C. E. F. Weyse's Symphonies

by Carsten E. Hatting

Weyse's symphonies may only represent a very limited part of the repertoire that typified musical life in Copenhagen at the end of the 18th century, but they herald an important development. It was in the 1790s that some of Haydn's and Mozart's mature works emerged on the concert programmes and started a shift in musical taste. This was new music, in many ways demanding and challenging, and Weyse learned much from it. Weyse's symphonies can at the same time, given his situation as a young composer in the city, shed some light on a rather poorly illuminated area of Danish musical history, and help us to form a picture of the concert milieu that was borne up by pioneers, enthusiastic professional musicians, persistent amateurs and - we must not forget - an audience that was interested enough in music to reward the active musicians by paying for the goods.

It would be rash to speak of a proper Danish symphonic tradition before these seven symphonies. True, the Royal Theatre - the most important cultural rallying point for the bourgeois elite in Copenhagen, often featured symphonies before its performances and in the interludes. This is evident for example from four collections of manuscript symphonies of the 1760s in part-books in the Royal Library. In addition, since the 1720s concerts had been given in the city, and in all probability symphonies would have been played at these. And a few symphonic works are extant from the eighteenth century, composed in this country, either by Danish composers or by foreign ones working here. But the repertoire can hardly be called consistent. It rather gives an impression of the very fluid state of European musical life in the middle decades of the century. The works included reflect the various musical milieux that the symphonies came from; and the musicians from abroad mostly brought their own traditions with them.

The earliest of the known Danish symphonies is J. Erasmus Iversen's D major symphony of 1747.[1] Iversen was the concert director of the society *Det musikalske Societet* and worked there with the playwright Ludvig Holberg and J.A. Scheibe. The society's concerts were discontinued in 1749, but new societies followed immediately in its footsteps. The next symphonies in chronological order were written by J.E. Hartmann and H.H. Zielche, who both came to the city from the court chapel of Plön when the Schleswig-Holstein duchies passed into the hands of the Danish monarchy on the death of the last Duke in 1761. In 1768 Hartmann became concertmaster in both the Royal Orchestra and in the highly esteemed society *Harmonien* (see p. 16 below). Although his four known symphonies were composed before the foundation of the society in 1778, this does not of course exclude the possibility that they were performed at the society's concerts. The same can be said of Zielche's six symphonies, all from 1774. In 1795 F.L.Æ. Kunzen succeeded J.A.P. Schulz as Royal *kapelmester,* but by the 1780s he had already lived in the city and participated in the activities of the musical clubs, as is evident from a new study.[2] We know of two of his symphonies, in G major and G minor. The first may have been composed in Copenhagen or in Kiel before 1787 and is known in an arrangement for piano. But we do not know when the second is from. It is in the same key, G minor, as Weyse's first symphony, but the two works are otherwise utterly dissimilar. Finally, the extant symphonic repertoire of the 1780s includes a group of works by the relatively unknown Simoni dall Croubelis,[3] as well as a single symphony by the Danish-born Claus Schall.

It would be remarkable if Weyse had not made the acquaintance of some of these symphonies. On the other hand, his own works suggest that he rather found his models in other composers.

The young Weyse

When C.E.F. Weyse came to Copenhagen at the age of 15 in November 1789, he immediately began a musical apprenticeship with the Royal *kapelmester* J.A.P. Schulz, as had been the purpose of his journey. The connection between the young talent and his coming teacher had been arranged by Carl Friedrich Cramer, a professor at Kiel, and perhaps the most important liaison between the musical life of the duchies and that of Copenhagen - including that of the Danish court.

In the years before this, Weyse had studied music in his birthplace Altona under the guidance of his mother and especially of his grandfather, B.C. Heuser, who was a cantor at the main church of the city and a teacher at the grammar

school, and who gave him music lessons at an early age. In return, Weyse and his younger brother sang in the church choir on the big feast days. It was also Heuser who took him to concerts in Altona and Hamburg. Weyse recalls in his autobiography from 1820 how he was led through long stretches of the city to hear "a new piece by Bach". C.P.E. Bach was at this time still Hamburg's famous musical director. And Weyse continues:

> Wenn reisende Virtuosen in Altona oder Hamburg sich hören ließen, versäumte er niemals hinzugehen, wobey ich und meine Mutter ihn gewöhnlich begleiteten. Auf diese Weise bekam ich zu hören: den Abt Vogler, dessen Spiel großen Eindruck auf mich machte, Lolli, Campagnoli, Friedrich Benda und seine Frau, Madame Lange, Ambrosch und andere...[4]

Cramer wrote, in his *Magazin der Musik*,[5] that every Saturday since August 1783 in the grammar school hall a *Liebhaberkonzert* (connoisseur's concert) had been given and was well attended. Weyse states that until 1789 (probably after about 1782) he spent most of the day with his grandfather, so he is unlikely to have missed these concerts. The concerts presumably all began and ended with a symphony, but Weyse does not mention them.

The music-loving Gaehler, then a *Syndikus* or lawyer, was also very important to him. Thanks to Gaehler's theoretical and practical teaching he became acquainted with C.P.E. Bach's music. However, despite his grandfather's efforts, he failed to become a pupil of this famous man. Gaehler also introduced him to J.S. Bach's works, which at that time was more remarkable, since they were only known to narrow circles in Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg. But as a special sign of musical cultivation it benefited him on the crucial occasion in Copenhagen when he was to be introduced to Schulz, whose first question to the young Weyse was:

> "Sind Sie Hr. Weyse?" - Zu dienen - "Spielen Sie Sachen von Sebastian Bach?" - Ja -"Können Sie diese Fuge spielen?" - Er gab mir das Thema an; ich kannte sie, wußte sie auswendig, und spielte sie ihm vor. "Das ist gut", sagte er ...[6]

So on his arrival in Copenhagen the young pupil was fairly well prepared for his future education. Over the next 4-5 years he was to live with Schulz, and one must assume that he followed his teacher's work with the orchestra and the singers of the theatre. Here, of course, he would have made the acquaintance of his

teacher's works: the music for Racine's *Athalie* (1790), Sedaine's *Aline, Reine de Golconde* (which had been premiered in January 1789 and was still in the repertoire) and the big successes, Thaarup's *Høstgildet* (1790), *Peters Bryllup* (1793) and P.A. Heiberg's *Indtoget* (1793).[7] In addition he would have heard *Singspiele* and operas by people like Dittersdorf, Naumann, H.O.C. Zinck, Georg Benda (whose *Ariadne auf Naxos* he already knew from his period in Altona), Dezède, Grétry, V. Martin y Soler, Gluck and Claus Schall; in other words, a repertoire of French or French-inspired *opéras-comiques*, sometimes alternating with Italian *opera buffa*. J.G. Naumann's *Orpheus og Eurydice* must in these surroundings have appeared a clear exception, although it does not seem that the public rewarded his efforts.[8] As guest *kapelmester* in the 1785-86 season Naumann had reformed the orchestra and as part of his duties had composed this grand opera to the same libretto as Gluck's, and with similar ambitions. It had been premiered at the Royal Theatre in 1786 and required many resources - more or less the whole singing and non-singing ensemble of actors and actresses, and it was still in the repertoire during Weyse's early years in Copenhagen.

Weyse must also have attended the concerts that were frequently held at the Theatre - concerts by travelling virtuosi, the so-called "widows' pension fund concerts" of the orchestra (from 1791 on) and the instrumental concerts that were occasionally interpolated in the productions at the theatre. Programmes from these concerts (if they are known at all) are normally short on details of what was played and sung.[9] As was the custom at the time, the emphasis was on the names of the performers. The audiences must have considered such information the most important.

At the same time Weyse - with the knowledge and approval of Schulz - was being taught by the very musically knowledgeable government secretary Peter Grønland, who was himself from Holstein. Weyse's account gives the impression of a calmer, more thorough type of instruction with him than he could count on from the busy, often ill *kapelmester*. In addition, Weyse learned violin from the orchestra's German-born first violinist Tiemroth, and practiced his organ playing in the church Vor Frelsers Kirke, where the Theatre's singing master H.O.C. Zinck had been engaged as organist a few years after his arrival from Ludwigslust in 1787.

The introductions Weyse had brought with him from Cramer had helped him in Copenhagen, especially with the German milieu in the capital - not only in musical circles, but with the congregations of the St. Petri and Garnison churches and the aristocratic circle around the Minister of Finance, Count Ernst Schimmelmann. But he appears to have been able to keep out of the feuds and disputes between Germans and Danes that flared up in these very years, 1789-

1790, although through his acquaintances he must have been close to them.[10] But being German-speaking was not in itself the same as feeling animosity towards the Danes. Weyse does not appear to have broached the subject, but in the introduction to his periodical *Die nördliche Harfe* (1801), H.O.C. Zinck, who was born in Husum in Schleswig, makes much of the fact that, after various engagements in Hamburg and at the court of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, "[ich] seit 1787 in meinem lieben Vaterlande [mich] wieder glücklich fühle". Although German-speaking (but with an excellent knowledge of Danish) he thus clearly felt Danish, and the same may have been true of Weyse. It is also notable that over the years Weyse mastered the Danish language completely.

In 1792 Schulz helped him to get a regular post as deputy organist at *Den reformerte kirke,* the church of the Calvinist community, where both German and French services were held. There he had to make himself available for the organist J. Philip Klime and at first is unlikely to have been paid for his work; but when the old organist died two years later, he was able to take over the post.

Some of Weyse's compositions from these years are collected in two volumes, *Jugendarbeiten,* dated 1790-94. They consist of piano works and small songs with German texts, in the style of Schulz' *Lieder im Volkston.* A few of the piano works may well have been meant as organ music. The compositions also included a work for choir and orchestra with a great concluding fugue, *Der Herr ist Gott,* which points forward to Weyse's later cantatas. It is separately dated July 1794, and it is tempting to connect it with his engagement as organist.

It is hard to tell how Weyse's life actually was in these years. The documentary evidence is regrettably sparse. In the private letters preserved, one can see indications of straitened financial circumstances. Like many other unpleasant things, he had forgotten this in the autobiographical essay he wrote in 1820, when his situation was much more stable. It seems strange for example that we know nothing whatsoever of his reaction to such striking events in the history of Copenhagen as the Christiansborg fire in February 1794 and the great fire of 5th-7th June 1795. In 1795 he lived in the street Gothersgade and was not directly affected by the fire; (he was just as fortunate during the bombardment of 1807, when he had moved to another street, Lille Kirkestræde). But as a citizen of Copenhagen he must have felt the results of the disaster. That very summer he must have been working on his first three symphonies, which are dated 20/6, 17/9 and September 1795. Whether the extant scores really are those he wrote in the crucial days, or come from the slightly later reworkings, will be discussed below.

The piano, or rather the harpsichord, was however Weyse's main instrument. He must have developed his skills quickly, for as early as 1790 Schulz got him an

opportunity to play at court. This brought him both acclaim and money. Soon afterwards he began to take on his own pupils - nor was it long before he began to perform in the societies and clubs.

