribe den kritik, der rettes mod det i kapitlet "Kritik af funktionsanalysen" (s. 242-45). Samme problematik gør sig gældende s. 331, hvor italiensk, fransk og tysk akkord udredes som tre slags b_5 -altererede dominanter.

Endelig virker det uforståeligt, at forfatteren ikke bruger becifringssystemet. Det vil formentlig kunne lette tilegnelsen af den generalbasterminologi, der naturligt følger med trinanalyse-

systemet, og som i alt væsentligt er konsistent, men som i dag kan forekomme noget abstrakt som en første indføring i harmonilære.

Der er fine pointer i forfatterens Schenker-inspirerede reduktionsanalyser, som kan afdække vandrette klicheer og grundstrukturer, hvis logik er lige så meget melodisk og satsteknisk som harmonisk bestemt. Analysen af en af J.S. Bach's *Goldbergvariationer* (s. 78-81) er et overbevisende eksempel på, hvordan de første takter kan ses som en transformation af et enkelt grundmønster. Senere, som opfølgning på den i øvrigt berettigede kritik af Hugo Riemanns funktionsanalyse af de indledende takter af Beethovens *Waldstein-sonate* (s. 242-45), fremanalyseres gennem reduktionsanalyser interessante lineære aspekter i både 1. og 2. sats. Inspirationen fra Heinrich Schenker viser sig i selve ideen om reduktion og i den analytiske notation, hvorimod urlinie-hypotesen frafalder. Metoden er forholdsvis enkel at gå til og er et godt supplement til den harmoniske analyse.

Det er en omfattende udgivelse om et begrænset område, holdt så strengt til et musikalsk repertoire fra 16-1700-tallet, at bogen kan forekomme lidt gammeldags og tilbageskuende. I det mindste et af de amerikanske forbilleder, Robert Gauldin, har i sin nyeste udgave af *Harmonic Practice in Tonal Music* (2004; se fx s. xxii) forsøgt at vise harmonilærens brugbarhed over for et bredere musikalsk grundlag ved at give eksempler fra andre perioder og stilarter. Men det har tydeligvis ikke været Stigars hensigt. Alligevel er bogen inden for sit eget afgrænsede felt vedkommende og inspirerende. Dens væsentligste styrker er det velvalgte eksempelmateriale og gode pædagogiske ideer, den systematiske indføring i variationstyper og reduktionsanalyserne. Bogen vil givetvis kunne inspirere mange undervisere, som arbejder med de behandlede fagområder.

Dorte Hagen Jensen



Ansa Lønstrup, *Stemmen og øret – studier i vokalitet og auditiv kultur*

Århus: Klim, 2004

210 pp.

ISBN 87-7955-277-3

DKK 249

Stemmen og øret – Studier i vokalitet og auditiv kultur (The Voice and the Ear – Studies in Vocality and Auditory Culture), is one attempt out of many in construing the area of identity formation as happening in a conditional relationship between voice and ear. Its main purpose is to investigate and disentangle the processes of formation that is experienced when exploring both voice and ear. The study consists of twelve short essays, which were formerly published as work papers or articles, seeking (in very different approaches) to construe and conceptualize the notion of a closely knitted connection between the use of the voice, the act of hearing, and their conditional relationship with the body.

The anthology enthusiastically claims the 'return of sensuality' (p. 13). The basic concept of this sensuality is the notion of the voice as an echo of the body. Through this very notion, a web of conclusions is being reached. One of the central and productive assumptions is that using, practising, and exploring your voice is more or less equivalent to a formation of identity. The explorative use of the voice offers a transgression and hence development of identity.

Though the author claims that it is a poorly researched and almost non-conceptualized field this does not seem to be the case. It has been an ongoing project taken on specifically by romanticists like Schiller (*Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, 1895). The reader should

thus prepare himself or herself for an anthology that plunges right into the descriptive analysis of vocal (and other musical) experiences, without the otherwise obligatory historical outlining.