The societies and clubs

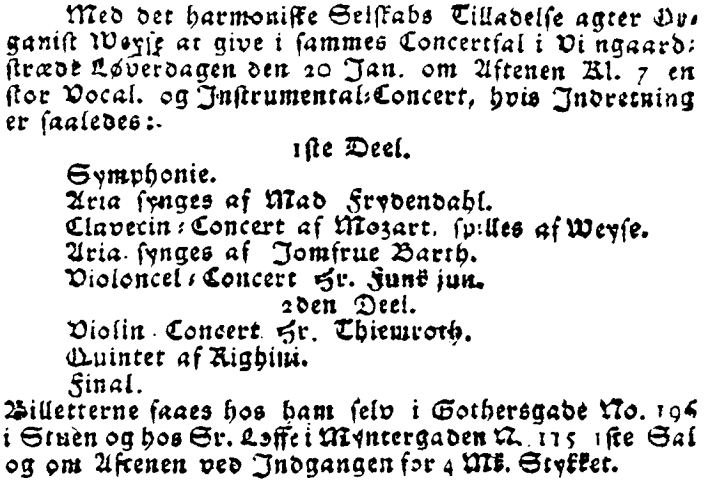
Besides the concerts that were given regularly at the Royal Theatre, the citizens of Copenhagen were able to hear music in clubs and societies which arranged public and private concerts. Some of the members of the musical societies were professional musicians, some music-loving amateurs. Their concerts might be reserved for the members, but it was not rare for the city newspapers also to announce public concerts where anyone could be admitted against payment.

Schulz introduced his pupil to one of the biggest of these societies, *Harmonien.* It had been founded in 1778, and in the course of the 1780s it had developed into the most important one in Copenhagen. It is characteristic of the age that the activities of the society were very much motivated by charity. In 1803 the judge J.H. Bärens, who was known as a philanthropist, "the friend of the poor", published a small anniversary booklet in which he wrote:

> The *main object* of the society was from the outset sociable, dignified entertainment, harmoniously elevating enjoyment in such leisure hours as each individual's daily chores afforded ... In the practice and enjoyment of an art that ennobled and elevated the spirit, and which accorded with the good and noble-spirited, in its *concert,* it would increase in stature ... Besides this purpose, the society later pursued another *more worthy* and *nobler* end than simple, amusing diversion. With charity, each member would contribute to the ennoblement of himself and the society ... It therefore established a fund for *magnanimous purposes.*[11]

The number of members was limited. At first they would only admit sixty members, but by 1780 the figure had reached 120 and by the time the book was published it was 240, twenty of whom were musician members with an obligation to participate actively in the concert activities. It is presumably on these terms that F.L.Æ. Kunzen was a member during his first stay in Copenhagen in 1784-1789. In Cramer's *Magazin* the concerts of the society were very positively covered. The orchestra is said to have consisted of 16 violins, 4 violas, 4 cellos, 3 double basses, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 horns and 2 bassoons. But singers were scarce.[12] In 1789, when

Weyse was introduced (shortly after Kunzen's departure), the society had its address in Vingårdsstræde, where it had a concert hall with "excellent qualities".[13]



Concert.

Med det harmoniske Selskabs Tilladelse agter Organist Weyse at give i sammes Concertsal i Vingaard-strædet Løverdagen den 20 Jan. om Aftenen Kl. 7 en stor Vocal. og Instrumental-Concert, hvis Indretning er saaledes:.

1ste Deel.

Symphonie.
Aria synges af Mad Frydendahl.
Clavecin-Concert af Mozart. spilles af Weyse.
Aria. synges af Jomfrue Barth.
Violoncel-Concert Hr. Funk jun.

2den Deel.

Violin-Concert. Hr. Thiemroth.
Quintet af Righini.
Final.

Billetterne faaes hos ham selv i Gothersgade No. 196 i Struen og hos Hr. Løffe i Myntergaden N. 115 1ste Sal og om Aftenen ved Indgangen for 4 Mk. Stykket.

Weyse's own concert on 20/1/1798, apparently the only one he organized himself, was held "with the permission of the philharmonic society" in the concert hall in Vingaardsstræde at seven o'clock in the evening. The programme began with a symphony - perhaps No. 2 in C major, which he had recently reworked, but at any rate one of the first five. The "Finale" which concluded the programme may have been the last movement of the symphony.

Weyse wrote that he performed at concerts in *Harmonien* and at almost all the musical clubs, especially with piano concertos by Mozart. It was quite common for professional musicians to be members of more than one society, and in 1802 Weyse was also a performing member of *Det musikalske Akademi.*[14] Until 1813 the concerts of this society were directed by the concertmaster of the Royal Orchestra, Claus Schall,[15] and they were praised by Cramer's *Magazin,* but it was said that there were financial difficulties. At the beginning of the 19th century Kuhlau praised the concerts of both *Harmonien* and *Det musikalske Akademi,* but added that Haydn's, Mozarts and Beethoven's symphonies were best performed by the Royal Orchestra.[16]

Back home Weyse had played music with H.O.C. Zinck and a few others, perhaps even Claus Schall. Others joined them until a small orchestra could be formed. They moved out to Blågård, where Zinck was employed as a music teacher at the college of education, and had his home, and they adopted the name *Det musikudøvende Selskab.* Weyse wrote that there:

> lernte ich Mozarts und Haydns Sinfonien erst recht kennen, und studirte die Würkung der Blasinstrumente.[17]

Weyse wrote in a letter of the 11/2/1797 to Ludvig Zinck, the son of the singing master, that it was not always easy to compete with other societies for the best musi-

cians, so that the level of activity in the society fluctuated.[18] Membership of *Det musikudøvende Selskab* may have been one motive among many behind the genesis of the seven symphonies, which were composed in fairly quick succession at this time.

Oddly enough, he never wrote other symphonies. As a result of his unhappy love affair with Julie Tutein, the daughter of a prosperous Copenhagen wholesaler, he was unable to compose at all in the years from 1801 until 1807. But it should be noted that in this break in his composing activities, he can hardly have been quite as passive as he himself says, and that at any rate he began moving in other musical directions. He had started writing *Singspiele* for the theatre, undoubtedly for a larger audience, and his work (from 1805) as an organist for *Vor Frue Kirke,* the biggest church in the city, and later (from 1819) as court composer must little by little have taken him away from the more amateur-like concert scene.

The reworking of the fourth symphony between 1809 and 1817 (cf. below) does suggest that he had not completely broken with the concert milieu. The symphonies still seem to have been played. Kuhlau, who came to Copenhagen at the end of 1810, described the concert repertoire of the city in a letter of 1811 to the Leipzig publisher G.C. Härtel. One hears, he writes:

> zuweilen auch eine Symphonie von dem originaleren Weise - einige seiner schönen, effectvollen Symphonien sind noch nicht gedruckt.[19]

But two of them had. Around 1800, Weyse's patron, the prosperous merchant Constantin Brun, known to posterity as the owner of Sophienholm, funded the publication of No. 6 in C minor by the music engraver Sonne in Copenhagen. A few years later No. 7 in E♭ major was printed in Vienna by the publishers Bureau d'arts et d'industrie. Kuhlau appears also to have known some of the others, but his appeal to the German publisher had no effect.

The musical background

Before his debut as a symphonist, Weyse would have been able to consider a few well known models. To the impressions he had brought with him from Altona and Hamburg (cf. above p. 12f), he could add the innumerable new ones he must have gained in Copenhagen in the years when he followed his teacher J.A.P. Schulz. Here too, of course, symphonies were played. Nils Schiørring has given us a picture of the repertoire, indicating the symphonies by J.C. and C.P.E. Bach, K.F. Abel, Franz Beck, C. Cannabich, L. Hoffmann, F.J. Gossec, which were played at

the Royal Theatre and (presumably) in the music societies.[20] But as his style shows, Weyse drew far more inspiration from Haydn and Mozart.

In 1945 Knud Jeppesen described a collection of music found at the Royal Academy of Music in Copenhagen.[21] It included some symphonies in printed parts from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. He assumed, and it has not been disputed since, that they had belonged to some of the many musical societies and clubs in the city in the 18th century. More precisely, he thought they could have been the property of *Det musikalske Akademi* and have been sold at an auction (1817-18) to the circulating library *P.W. Olsens musikalske lejebibliotek.* This at least was where they were around the middle of the century. Some of the editions were later than 1795 and thus cannot have served Weyse as sources of inspiration in the first half of the 1790s. The late editions also include copies of the printed parts for Weyse's own sixth symphony. But even if one excludes such editions from the list, there are very many symphonies left which *may* have been played at the beginning of the 1790s.[22] These are Haydn's symphonies 31, 44, 45, 48, 51, 53, 60, 62, 66, 67, 68, 76, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92 and Hob. Ia:14; and Mozart's "Jupiter" symphony KV 551. In this list the manuscript set of parts for Haydn's Symphony No. 44 is particularly interesting, since it bears an inscription that seems to refer to the society *Harmonien.*

In another collection that had belonged to the chamberlain Giedde, and which was transferred to the Royal Library in Copenhagen, there are a few Haydn symphonies. Of Mozart's works, there are a flute quartet and an arrangement af an aria, but no symphony. Giedde often performed as a flautist around 1780 in the societies *Det harmoniske selskab, Harmonien* and *Det kongelige musikalske Akademi.* He was director of the orchestra in the years 1791-93 and then administrator of the court music archives at Christiansborg Palace, which burnt down on 26/2/1794. Giedde died in 1816, then his widow sold his private collection, which became part of the new court music archives. The published catalogue of the collection is based on a list from 1816 and two other related lists, one dated 1826.[23] They are thus both so late that it is difficult to see which works could have been relevant to the concert milieu in the first half of the 1790s. Some of the collections also consist of manuscript music which is difficult to date. But there is some possibility in the case of early editions of Haydn's Symphonies 63, 71 and 75.

Regrettably, the difficulties of demonstrating a connection between Copenhagen and the musical scene in Odense are too great for us to use Sybille Reventlow's results from her study of the music collection at Valdemars Slot on the island of Tåsinge.[24] This might have been useful, especially as the contents of the collection are compared with the accounts of the *Odense Klub,* so that purchases of music can

be dated. The author compares the repertoire with a couple of private collections in Copenhagen. A few common items, especially of chamber music, might suggest that the supply of music to some extent flowed along the same channels as from Germany. But one cannot draw similar comparisons with the aid of the symphonies.

More to the point here is Jens Henrik Koudal's study of the music collection at Aalholm Manor.[25] Count Otto Ludvig Raben (1730-1791), the first owner of the collection, who played the flute himself, often participated in Copenhagen musical life in the years between about 1755 and 1790. Unfortunately his collection only includes one *Symphonie concertante* by Viotti and some of Haydn's quartets (Hob. III: 1-4, 6-12 and 19-36), but no true symphonies. Furthermore, it is hardly possible to establish how much the collection was supplemented after 1791. There are a few more recent prints.

The music trade in Copenhagen is a surer foundation to build on. While Dan Fog's study, as far as the 18th century is concerned, tells us less about exact work titles than about publisher contacts,[26] it does show that in Copenhagen in 1770-1793, when he sold his music shop to Adser Friberg, Henrik Gottwaldt apparently had good contacts with Hummel in Amsterdam and André in Offenbach.[27] Friberg took over these contacts, and in an advertisement of 1794 he mentions Clementi, Haydn, Kozeluch, Mozart and Pleyel as the most popular composers. He received new music from abroad two or three times a year.[28] Although his house burned down in June 1795 with large parts of Copenhagen, much of the music Weyse had the opportunity to hear was presumably sold through his publishing house.