Much of the applied theory belongs to a French post-structural line of approach, such as Roland Barthes, Julia Kristeva and Jacques Lacan. The mentioned sources of inspiration also reveal that the main part of the applied concepts and notions belong to psychological terminology. Though it is never explicated it seems quite clear to the reader that despite the romanticist character of the project, the notion of formation of identity through vocal expression never seems to be equivalent to the romanticist's concept of formation, i.e. a process of human improvement. Instead, the texts appear to lean towards a notion of formation that is freed from the concept of improvement; it is rather a question of the very transgression of identity itself. Thus the anthology remains a dedicated contribution to the ongoing expansion of the area of construing the notion of aesthetic experience.

One main thesis of the texts is that there is a fundamental difference between that which is audible and that which is visible. According to the author, this is due to the fact that the eye has a tendency to install a distance between itself as spectator and the object. In contrast, the ear integrates and personalizes the object, which consequently diminishes the distance. Hereby the texts reveal another classical conflict of interest in the area of aestheticians and musicologists; one that is also conditioned by the psychological (or psycho-therapeutic) line of approach. Thus two crucial dichotomies reveal themselves: The first concerns the separation and opposition between language and music; the second is consequently that of concepts/communication and the non-conceptual/expression. Readers well oriented in psychological research of the last few decades might wonder why more recent research in auditory cognition has not been taken into account. Findings within cognitive psychology and neuropsychology could be expected to yield a firmer backdrop for such basic statements.

Apart from the obvious Freudian aspects (the assumption of an unconscious sphere) the anthology inscribes itself in another romanticist investigation. This is shown in enthusiastic statements such as: 'Intet kan forhindre min totale hengivelse til stemmens musikalske vellyd hinsides sproget' (Nothing can withhold my utter devotion to the musical melodiousness of the voice beyond language, p. 57). This reveals a severe disparity in the book. The impressive commitment and enthusiasm of the author actually occupies a textual space that would have been better used in a clarifying positioning with regard to the history of aesthetics and also the text's own choice of methodology. This deficiency results in the fact that it is difficult to remember and adhere to the very object of analysis. Not only does the object analysis change throughout the twelve different essays, but also within the single essays; implicit paradigms are found thus leaving the reader rather confused, not knowing exactly what the author's intentions are.

But this lack of explication seems also to be the very strength of the anthology as a whole. No doubt it adds a very complicated area of research a liberating freedom of movement. On the one hand, the methodological haziness cannot be rescued by the impressive passion of the author, but on the other hand it is her very enthusiasm that infects the reader with a certain confidence that also adds a convincing momentum to both the descriptive analysis as well as the enormous amount of social theory – an ease that certainly suits the main object of analysis: the voice. And it suits the very kind of expression, if not to say *voice*, which the author would like investigations like these to have.

In all, Ansa Lønstrup provides thorough analysis of crucial areas such as language and music, the voice and formation of identity, the voice and its relation to the body, and finally music and narration. Especially the parts containing concrete vocal analyses reveal themselves as having promising potential for music pedagogy.

Amalie Ørum Hansen



Johan Fornäs, *Moderna Människor: Folkhemmet och jazzen*

Stockholm: Norstedts Förlag, 2004

470 pp., illus.,

ISBN 91-1-301272-X

SEK c. 400

At a time when contemporary genres dominate the field of popular music studies and its surrounding mass-mediated urban spaces, it is refreshing that one of its major Scandinavian representatives pushes the boundaries a little bit. On the surface, this book (*Modern People: Jazz and the Swedish Welfare State*; in Swedish, with a short summary in English) is a cultural history of jazz in Sweden 1920-50, but it has a wider perspective in that it makes an effort to show how jazz cultures in that era have shaped contemporary culture and society. Jazz was an emerging cultural formation that left its mark on Scandinavian culture and its early history teaches us something about issues that many people encounter in contemporary life, issues such as the importation of African-American genres, divisions in stratified youth cultures, art and pop, cultural difference, and gender. The book is an important contribution to Scandinavian popular music studies and has great relevance for projects such as the current research project on rock culture in Denmark.

The book is written for a broader audience than a small community of fans or scholars, although they too will surely learn a lot from reading it. Key concepts are introduced so that even beginners can understand them, and there is no discussion of scholarly literature except from a brief survey in a separate section in the back of the book. The style of writing is clear and straightforward without being too reductive. There should be no doubt that this book is a successful result of serious research. What we have is a solid and well-informed analysis of an extensive material that includes song lyrics, criticism, literary fiction, visual representations, and a dozen of interviews conducted by the author himself (most of them 1981-82). The author adopts a rather text-oriented approach and focuses on broad historical tendencies in linguistic discourses of singing and writing. Practices such as experience and performance receive little attention.