The symphonies

When Weyse composed his first symphony, he had not yet worked with orchestral composition. For posterity, which is familiar with the development of the symphony in the 19th century into the most significant, most representative concert genre, it can be tempting to view his early activity in this area as the result of the hubris of a young composer. But perhaps it was not as bold as all that. In the concert programme the symphony was still only prelude and conclusion, opening and finale, a framework around the real substance of the concert. It was the virtuoso performers, vocal or instrumental, who were emphasized in advertisements and posters, and it was they - far more than the composers - who were to draw, and who did draw the paying public.

The orchestra Weyse required for his symphonies was not large compared with modern symphony orchestras. It included one or two flutes, two oboes, two bas-

soons, two horns and a string section of four, sometimes five parts. From the second symphony on we must count two trumpets and timpani. It was for an orchestra of this size that Haydn and Mozart composed most of their symphonies, and the instrument configuration is what was normally used by the Royal Orchestra. Although Weyse may not have had so many of the Royal musicians at his disposal, it was an ensemble type with which he was familiar.

But it could be varied. The slow movement of the fourth symphony uses a single clarinet. This was a relatively new instrument, and not yet in common use. It is true that since the beginning of the 1770s the orchestra had included musicians who could play it (or the slightly deeper basset horn); but it was rare in the symphonic repertoire of the day. Haydn did not even have it in his Paris symphonies of 1785-86. In 1795 (or 1796? cf. below) Weyse must have had a clarinettist at his disposal, but it is perhaps indicative that in this *Largo* he does not use it in the manner of a solo instrument, but simply lets it reinforce and colour the timbre of the woodwinds. This might mean that there were limits to what Weyse could demand of the musician, who was available as a rare and perhaps coincidental opportunity.

Just a few years later the situation had apparently changed. When Weyse reworked the finale of his second symphony as the overture to *Sovedrikken* he added two clarinets, as he did in all his other adaptations for the theatre, and for the concert in *Musikforeningen* in 1838. Trombones, too, were sometimes added. This suggests not only a change in timbre ideals, but also the opportunities presented when the music was played by the Royal Orchestra with its stable ensemble.

In the seven symphonies there are many indications that Weyse consciously chose Haydn and Mozart as his models, finding much more in them than he had encountered in Altona and Hamburg and during his early years in Copenhagen. His familiarity with the works of the great Vienna classicists must of course have been limited compared with what we know in our own age. But Haydn was already a famous European name, Mozart was on his way to becoming one, and Schulz and Kunzen had done their bit to sharpen the young composer's awareness of the greatness of this new music.

The rather scattered comments on each symphony that follow here do not claim to make up a systematic review, but they do point out some features that show the lessons Weyse learned. The incipits to the movements have been omitted. They are in Dan Fog's list of Weyse's works.[29] In 1994 and 1995 all seven symphonies were recorded on three CDs by the Royal Orchestra conducted by Michael Schønwandt.[30]

Symphony No. 1 in G minor DF 117 [31]

It is worth noting that Weyse's first symphony was written in a minor key. The great majority of the symphonies that were composed in the latter half of the 18th century were in major keys, which made them both easier to play, especially for the wind instruments, and to understand. This dominating character accords well with the function of the symphonies as a framework around the real content of the concert.

The minor keys afforded better conditions for passionate expression, for example through subtle melody, harmony and tonality, and since the beginning of the 1770s composers like Haydn and Mozart had experimented with achieving greater expressiveness by choosing a minor key as the basic key of their symphonies. Weyse may have known some of these minor-key symphonies, but his approach to key may also have been determined by his knowledge of C.P.E. Bach's musik, which had roots back in his father J.S. Bach's tradition, when minor was just as common as major. The sequence of movements, too, is unusual (major keys are indicated by capitals, minor keys by small letters):

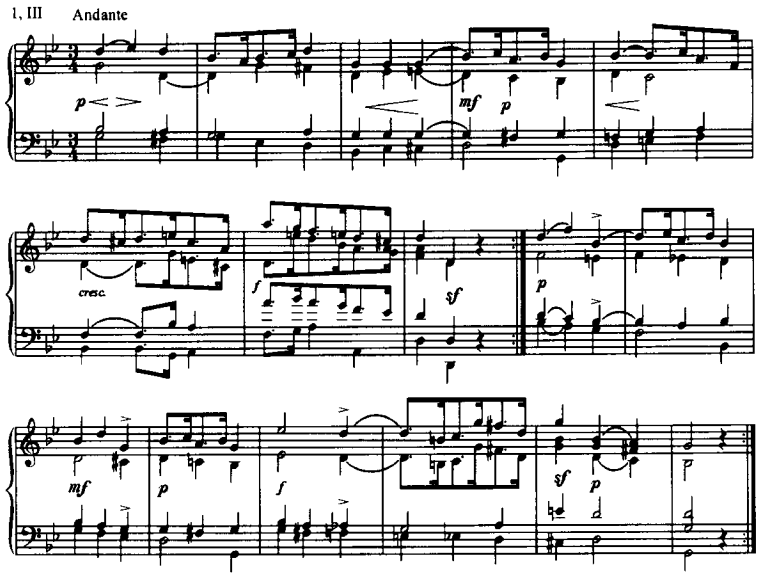
Allegro con spirito	**Minuetto**	**Andante**	**Vivace**
4/4 g	3/4 E♭	3/4 g/G	C g

The minor character and the intense expression can be heard from the beginning of the first movement in the strong main theme, whose dotted rhythms will colour most of the movement. The second theme forms a brief contrast - also when its figures are woven into the development. In the recapitulation it is transformed from its original key of B♭ major to G minor, as is common in Mozart's minor movements.

That the second movement is a minuet is not as surprising as its contrasting key of E♭ major. When minuets appeared as the second or third movement of a symphony - and both positions were equally common - they were normally in the main key of the symphony. And the Italian term *Minuetto* was not particularly common. Haydn rarely used it, Mozart never. But Weyse uses it consistently, except in the printed editions of the sixth and seventh symphonies and in the reworking of the fifth. It is also common in C.P.E. Bach's works; and in D.G. Türk's *Klavier-Schule* (1789), which Weyse had studied, the movement type is called *"Die Menuett, (Minuetto)"*. Weyse's feeling for strong tonal tensions can be felt in this movement, as in the first. They give the minuet an almost dramatic development. In the more

lyrical trio the oboe carries a firm, calm melody over the restrained accompaniment of the strings.

At the beginning of the calm third movement, a theme and four variations, the key of G minor returns. The sensitive melody of the theme has much of the romance tone we know from Weyse's songs, a tone normally said to have appeared six years later in Tekla's song from Schiller's *Wallenstein,* "Der Eichwald brauset, die Wolken ziehn", in Oehlenschlägers translation "Dybt Skoven bruser og Skyen gaar".[32]

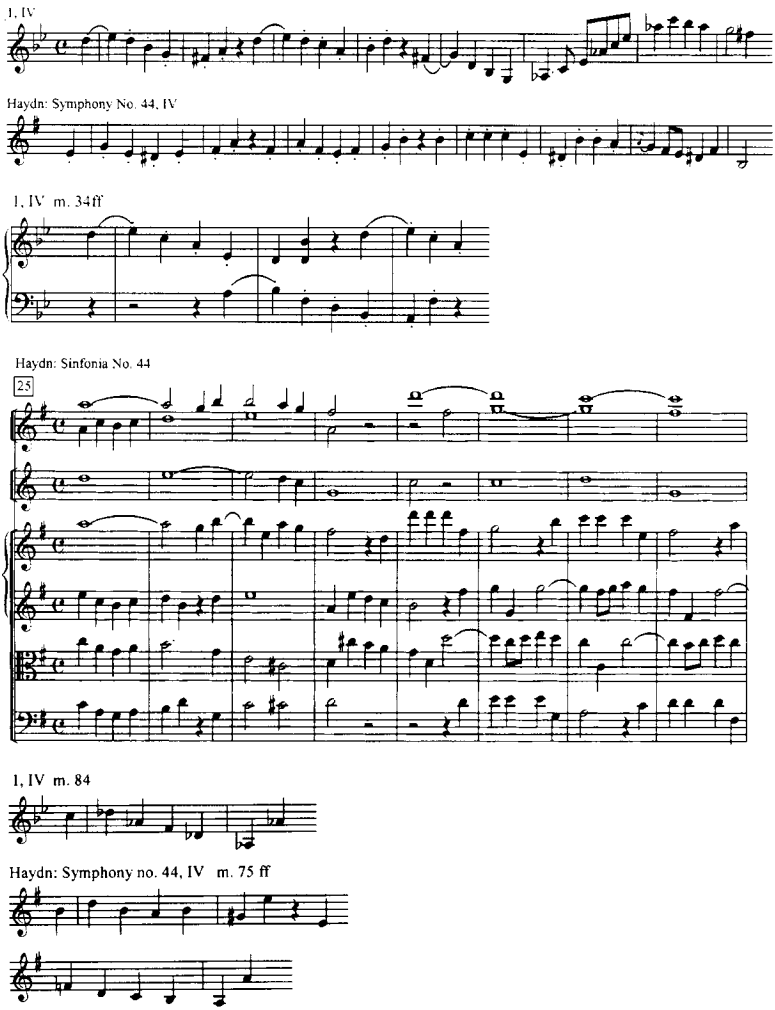


Ex. 1: Theme from 1st symphony, 3rd movement.

The finale is an energetic *vivace* with a typical minor theme, exploiting the tension between the downward-tending sixth and the leading note. In its second phrase it features a brief metrical play on a shortening and a repeat, telling us that the tragic element is not to be taken too seriously.

The finale might recall Haydn's Symphony No. 44 in E minor, (which also has a minuet as second movement). Four things in particular are striking:

1. the rhythm and melodic structure of the subject.
2. the beginning in the strings alone, with the wind instruments coming in together, in Weyse b. 6, in Haydn b. 19.
3. polyphonic treatment of the subject in the exposition, in Weyse b. 35ff, in Haydn b. 29ff (the string movement).
4. transformation of the theme at the beginning of the development, in Weyse b. 84ff, in Haydn b. 75ff. Note in particular the concluding upward octave leap.



Ex. 2: Illustration of items 1, 3 and 4.

There are other things that make it likely that Weyse knew this Haydn symphony. It was part of the manuscript set of parts in the collection discovered around 1944 in the attic of the Academy and later described by Knud Jeppesen. The music bears an inscription that refers to *Harmonien* (see above, p. 16).