In some ways, history is filtered through a British-Scandinavian cultural studies paradigm. Above all, this is reflected in the decision to make identity the central concept and theme of the book, a choice that is legitimate but by no means self-evident. The overall structure of the book is organized around a systematic distinction between five dimensions of cultural identity in such a way that each of the major sections is devoted to one dimension (history, age, social status, race/ethnicity, and gender). In this regard the book resembles the author's earlier book *Cultural Theory and Late Modernity* of 1995 which was organized around different dimensions of culture. While it creates a clear thematic framework, it is a very different framework than the ones shared by the historical subjects, and it separates things that were closely connected by means of abstraction and, sometimes, decontextualization. The author has a great sense of the semantic and narrative contexts that defined identities but he does not really explore how they are situated in the social networks and communities of the subjects. Raymond Williams, the father of cultural studies, would probably have been impressed but he might also have been critical of some aspects if we think of his holistic approach; his relentless effort to understand connections between all areas of culture and society.

Only a few aspects of the subject are left understudied by this book. An obvious question that is not raised or discussed is why no one listens to the music anymore. Is the music not interesting as music? If music was a major force in the social changes, how can we understand history without examining the musical dimensions? This problem is pertinent to jazz studies

as the interwar period is now the most studied period in European jazz history, but the music is the least heard. Moreover, it would have been useful to pay more attention to the discontinuities between past and present. This book is not a general cultural history of jazz but a more select, albeit very comprehensive, history of the meanings and roles of jazz, with many discussions of song lyrics but very little about musical experience, practice, performance, and style.

One explanation for the outlook of the book lies in the author's disciplinary orientation. For some reason he ignores the field of anthropology, even though it has contributed greatly to the very identity issues that this book contemplates. For instance, little attention is paid to the spatial dimensions of culture and the situatedness of cultural practices (this critique is also applicable to *Cultural Theory and Late Modernity*). Subjectivities are treated with great care in many respects except perhaps in terms of the power dynamics of representation. Swedish society imposed a postcolonial imaginary on African-American culture and performers. It was always about what jazz and black performers did for the Swedes and what it meant to the Swedes, not about how things were experienced from a black perspective. Although sources on this are sparse, more could have been done to recognize the subaltern perspective and the fact that it is still being ignored in the public sphere and even in many academic discourses. One of the many strengths of this work is that the author is free of the insular character of much jazz discourse, and he draws fruitfully on his extensive knowledge of popular music, social history, and media studies. A specialist in jazz studies would have been expected to say more about jazz cultures in other Scandinavian countries as well as in the United States. Occasionally, the reader had deserved to know how the situation in Sweden differed from that in other countries, and more could be said about how it was typical of Scandinavian countries. National narratives tend to obscure the regional character and transnational connections of a given culture, but despite any such limitations, the educated reader will surely recognize the broad relevance of this book and its powerful arguments about why jazz is important to modern Scandinavian history.

Fabian Holt



Poul Rovsing Olsen, *Music in Bahrain. Traditional Music of the Arabian Gulf*, ed. Scheherazade Hassan, Tourif Kerbage, and Flemming Højlund
 Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, 42; published by the Jutland Archaeological Society in association with the Moesgaard Museum and the Ministry of Information, Kingdom of Bahrain; Århus: Aarhus University Press, 2002, 183 pp., illus., music exx., incl. 3 CDs, ISBN 87-88415-19-4, ISSN 0107-2854, DKK 288

In 1958 Poul Rovsing Olsen (1922-82) participated in an archaeological expedition to Kuwait and Bahrain, marking the start of his work collecting in the Persian Gulf. The preface by the Danish editor outlines Poul Rovsing Olsen's work collecting music and comments on the posthumously published manuscript. Then, Poul Rovsing Olsen's own written material starts with a short introduction about Bahrain, and a chapter dealing with musical instruments. The nine subsequent chapters are devoted to individual musical styles and revolve around three areas: first, *taqsim* music, sung dance music, and other festive dances; second, the work songs of pearl divers, music of African origin, as well as an aerophone drum ensemble; and third, religious music, and songs performed by women. The book also contains a bibliography and a reference list of notation numbers relative to the archive registration of the tape recordings, and information about the 41 music samples recorded on the three attached compact discs, based primarily on material collected in 1972 and 1978.