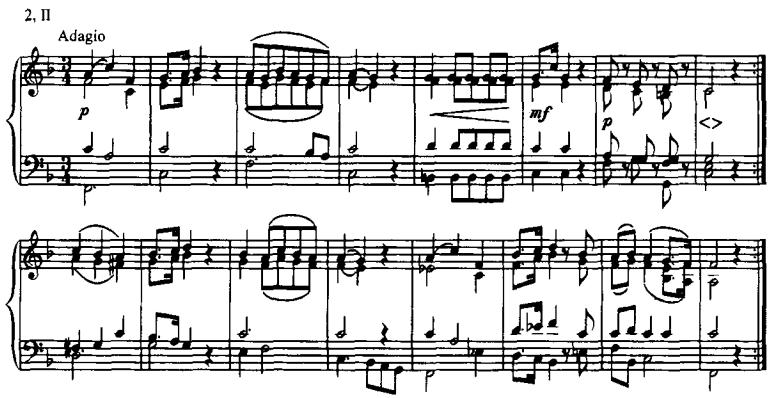
Symphony No. 2 in C major DF 118 [33]

Compared with the first symphony, which was composed three months earlier, the orchestra here has been increased by one flute, two trumpets (clarini) and timpani. Whether it is because of the key, or whether Weyse wanted to create a

contrast to the first symphony, this one seems more straightforward and less complex in expression. It is a sweepingly festive work.

The first movement, a broad *allegro con brio* in 3/4 time, opens with a simple fanfare theme which states the key and moves effortlessly into a cantabile, *Lied*-formed second subject. This too is based on the triad, but slightly ornamented, so the impression is of more melodic suppleness. The fine cadential group is rounded off by a small, teasing epilogue with adroit hemiola rhythms. There is always fresh movement, but no major drama.

As in the first symphony, the slow movement is a variation movement, but the tempo is more spacious, *adagio*. Here, as there, there are resemblances to Weyse's far later romance melodies:



Ex. 3: Theme from 2nd symphony, 2nd movement.

The variations offer both timbral and tonal contrasts. Both effects are exploited after the fourth variation (in F minor), which deploys the whole orchestra. There follows a short bridging passage back to F major, where the horns are waiting to take up the melody of the theme. The effect of romantic nature lyricism is hardly outdone by Weber.

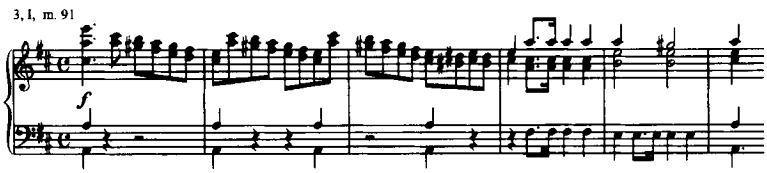
On the other hand in the minuet, which again begins with a broken triad, Weyse seems to be vying with Haydn in his use of rhythmic-melodic accent shifts and subtle shifts in timbre. In the second part of the trio in particular, the sense of the basic 3/4 time is for a while quite obscured until it pleases Weyse to put the listener on the track again.

The cheerful finale also reminds us of Weyse's enthusiasm for the great Viennese classicists. As early as the afterphrase of the main subject, there are imitations. The second subject is just as rhythmically and melodically active and with new dynamic contrast (Weyse writes *dolce,* i.e. *piano)* brings new motion into the movement. Lively modulations and dancing polyphony characterize the whole movement.

Symphony No. 3 in D major DF 119 [34]

The orchestra is almost the same as for the second symphony, but once more Weyse apparently only had a single flute available.

The first movement, *allegro con brio,* is a sonorous D major movement in common time with drive and passion. The first and second subject contrast as expected, the first energetic and powerful, the second soft with a clear distribution of roles between the wind instruments and strings. Both subjects are formed from broken triads, but also have effectively contrasting timbres which give them distinctiveness and character. In the epilogue Weyse surprises us with inventive rhythmic effects:



Ex. 4: 3rd symphony, I st movement, b. 91 ff

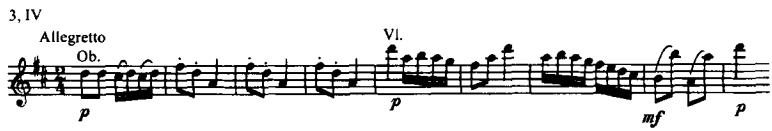
- and again one is reminded of Haydn.

But if this movement is light and lively, the following *andante maestoso* plunges us into a quite different mood. It changes from D major to D minor, and the full orchestra weighs in with majestic rhythms, powerfully emphasized by striking bass figures. The seriousness is underscored by painfully tense sounds, short, fragmentary motifs and dramatic changes between *forte* and *piano.* It might be Georg Benda's dirge-like music for *Ariadne auf Naxos,* which Weyse performed as a child, that lay behind this. After a middle section in D major, where Weyse has the woodwind lead off in five parts, the introductory minor passage returns with slight variations. Towards the end it expands into a broad half cadence which directly prepares the way for the next movement. It was presumably this transition that motivated Weyse to maintain the basic D minor of the andante. With his half close he wanted to prepare the path back to the light D major in the third movement.

The minuet movement repeats the major-minor contrast, as Weyse again chooses D minor for the trio section. There is another close relationship between this and the preceding movements. While the minuet has some of the subtlety of the first movement, at the beginning of the trio the wind instruments quote the striking bass theme in the slow movement. In this unusual fashion Weyse links the minuet with the majestic andante and prevents any dilution of the stark contrast between the first two movements.

But this does happen in the finale, where the festive mood returns. It is designated *allegretto,* and it begins with a fresh theme,

Ex. 5: 3rd symphony, 4th movement, theme



and serves up a profusion of witty ideas: rhythmic, metric, harmonic and melodic surprises. They culminate in a three-bar general pause just before the end, followed by a tutti entry in F major! The movement is however lightly and dexterously returned to the main key. Although the beginning with its light theme and merry instrumentation might raise expectations of a rondo, the movement turns out to be a clearly articulated sonata movement.

Symphony No. 4 in E minor DF 120 [35]

As in his first symphony, Weyse has chosen a minor key, with the special opportunities this affords for subtle and expressive harmony. The orchestral ensemble is almost as large as in the second symphony, i.e. a double wind ensemble (flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns and trumpets) and a 4-5-part string section. There is no timpani, but a clarinet appears in the second movement.

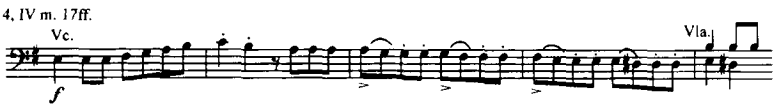
For the first time Weyse begins the first movement with a majestic *grave,* which strikes the serious note suggested by the choice of key and prepares for the main body of the movement. The allegro begins with an energetic theme, divided into a powerful beginning and a softer contrasting passage, still full of rhythmic energy and immediately exhibiting its potential for polyphonic treatment. The tendency comes to full expression in the second subject, a cantabile wind theme that uses the introductory figure of the first subject as bass line. Its further progress is still guided by a variant of the same bass melody with its characteristic diminished fifth leap. The exposition is very tightly formed and with its 81 bars is relatively short compared with a development of 105 bars and a recapitulation of 113 (as well as a short 14-bar coda). In the recapitulation the minor character is dispelled for a moment by the second subject in a brilliant E major (although it was presented in a minor form in the development), but otherwise the intense seriousness prevails throughout the movement.

As in the first and third symphony, in the slow movement, the largo, Weyse remains on the tonic of the symphony. He changes to E major, but does not dispel

the serious mood. The movement is in sonata form with an elegiac, almost Mozartean beginning, due not so much to the above-mentioned single clarinet (which only appears in this movement - cf. p. 21) as to the harmony and the shifting use of wind instruments against the bearing string texture. A contrasting passage in B major, fulfilling the function of a second subject, is much more dramatic in character. The *tutti* of the orchestra and the fast-moving figures of the strings recall the slow introduction to the symphony. The two types of expression alternate in the remainder of the movement, and the contrast between them is constantly shown in new textural lights; for example the recapitulation is introduced by oboe and horn, with fine accompaniment from the strings. In the calm conclusion of the movement the wind section has almost completely taken the leading role.

Even the minuet begins in the serious mood, emphasizing the minor character, and here too Weyse uses an introductory figure that presages polyphony, and is exploited canonically in the second section of the movement. Gracefulness is however the hallmark of the trio, a waltz in E major. Here, for a brief space, the smile seems to prevail.

In the finale Weyse demonstrates his mastery of counterpoint. An introductory theme with a descending melody, followed by an orchestral *tutti*, only forms a short introduction to the real first subject, which is stated by the cellos and imitated by the other strings in true fugal form. Gradually they are joined by the wind instruments. Yet this is still only the beginning, for this subject stays "on stage" throughout the movement.



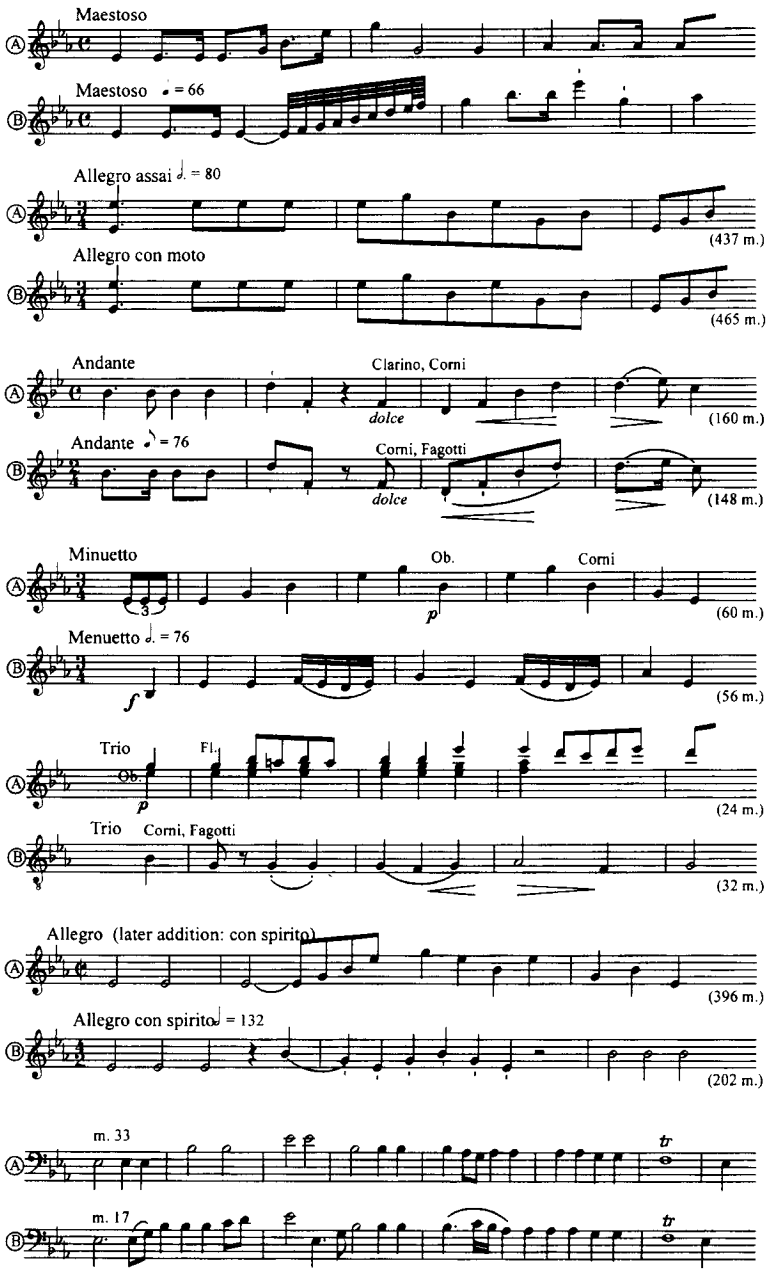
Ex. 6: 4th symphony, 4th movement

Very late, and almost imperceptibly, a slightly calmer, more cantabile second subject is introduced. The two subjects are combined in an exciting polyphonic interplay in the development. Here too the theme from the introduction to the movement is interwoven, resulting in a vast triple fugue, while the movement at the same time moves through constantly new keys. In the recapitulation Weyse, in Haydnesque style, must go his own way with new combinations. The fugal exposition cannot of course be repeated, but the power of the themes has not yet been sapped, and only a strong cadence is able to check the dense dramatic advance of the music and round off the movement.