It is to the credit of the editors and the institutions involved that this wide range of material was made available posthumously. Poul Rosing Olsen's sound collection, which resulted in approximately sixty hours of recordings, is stored primarily at the Danish Folklore Archives in Copenhagen and accessible through a catalogue already published (Jane Mink Rossen, *Extra-European Music in the Danish Folklore Archives*, Copenhagen, 1989). In contrast, the twenty-one instruments, which are to be found in The Museum of Musical Instruments in Copenhagen and at Moesgaard Museum, are included in this book by photographs but without any registration data or even the museums' accession numbers. The reader would have profited very much from both a glossary and an index, which are sorely lacking as well. The book inconsistently capitalizes local terminology and focuses on literal Arabic only, and the music examples are presented in varying stages of musical notation.

The chapters are interlocking from different points of view, describing collected material and references to music from related areas in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. However, the content has been limited to certain areas, restricted in the description of instrument making, or local music knowledge. A large number of unanswered questions and inconsistencies emerge, which will be exemplified on the subject of the *tambura* instrument and its music.

The classification of the Bahrain *tambura* as a lyre is due to its main organological characteristics, its stringed frame and in particular its yoke supported by two arms, while the resonator shape indicates it also as a bowl lyre. The unique arrangement of the different components, built by various types of material and perfectly symmetrical, and the close attention paid to decorating is indicative of its ceremonial function. The relatively large size of the instruments shown is typical for items reserved for vocal accompaniment. Strictly speaking, the local term *tambura* refers to the long-necked plucked drone lute *tanbur* (*tanabir*) and is a dialectal mutation of the classical Arabic *tunbur* (lyre). European explorers, including Carsten Niebuhr, were the first to draw attention to the terminological relation between *tambura* and lyre.

In the case of one museum item presented (p. 26), the strings run close to the body because no bridge is attached to the skin table. Strings that are closely attached cause a buzzing timbre, while a bridge prevents the strings from vibrating. The same special effect can also be created by inserting a rattling raft or band, which may be the case on the instrument shown being played (either that or it is a leather strap attaching a horn plectrum to the frame, p. 121). However, there is no recording of this timbre included in the music samples presented in the book. From the same picture, the reader may notice both the vertical posture of the instrument's corpus, balanced upright between the player's arms, and in particular, the distant position of the instrumentalist's hands: the outer arm covers the lyre and picks out the melody at eye level (or it may be the case that a characteristic mute is being used), the other hand is plucking close to the bridge, something which would be impossible on the museum item. Finally, a stamp seal, presented as an ancient pictorial source (p. 27), indeed shows another instrument: an asymmetrical box lyre with fewer strings attached by tuning pegs and played with a very different posture.

The reader is also presented with an example of two ways of *tambura* tuning (p. 28). The first scale is pentatonic, while the second consists of four degrees, both including octave duplication. However, both scales seem to be a mirror image of each other, and which cannot be settled, if this is an oddity or a serious question concerning source notation. The music samples (pp. 122 and 124) indicate pentatonic material, which contain either hemitonic intervals or an octave shift like the one in the first scale. The missing sixth degree might indicate that the string with octave duplication is not in fact plugged and functions as simple unison duplication. Rosing Olsen stresses the different degree to which open strings are used, but both of the music samples presented indicate open string notes exclusively. Moreover, the

notation of the octave tuning in the scale and in the music samples differs by two octaves, leaving the reader in doubt once again. It is impossible to identify both the rhythmical structure (p. 121) and melodic line (p. 124) on the respective recording sample (3:3). All in all the *tambura* part notated in both music samples points to a double function of the instrument: it follows the main melodic degree of the vocal part, but also relies significantly on the rhythmical component.

This book, incorporated in a generous publication series, presents for the first time in a western language an overview of musical traditions in Bahrain. The photographs and musical recordings, which are all of good quality, make the book an attractive work. Some of the author's musical research and way of prioritising the material, as well as some of the decisions made by the editors of the series, is open for discussion. Experts, who read between the lines and make use of the photographs and musical material presented, will find the book to be a rich resource.

Annette Erler

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

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