Symphony No. 5 in E♭ major DF 121

For this symphony Weyse wrote out two scores. The oldest (5A) is dated 7/10/1796 and shows the symphony in its original form. The second (5B), from 10/3/1838, was done for a concert at *Musikforeningen*.[36]

Ex. 7: Incipits for all movements, including the trios of the minuets in 5A and 5B.



(5A) The first movement begins with calm majesty, a full sound, and stately dotted rhythms. The main section which follows, *allegro assai,* begins with an energetic triadic subject in sweeping 3/4 time. The second subject is more melodically supple. At first it

belongs to the strings alone, but it is repeated with support from changing wind groupings. An orchestral *tutti* rounds off the exposition; meanwhile Weyse inserts a passage contrasting high and low instrument groups and dramatically dotted rhythms, and ends by quoting the introductory theme. The development is launched by a leap to C major, and the modulatory activity is kept alive, not least with the aid of the introductory rhythm and chord figurations. Nor is there any lack of polyphony and combinations of figures from the two subjects. The recapitulation takes a regular course, but in the coda, small, new imitations of the main subject appear before the movement is triumphantly rounded off.

Dignity is also the mark of the second movement, which is in B major and is in sonata form like the first. But Weyse has a special surprise up his sleeve. Soon a solo violin emerges from the group and, with figurations and bridging passages alternating with the orchestra, gives the grave seriousness of the movement a concertante element. One could see this as a special gift to the leader of the orchestra Claus Schall, who had himself composed two concertante symphonies, and who at the end of the 1790s may well have performed in this symphony at one of the musical societies. But the movement does not develop in the style of a real *sinfonia concertante* - not to mention of a violin concerto. In the development for example the soloist has nothing to say, but its broken triads and small garlands of notes recur in the recapitulation and in an unusually long coda.

The minuet offers no surprises. It is regularly structured and is very traditional with its triadic themes. In the more lightly instrumented trio a flute and bassoon lead off accompanied by pizzicato in the strings and a basic rhythm marked by the oboes.

In this symphony too the finale sparkles with polyphony. To the original designation, *allegro,* Weyse added *con spirito* in the second transcript. The movement starts with an E♭ hammered out three times by the full orchestra; violins and violas form a link with triadic figures to the thrice-repeated B♭. Accompanied by quick violin passages the flutes carry a calm E♭ major scale through before a cadence closes the introduction. The fugue subject, derived from the introductory juxtaposition of tonic and fifth, seems carved in marble. It is stated by the basses and imitated part-wise upwards through the string section. Both this and the triad motifs from the beginning later prove to be good guides through the modulations. A quick turn into B♭ major shows that the movement is in fact a sonata movement. When the new key is reached, Weyse immediately combines the note repetitions of the start of the movement with the fugue theme. New motifs emerge and give further life to the playing, until the exposition dies out with remarkable quietness. But there is only an instant of quiet, before the storm of modulations

and the gay interplay of the themes begin. Not until the recapitulation does one seem to be on terra firma again, and the coda puts a firm full stop to this festive symphony.

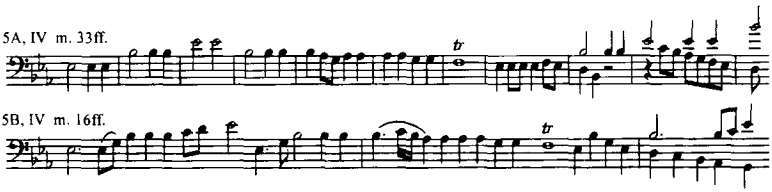
(5B) In the reworking Weyse strengthened the instrumentation by adding two clarinets and a trombone; but he also radically reworked the musical course of all the movements. The original minuet was rejected and replaced by a revision of the minuet movement of the first symphony (which was also in E♭ major). The first movement has become a little longer, the slow movement a little shorter, and the finale only has slight resemblances to the original one.

As early as the introduction to the first movement, we note the will to create more cohesive melodies and to use richer harmony as a contrast to the broken triads, and here, as in the quick section of the movement, now designated *allegro con brio,* Weyse demonstrates the new textural potential the larger orchestra has given him. The dramatic passage with its dotted rhythms thus almost takes on the sound of Beethoven, of whom Weyse was not normally particularly fond. In addition, he has thinned out the small imitations of the introductory figures of the main subject. He presumably thought he had worked this material for all it was worth.

The second movement is called an andante, as in the "A" version, but the notation has changed; the note values have been halved, and the movement has been shortened. The long coda has been drastically cut, so the overall form has more harmonious dimensions. The solo violin, which was probably played by Friedrich Wexschall (the teacher of Niels W. Gade) still has a purely decorative function; but it now has a single small passage at the end of the development to make up for what it has lost in the coda. Nevertheless, towards the end, it has more and more to say, and also helps to see the music out at the end.

Weyse judged rightly when he brought the minuet from his first symphony into this new context, and one can almost feel his pleasure in reorchestrating it. The trio in particular, with the soft sound of the clarinets, shows how much timbre ideals have changed in the course of a good forty years.

Like many other things in the finale, the notation has been changed and the bars have been doubled up, but the dimensions of the movement have been preserved. Weyse must have felt that the contrast between the introductory theme, the thrice-pounding E♭ followed by a broken triad, and the fifth and fourth leaps of the fugal theme, was too weak. He therefore set them off more strongly against one another. Instead of the unison beginning he now has chords, and he distinguishes them clearly from the triad motifs, which he gives more rhythmic pith.



Ex. 8: Fugal themes from finales of 5A and 5B.

The fugal subject keeps its structure, but is individualized so that it can emerge more clearly in contrast with the other motifs in the combinations. This leaves its mark on the whole movement, and although the whole bearing idea, the dimensions and the course of the modulations are preserved, this, along with the many improvements in details, justifies Weyse's words to the poet Ingemann that the symphony is "now quite new" (cf. below, p. 37).

Symphony No. 6 in C minor DF 122[37]

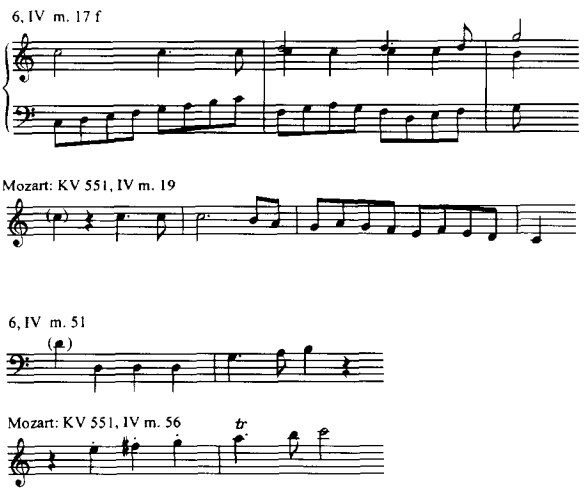
In the broad *maestoso* that begins the first movement, Weyse has again felt the attraction of the potential of a minor key for tonal flexibility and harmonic colouring. Grave rhythms and two great crescendi, one over a tonic and one over a dominant chord, launch the movement. The intense seriousness continues into the fast section, an *allegro con brio*. The violins bear up the first subject, supported by chords struck by the full orchestra; after the shift to the lighter E♭ major a second subject is introduced, with dialogue between various wind pairs. The bass maintains the triad motif of the introduction and its dotted rhythms, so that the general mood is shaded but not dispelled. A chromatic ascent leads into a cadential group. The development falls into three parts; the first is dominated by the main subject and motifs derived from it; in the second, the second subject creates a softer contrast, while the dotted rhythms of the first subject still form an accompanying undertone; the last section takes its motifs from the energetic cadential group, before the energy is sapped from the activity, and a calm bridging passage leads to the recapitulation, where the second subject shines out briefly in its contrasting C major. But the seriousness is re-introduced in the cadential group and a sonorous coda.

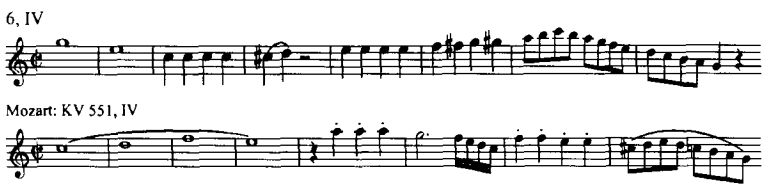
The slow movement, a *largo* in E♭ major, begins with a horn solo, accompanied by low strings. The theme is cantabile but more instrumental than in the first symphonies, which might suggest that Weyse has drawn new inspiration from the great Viennese classicists. The other winds and strings gradually join in, and the melody of the violins has gained a suppleness that clearly indicates Mozart as Weyse's model. The impression is emphasized by chromatic melodies and highly

seasoned harmonies in the powerful contrasting section which rounds off the exposition. The melody of the horn solo is inverted in the development and is answered by the oboe, before the whole orchestra and the chromatic melodies again take the lead. The recapitulation brings back the horn solo in its first form, but soon offers new surprises. The broken triads of the flute and bassoon grace the bridge to the contrasting section, which itself becomes more expansive before the cadence. The movement is a point of rest in the totality, but its expressive melody lines still continue to encapsulate the seriousness of the first movement.

The minuet is without metric experiments, solemn and stately. The dotted rhythms (and the key) of the first movement return, alternating with descending string melodies and pregnant marking of the cadences. In the trio the calm sound of the winds sails over the soft accompanying figures of the strings.

The finale, with tempo marking *vivace,* is in C major and offers a wealth of different musical ideas. In its lively first subject, with its fast-moving accompaniment in the low strings, Weyse already demonstrates his grasp of the peculiarly classical polyphony that works through the combination of motifs in different rhythms. And there are dynamic contrasts, confrontations between *piano* and *forte,* and leaps to unexpected keys. The second subject is a variant of the first, a Haydnesque feature, but otherwise the movement, with its varied content and supreme coordination of motivic diversity into an overall whole, points rather to Mozart as Weyse's model. The rhythmic form of several of the motifs strongly recalls the finale of Mozart's great C major symphony (KV 551).





Ex. 9: Themes from 6th symphony, 4th movement and from Mozart's symphony in C major KV 551/IV.

If these are not actually proofs, they do appear to be strong circumstantial evidence that Weyse knew the symphony (see also above, p. 19). With its gravity and volume, this finale maintains a fine balance with the first movement and gives this large symphony a dignified ending.

Symphony No. 7 in E ♭ major DF 123 [38]

Weyse's last symphony is strikingly simple and serene compared with the preceding ones. One notes no urge to experiment with the form or to struggle with complex counterpoint. The external signs of the struggle with the material have gone. This is unlikely to mean that Weyse took the easy way with this work, where the artistry lies rather in the attempt to achieve classical balance. By the time he finished this symphony, Weyse's reputation must have reached Vienna, where it was printed, probably as early as 1803.

There is no slow introduction to the first movement, the allegro, which starts in the strings (without double basses) with a lyrical cantabile theme in 3/4 time. A contrasting section for full orchestra leads into the dominant key of B♭ major, where a new string subject is introduced. This regularly formed subject is as calm in mood as the first, but exhibits greater textural variation, since the winds take over the lead in the afterphrase. The postlude by the strings, in softly descending triadic motion - an inversion of a figure from the second subject - almost stops all forward movement, and only a sudden entry of the whole orchestra can start it moving again. The effect is varied surprisingly in the later course of the movement. In the recapitulation Weyse has another surprise ready. The second subject, which has not been heard since it first appeared, is now introduced by the horn and taken over by the other wind instruments, to create a clear contrast between first and second subject by means of the timbre of the strings and winds respectively.

The second movement is a variation movement, an andante in B♭ major. The timbre shifts from variation to variation, as wind succeed strings and vice versa. One particularly notes the beautiful oboe solo in the fourth variation, which is in B♭ minor. The movement is rounded off by a double variation and a coda, where flute and bassoon for a moment almost have the stage to themselves.

In the sweeping, festive minuet, which calls out for a fresh tempo, we have conclusive proof that Weyse studied the treatment of the orchestra in Haydn's and Mozart's symphonies. Effortlessly he alternates between a tutti texture and more lightly orchestrated passages in the strings and winds, and he varies the transitions

from one to the other with charming inevitability. In the trio the flutes lead with small melodic motifs over the broad chords of the other wind instruments while the strings keep the rhythm going with constantly repeated quavers.

A lively, dancing theme introduces the finale. The second subject, which is a variant of the first, runs along just as merrily, and the movement thus has a character of constant activity or perpetual motion. The form mixes sonata and rondo features, as do many finales in Haydn's symphonies, and Weyse finds room for both dexterous polyphony and lively harmonic surprises before the movement plays to a close.

The symphony was performed for the first time a few months after it was composed, at a concert given by the Royal Orchestra for its widows' pension fund, and J.P.E. Hartmann conducted a performance of it in 1842, while Weyse was still alive. It is the only one of the seven symphonies that he never reworked.

There are a few resemblances between this symphony and Haydn's Symphony No. 91 (also in E♭ major).[39] True, Haydn has a slow introduction to the first movement, but the quick section of the movement is, like Weyse's, in 3/4 time, and its first subject has almost the same melodic curve, although the melodic material in Haydn's is chromatic and the two-part writing of the subject is more refined. In Haydn's, too, the andante is a variation movement, to the themes of which Weyse comes very close, especially in terms of rhythm. Weyse may also have thought of the finale theme in Mozart's piano trio in B♭ major KV 502, although its tempo is a little faster. Like Weyse, Haydn has a minor key variation, but perhaps the strongest indication of a connection is in the extreme dynamic contrast (*pp* followed by *ff*) at the end of Haydn's statement of the variation theme. The effect seems to have been carried over into Weyse's third variation. It is not inconceivable that a printed edition of Haydn's symphony, for example the André edition of 1792, could have reached Copenhagen before Weyse wrote his.[40]

About the sources

All Weyse's symphonies exist in autograph scores,[41] so there is no need for any discussion of genuineness. There are however good reasons to try to assess the age of the manuscripts and musical texts in terms of the time of composition.

The score of the first symphony for example bears the title *Sinfonie 1*, to which Weyse has later added "umgearbeitet zu Balders Død". However, written on the last page in a continuous hand is "comp. d 20 Juni 1795 umgearb 1805". *Balders Død*, a *Singspiel* by the poet Ewald, was first performed in 1832, but Weyse must

have had a reason to make a revision as early as 1805, oddly enough in the very period when, as he wrote, he "war der Kunst, meiner selbst, ja des ganzen Lebens überdrußig" and led "ein bloßes Pflanzenleben"; but also (in 1805) when he was "transferred" as organist from *Den Reformerte Kirke* to *Vor Frue Kirke*. The score does not reveal what kind of reworking Weyse has done. It may simply be a new fair copy from 1805.

Similarly, the score of the second symphony ends with "comp d 17 August 1795 umg: d 7 Sept 1797 CEF Weyse", while above the finale the words "als Ouverture für den Schlaftrunk umgearbeitet" have been added. In his autobiography Weyse writes that he found Bretzner's Singspiele (Leipzig 1796) in the spring of 1800 and began composing *Sovedrikken* (The Sleeping Draught) in the course of the summer. Oehlenschläger, though, writes in his memoirs of his youth (1829/31) that Weyse left the piece untouched for nine years after composing just over half, and only finished it after ten years had passed.[12] If the poet was right, the reason for the reworking in 1797 could have been Weyse's preliminary work on *Sovedrikken*.

But this does not seem likely. In the first place, in 1820 Weyse probably still remembered fairly clearly how far he had come with *Sovedrikken*, when the work was interrupted by the unhappy love affair with Julie Tutein. Secondly, the postscript looks as if it was written immediately after the last page of the music, while the heading above the finale is clearly a later addition. Since the postscript is written continuously in brown ink - only the signature "CEF Weyse" is in black - one must surely assume that the score is a fair copy of 1797, and that we do not know the symphony in its earliest version.

The third symphony, too, must have existed in an earlier version. The signature says "comp. Sept 1795 umg. Nov. 1800 CEF Weyse". The first word is in pale brown ink, and "Sept 1795" appears to have been written over an earlier, now illegible date. From "Sept..." on, the inscription is continuous and written in the same black ink. There is a single correction on p. 62 of the score, and this and the next page are written in two different ink colours. But the sheets do not seem to have been inserted separately, and there is no sign of actual revision. It is therefore probably the reworked version we have. How the symphony looked before the revision we cannot know.

The arguments for the genesis and any revision of the fourth symphony must be rather different. Here Weyse writes at the end of the autograph "24 August 1795 CEF Weyse" (i.e. before the conclusion of the third symphony!). In the heading, below "Sinfonie 4", he appears to have added with another pen "zur Ouverture von Macbeth mit Instr. verstärkt." This reworking (from 1817) can be

followed through a large number of corrections in the score and over the nine pages at the end which have the added parts for two clarinets, one trombone and timpani. However, in the Royal Library there is also a copy of the score dated "1809. Octbr 2.", possibly written by Peter Grönland. A comparison of the music texts shows that the copy must have been done from an older, no longer extant autograph. Weyse thus wrote out a new score after 1809, but before 1817, and perhaps, when he added the year of composition to the new fair copy, mistakenly wrote 1795 instead of 1796. If this is true, the numbering and the chronology again match. We do not know the earliest version of the score.

As already indicated, there are two scores for the fifth symphony from Weyse's hand. The oldest (A) is dated 7/10/1796 and presumably shows the symphony in its original form. There are a few corrections written in with a thinner pen, in the first movement particularly in the strings, in the second movement in the trumpet parts. In the finale it appears that five new bars (on p. 119) have been pasted over the original ones. When Weyse added the corrections to the oldest score can hardly be said. They might show his first ideas for the reworking before he realized that the revision would need a whole new score. They might also have been added during the rehearsal work, or prompted by a new performance of this oldest version of the symphony. But the score is, as will be evident, presumably the earliest we have of any Weyse symphony.

The second score (B) is from 10/3/1838, and was done for a concert in the society *Musikforeningen*. The performance was planned for the society's first concert in the 1838-39 season. Weyse assumed that meant the autumn of 1838, but the concert was not held until 17/2/1839.[43] The two versions are thus more than four decades apart, and they are very different. In Weyse's letter of the 20/3/1838 to the poet B.S. Ingemann, whose "morning songs" he had just set to music, he rightly speaks of the symphony as "now quite new". The changes include a shortening of the second movement, the substitution of the minuet from the first symphony for the original one, and a greatly reworked finale (cf. above p. 31f).

On 3/3/1798 Weyse was able to sign the score of the sixth symphony. Soon after this he must have received Constantin Brun's pledge of money for the printing (cf. above p. 18ff.), and for that reason he may have felt an urge to hear what his old teacher J.A.P. Schulz thought of the work. In 1795 Schulz had retired from his position as *kapelmester* in Copenhagen and was now living in northern Germany. But he saw the symphony, and his assessment is preserved in a letter to Weyse of 22/4/1800,[44] in which he judiciously mixes his praise with a precise critique of the sometimes rather heavy instrumentation.[45] Schulz's ideal in this respect was probably rather different from Weyse's, but the pupil followed the

good advice and lightened the sound. He wrote his corrections into the existing score and thus saved himself the work of writing a completely new one. Perhaps he was also busy getting the printing material ready, if the contribution from Brun was already available. At any rate the corrections can be seen directly in the manuscript in the Royal Library and by comparing them with the printed parts.

In the case of the seventh symphony, there are no indications that Weyse did any revision of the score after the composition was concluded. It was, as we have seen, published in parts in Vienna by the publishers Bureau d'arts et d'industrie. The edition is dated 1803 by Gerber,[16] and in an advertisement in *Adresseavisen* on 28th September the same year, C. Lose & Comp. announces that it is among the sheet music the publishers have received "in recent days".[17]

Concert performances, reworkings for concert use in Weyse's time

Sven Lunn writes in the article "Schall and Weyse",[18] that the first five symphonies seem to have been written as exercises. By this he may not mean that they were not written for performance, but simply that they were not planned for publication. All the same the description may seem a little hard.

How much the symphonies were played in Weyse's lifetime we cannot say, but there are indications that there were more performances than the above-mentioned positive evidence such as concert programmes and dated advertisements proves. That he ventured into the work of composing symphonies at all - and in the autobiography he mentions them directly after the concerts "à grand Orchestre" with Zinck at Blaagaard - makes it more credible that he had prospects of having them performed. And it is just as reasonable to regard the revisions as indications that they were performed again, as I have done above. In particular, the reworking of the third symphony in November 1800, that is shortly after the conclusion of the seventh, must support this supposition, for by this time Weyse had already been promised a printing of the sixth. Should the reworking of the second symphony as early as 1797, of the first symphony in 1805 and of the fourth symphony at some time between 1809 and 1817 then not be interpreted in the same way?

There is other evidence of performances, more imprecise but well documented. As mentioned above, Kuhlau apparently heard some of the symphonies in the musical societies in the 1810/11 season (cf. above p. 6). And a letter from Weyse's good friend, Baron Holsten-Lehn-Charisius of Hvidkilde on the island of

Funen, shows that they had attempted a performance there of Weyse's "symphony in E♭" (*sinfoni i es*), but so far had been content with performing the first movement, as the others seemed too difficult.[49] The letter is only dated 22/2, but all indications are that the year was 1839. This surely must be the printed 7th symphony. The event took place far from the capital, yet perhaps not so far after all, since Hvidkilde was often visited by musicians from Copenhagen.

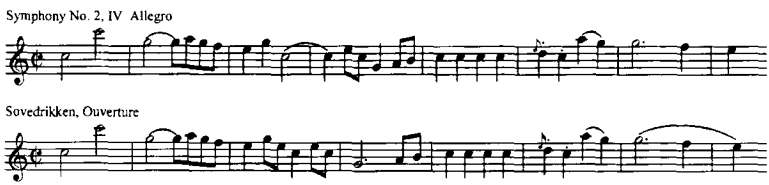
The society *Cæciliaforeningen* began its concerts on 31/1 and 20/3/1880 with the overture to *Balders død*,[50] but after Weyse's death the symphonies rarely appeared in the concert programmes.

Weyse's adaptations for the theatre

1. Adaptation of the finale of the 2nd symphony as an overture to *Sovedrikken*

The reworking of the finale as a Singspiel overture was quite radical and was probably done in 1800/01. If Weyse, like Mozart, waited with the overture until the rest of the music had been composed, the revision may even have been done as late as 1808.

The overture has the tempo indication *Allegro con brio* as opposed to a simple *Allegro* in the symphony. Weyse has added two clarinets in B♭ and changed the orchestration accordingly. In general he has tried to sharpen the dynamic contrasts and strengthened or thinned out the texture. But he has also made changes in the main subject that dominates the movement,



Ex. 10: Main subject in the symphony movement and in the overture.

and in many places has shaded the harmony more subtly. Otherwise he has lengthened or shortened small transitional passages, and the overture has ended up five bars longer than the symphony movement - 297 against 292 bars.

2. Adaptation in 1817 of the fourth symphony as an overture and entr'acte for *Macbeth*

The production of *Macbeth* in 1817 was a result of the early interest in Shakespeare in Denmark. The enthusiasm for the English Renaissance dramatist went hand in

hand with literary Romanticism and encountered some resistance from the more conservatively minded, including certain important members of the management of the Royal Theatre. But in 1813 *Hamlet* was staged, followed in 1816 by *King Lear*, both in Peter Foersom's translations. *Macbeth* was thus only the third of Shakespeare's tragedies to be presented on stage in Copenhagen.[51] Again, Foersom supplied the Danish text. He had chosen to base it on Schiller's translation, "taking the view that this would strengthen the theatrical effect", as Overskou acerbically remarked,[52] further pointing out how the roles of the witches and the porter had been distorted. Weyse wrote music for both the witches and the porter, and even if it may have struck him that the porter had been turned into a "sentimental hymn-singer" (Overskou), he nevertheless wrote one of his most beautiful romances for the stage.

Among the purely instrumental music he supplied table music for Act One (repeated between Acts One and Two) and two pieces for Act Five, one of them a march. He also used his fourth symphony. The first movement became the overture, and the others came as entr'actes before Acts Three, Four and Five. The orchestration was at some points changed and reinforced with clarinets, timpani and a trombone, but Weyse saw no need to rewrite it. A copyist could use the score of the symphony.

From the copy of the score that was used in the theatre, it is evident that in later productions the music was often shortened. In 1907 only two instrumental numbers were left, the table music No. 3 and the military march No. 7. All the movements of the symphony had been removed. Instead the overture to *Balders Død* was played in 1894 and 1907 (see below).

But the overture could be found in the piano arrangement of the music that was published in 1819 by C.C. Lose. The same publisher also issued it in an edition for "four-handed" piano duet.

3. The adaptation in 1832 of the first symphony for *Balders Død*.

Ewald's play was performed for the first time privately at the Court Theatre on 7/2/1778, before it ran for a month at the Royal Theatre. J.E. Hartmann's music was first used in the Theatre's next production on 30/1/1779. It consisted of 17 numbers besides the overture and entr'actes, as actually required by the text. The play remained in the repertoire of the Theatre and was staged fairly regularly until 1792. Schulz is said to have enjoyed it greatly,[53] and Weyse undoubtedly saw it.

The performance on 23/11/1832, when Weyse's music was used instead of Hartmann's, was a belated memorial production for Ewald on the 50th anniversary of his death. On the actual day, 17/3/1781, the play was performed with a

greatly cut version of Hartmann's music. T. Overskou speaks of a production "so unsatisfactory that it was not to figure as one of the enjoyably noteworthy events of the season".[54] In the judgement of J. Mulvad, the fault lay with K.L. Rahbek, who in his period as director (1809-30) had favoured restricting the music to the two Valkyrie trios and the final chorus - and perhaps in reality would have preferred to see the play performed with no music at all.[55] And this was presumably the message received by Weyse from the Theatre: besides the overture, his music comprises just five numbers, two instrumental and three vocal. On 20/3/1832 Weyse wrote to J.J. Buntzen, when he had just finished composing, that the play "is to be performed very shortly, but will hardly be more of a success than before, for despite its beautiful language it is and will remain tiresome to watch". His prophecy was unfortunately to prove true, whether it was the fault of the text, the music or an uncomprehending audience. Overskou wrote: "From Weyse's creation of new music for 'Balders Død' one expected a composition that would be a great success; but as highly as connoisseurs appreciated it, it did not appeal to the public and was only given once".[56]

When one considers that the Theatre management misjudged the need for music for the play, that Weyse was sceptical about its stage potential, and that he chose to re-use music he had composed many years before, it may seem surprising that he still took so much trouble. It is certainly not hurried work. The overture is based on the first movement of the symphony, where Weyse has added a slow introduction, more or less identical to the orchestral movement in the final chorus, thus forming a musical framework around the whole. The orchestra has been expanded with a second flute, two clarinets in B♭, two extra horns, two trumpets (clarini), one trombone and timpani, all resulting in a quite new sound; but the adaptation goes much further. A brand new second subject has been worked in, so that the exposition and recapitulation are given a new structure, and in the development Weyse has made several changes in the tonal progression. It is no exaggeration to say that this is a brand new movement.

The two entr'actes are more like their originals, the third and fourth movements of the symphony, but Weyse has transposed the andante from G minor to F minor, and in both movements has changed melodic details and certain cadential progressions as well as the orchestration.

In view of all this, it must have been a disappointment for Weyse that the music was only given a single performance. The lack of success is presumably the reason why the music was never published, not even in a piano arrangement, as Weyse's other theatre music had been. And yet the Theatre's satisfaction with it was enough to use the overture in performances of *Macbeth* in 1894 (11 times) and in 1907

[-1908] (14 times), as is evident from a note on the inside binding of the score that was used at the Royal Theatre.

Reception

To conclude this work there must be some account of the way the symphonies were treated by posterity - how they were spoken of, and how much they were performed.

Apart from the use of the music at the Royal Theatre, very few people will have been aware of them before Berggreen's biography appeared in 1876, two years after the centenary of Weyse's birth. The year before, Carl Thrane had mentioned them briefly in his biographical essay in *Danske Komponister*,[57] but really only to discuss the adaptations for the theatre. He took the rather superficial dating "1795-97" from the autobiography and Berggreen too let this stand without comment, except that in his list of compositions at the end of the book he did give the correct years according to the manuscripts in the Royal Library.

In the fourth volume of E.L. Gerber's *Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig 1814) readers abroad could note that there were several "von ihm vorzüglich gearbeiteten Orchestersinfonien", one of which had been printed in Vienna. A number of minor German encyclopaedia entries and a single French one (Fétis) are based on this information.

S.A.E. Hagen's detailed entry in *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon,* however, was written on the basis of a new review of the source material, but has little more on the symphonies than had already been given by Thrane and Berggreen.[58] The same is true of later encyclopaedia entries, short or long, by Sven Lunn, Nils Schiørring and Jens Peter Larsen.[59]

The symphonies were given special mention in journal articles by Sven Lunn and Erling Winkel.[60] The most thorough, however, although concisely formulated, was the section on Weyse's symphonies in Nils Schiørring's *Musikkens Historie i Danmark.*[61]

It was of far-reaching importance that during the Second World War Sven Lunn had a number of the Royal Library's manuscripts transcribed, partly to protect the works from war damage, and partly in order to lend out orchestral material. After this the scores of Weyse's symphonies all existed in new copies, so the orchestras were able to add them to their repertoires. Especially after an act on regional orchestras was passed in 1961, it became common to play lesser-known Danish music,[62] and the radio orchestras *Danmarks Radios Symfoniorkester*

and *Danmarks Radios Underholdningsorkester* took these symphonies into their repertoire. All seven symphonies have been broadcast by the Danish Broadcasting Corporation, even before they were recorded - most of them in fact several times.[63]

The last two symphonies have been published in new editions. No. 6 in C minor was published in 1972 by Samfundet til Udgivelse af Dansk Musik/The Society for the Publication of Danish Music,[64] and No. 7 in E♭ major was included in a volume of the series *The Symphony 1720-1840,* published by Garland Publishing, Inc.[65]

Sources and references

Manuscripts:

***Sinfonie 1 G minor* [DF 117].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 7502.2839. Weyse collection Box A 5.1025]; 85 pp. oblong folio 33 x 25.9 cm, uncut, block 29 x 20.7 cm (12 staves), bound in stiff mottled boards with brown spine. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonie 1 umgearb. zu Balders Død"; (p. 85) "comp. d. 20. Juni 1795, umgearb 1805". Scoring: Violini, Viola, Flauto, Oboi, Fagotti, Corni in E♭ + in B♭ basso, Basso.

***Sinfonie 2 C major* [DF 118].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 7502.2838. Weyse collection Box A 5.1053]; 98 pp. oblong folio 33 x 25 cm, uncut, block 28.2 x 20.8 cm (12 staves), bound in light brown boards. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonie 2"; (p. 71) "Finale - als Ouverture für den Schlaftrunk umgearbeitet"; (p. 97) "comp. d. 17. Aug 1795, umg: d. 7. Sept 1797 / CEF Weyse". Scoring: Flauti, Oboi, Fagotti, Clarini in C, Corni in C, Timpani in C, Violini, Viola, Basso.

***Sinfonie 3 D major* [DF 119].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 7503.0133. Weyse collection Box A 5.1054]; 86 pp. oblong folio 32.2 x 24.5 cm, cut along all edges, block 28 x 20.8 cm (12 staves), bound in light brown, stiff boards. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonie 3"; (p. 86) "comp. Sept. 1795, umg. Nov. 1800 / CEF Weyse". Scoring: Flauto, Oboi, Fagotto, Clarini in D [and A], Timpani in D, Violini, Viola, Basso.

***Sinfonie 4 E minor* [DF 120].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 7503.0134. Weyse collection Box A 5.2015]; 116 + 9 pp. oblong folio 32.4 x 24.6 cm, cut along all edges, block 29.3 x 20.7 cm (12 staves), bound in reddish-brown boards with brown leather spine. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonie 4 / zur Ouvertüre vom Macbeth mit Instr. verstärkt"; (p. 116) "24 August 1795 / CEF Weyse"; (p. 117) "Ouverture til Macbeth". The score shows that Weyse made changes in the music and wrote them directly into the original score. The additional parts for the first movement (two clarinets in A, timpani and trombone) have been written out separately from p. 117 on.

***Sinfonie 4 E minor* [DF 120].** MS score [P. Grönland?] Royal Library, Copenhagen [C II, 42]; 98 written pages, oblong folio 30.4 x 23 cm, cut along all edges, block 25 x 16.7 cm (12 staves), bound in mottled boards with brown leather spine. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonia da Weyse."; (p. 98) "1809 Oct. 2.". Scoring: Flauti, Oboi, Fagotti, Corni in G + in E, Clarini in E, Violini, Viole, Violone a Basso.

***Sinfonie 5 Eb major* [DF 121].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 7503.0131. Weyse collection A 5.1026]; 141 pp., oblong folio 33 x 25.3 cm, uncut, block 28 x 22.1 cm (12 staves), bound in light brown boards. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonie 5 / 7 October 1796"; (p. 141) "7 Oct. 1796 CEF Weyse". Scoring: Clarini in E♭, Timpani, Corni in E♭, Flauti, Oboi, Violini, Viola, Fagotti, Basso. A number of proposed changes have been added to the score.

***Sinfonie 5 Eb major* [DF 121].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [Weyse collection A 5.1027], 135 written pages, oblong folio 37.9 x 27 cm, uncut, block 33.9 x 22.9 cm (14 staves), bound in light mottled boards with cloth spine. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonie 5"; (p. 135) "comp. 1796 / umgearbeitet d. 10 März 1838 / CEF Weyse". Scoring: Violini, Viole, Flauti, Oboi, Clarinetti in B, Fagotti, Corni in E♭, Clarini in E♭, Timpani E♭ + B♭, Trombone, Basso.

***Sinfonie 6 c minor* [DF 122].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 7503.0132. Weyse collection Box A 5.1028]; 89 pp., oblong folio 33.2 x 25.9 cm, block 28 x 25.9 cm (12 staves), bound in limp light brown boards, around this new, dark red cloth binding with black leather spine and corners. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonie 6"; (p. 89) "d. 3. März 1798 CEF Weyse". Scoring: Flauti, Oboi, Fagotti, Clarini in C, Corni in E♭ + in C, Timpani in C [and G], Violini, Viola, Basso.

***Sinfonie 7 Eb major* [DF 123].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 7502.2839, Weyse collection Box A 5.1068]; 96 pp. oblong folio 34 x 25.5 cm, uncut, block 30 x 19 cm (12 staves), bound in light brown boards. Title and additional inscription: "Sinfonie 7" (p. 96) "19. October 1799 / CEF Weyse". Scoring:

Flauti, Oboi, Fagotti, Clarini in E♭, Corni in E♭, Timpani, Violini, Viole, Basso.

***Der Schlaftrunk* [DF 1].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 9404.2085. Weyse collection Box A 5.2017]. 2 vols.: 314 + 241 pp. Title and additional inscription: "Der Schlaftrunk, comp. von CEF Weyse"; (last page) "d. 30 April 1808 CEF Weyse".

***Macbeth* [DF 4].** Autograph score, but overture and entr'acte music in copies. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 9404. 2582, Weyse collection Box A 5.2020]. 39 pp. [copy] + 110 pp. [autograph] + 71 pp. [copy]. Title and additional inscription: "Macbeth"; (pp. 110) "d 31 October 1817 CEF Weyse". Scoring in autograph: Violini, Viole, Flauto piccolo, Flauto, Clarinetti in A, Oboi, Fagotti, Corni in D, in G, Clarini in E, Timpani H E, Trombone, [vocal part], Basso.

***Macbeth* [DF 4].** MS score. Royal Library, Copenhagen, transferred from the Royal Theatre [C II, 123].

***Balders Død* [DF 7].** Autograph score. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 9403.1782, Weyse collection Box A 5.1017]. 131 pp. [recte: 132], sign. "d. 23 Febr. 1832. CEF Weyse".

***Balders Død* [DF 7].** MS score. Royal Library, Copenhagen, transferred from the Royal Theatre [C II, 123]. 171 pp. Copy after above autograph.

Printed Editions:

***Sinfonie VI C minor* [DF 122].** OE, parts, folio. Royal Library, Copenhagen [D 150 fol. (2 sets)]. Title: "Sinfonie à Grand Orchestre composée par C.E.F. Weyse. Oeuvre I. Copenhague. Gravée par Sonne aux depens de l'auteur" [c. 1800]. Block printing, 15 parts.

***Sinfonie VI C minor* [DF 122].** NE, score and parts: Samfundet til udgivelse af Dansk Musik/Society for the Publication of Danish Music. 3rd Series No. 217. Copenhagen (Dan Fog) 1972. Ed. Carsten E. Hatting.

***Sinfonie VII Eb major* [DF 123].** OE, parts, folio. Royal Library, Copenhagen [mu 6304.2601. D 150. Weyse collection Box A 7.4014]. Title: "Grande Sinfonie a grand Orchestre composée par Weyse de Copenhague. Bureau d'arts et d'industrie". [1803].

***Sinfonie VII Eb major* [DF 123].** NE, score (facs. with slight corrections): *The Symphony 1720-1840.* Editor-in-Chief: Barry S. Brook. Associate Ed.: Barbara B. Heymann. A Garland Series. Series F vol. VI: The Symphony in Denmark. Ed. Carsten E. Hatting, Niels Krabbe and Nanna Schiødt. N.Y. (Garland Publishing, Inc.) 1983.

Other non-printed sources:

Copy of the German original of Weyse's autobiography. March 1820. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 2836 III, 4°.

Letter to Weyse from F. Holsten-Lehn-Charisius. Royal Library, Copenhagen [Ny kgl. Samling 2836 4 - I,1].

NOTES

1. The dating of this and the following symphonies comes from Schousboe 1968.
2. Cf. Heinrich Schwab in the catalogue of the Royal Library's Kunzen exhibition in autumn 1995.
3. Cf. Krabbe 1977 and the volume *The Symphony in Denmark* in the Garland series *The Symphony 1720-1840.*
4. Contemporary transcription of the autobiography, Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kgl. samling 2836 III, 4°. Weyse's original is not extant. It may have been sent to "a German paper", as Berggreen writes (p. 6). In Danish the text was printed in Rahbek's magazine *Hesperus* (Vol. 3 1820) and later in Berggreen's biography of Weyse. Berggreen has not however given all the details correctly.
   Most of the concerts Weyse mentions took place at the beginning of the 1780s, as stated in Sittard 1890. In particular it can be noted here that the tenor Ambrosch sang Belmonte in Mozart's *Entführung* in 1787. Of Vogler, Sittard writes that he came to Hamburg in 1790, but he must then have given a concert in the city at an earlier date.
5. Zweyter Jahrgang. Hamburg 1784, 177.
6. As Note 4.
7. The years indicate the premiere.
8. Overskou 1854/64, III, 319.
9. The programmes of the widows' pension fund concerts are however known.
10. For this, see articles in Feldbæk-Winge 1991
11. Bärens 1803, 10ff.
12. *Magazin der Musik.* Zweyter Jahrgang. Zweyte Hälfte. Hamburg 1786, 933.
13. Ravn 1886, 121.
14. Ravn 1886, 137.

15. Ibid., 138.
16. Ibid., 138.
17. Cf. Note 4.
18. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, I, 16f.
19. Busk 1990, 42.
20. Schiørring 1977/78, 2, 161.
21. Jeppesen, 1945
22. Only the printed symphonies can be dated with enough certainty to distinguish between those Weyse may have known and those that were too late. As for the symphonies which only exist in manuscript parts, the assessment of their age is of course more uncertain. Although the copies could theoretically be older than the first impressions, they do give an indication that all these works were printed before 1795.
23. Bittmann 1976.
24. Rewentlow 1983.
25. Koudal 1993; Koudal 1994.
26. Fog 1984.
27. Ibid. 108f.
28. Ibid. 110.
29. Fog 1979 (DF), Nos. 117-123.
30. Record label dacapo 8.224012 (Symphonies 1-3), 8.224013 (Symphonies 4-5) and 8.224014 (Symphonies 6-7). Also released on Naxos as Nos. 8.550714, 8.550620 and 8.550516.
31. Composed in 1795, reworked in 1805 (Weyse's own note on the autograph score), revised again in 1832 for use in the performance at the Royal Theatre of Ewald's tragedy *Balders Død*.
32. It should however be noted that the existing score of the symphony was not written down by Weyse until 1805; cf. below p. 35f. But we also find the romance tone in the slow movement of the second symphony, the score of which is presumably from 1797.
33. Composition concluded on 17/8/1795, reworking 7/9/1797 (according to Weyse's own note on the autograph score), finale revised again (c. 1801) and used as the overture to the Singspiel *Sovedrikken* (Ochlenschläger), premiered at the Royal Theatre on 21/4 1809.
34. Composition concluded in September 1795, reworking in November 1800 (according to Weyse's own note on the autograph score).
35. Composition concluded on 24th August 1795 (1796?), reworking after 1809, but before the revision of 1817 (cf. the discussion in the section on sources below, p. 36f).
36. Datings from Weyse's own notes on the autograph scores.
37. Composition concluded on 3/3/1798 (according to Weyse's own note on the autograph score). He revised it around 1800.
38. Composition concluded on 19/10/1799 (according to Weyse's own note on the autograph score).
39. My thanks are due to Gorm Busk for drawing my attention to this.
40. The music dealer Adser Friberg was presumably in contact with André in the 1790s; cf. Dan Fog 1984, I, 109 and 113.
41. There is a list of the symphony scores in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, at the end of the article.
42. 1963 ed., 202.
43. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, II, 122
44. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 2836 4° - I,1. The letter is printed in Berggreen 1876.
45. Cf. the preface to the new edition of the sixth symphony, Samfundet til udgivelse af dansk musik/Society for the Publication of Danish Music 1972.
46. Gerber 1812/14, IV, 566.
47. Both noted in Winkel 1940/41
48. Lunn 1936.
49. Royal Library, Copenhagen. Ny kgl. samling 2836 4° - I,1.

50. Thrane 1901, 262
51. Lunn 1936, 38 states that the first movement of the sixth symphony was used long after Weyse's death as the overture to *The Merchant of Venice*. On the basis of this and the performance statistics in Aumont and Collin 1896-99 the earliest this can have happened is 1867.
52. Overskou 1854/64, IV, 498.
53. Mulvad 1980, 22f.
54. Overskou 1854/64, V, 112.
55. Mulvad 1980, 33f.
56. Overskou 1854/64, V, 169.
57. Thrane 1875.
58. S.A.E. Hagen, sub "Weyse" in *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, ed. C.F. Bricka, Vol. XVIII, Copenhagen 1904.
59. Lunn 1943, repeated with slight changes in Lunn 1958, Lunn 1968 and Lunn 1984; Schiørring 1952 and Larsen 1980.
60. Lunn 1936 and 1942; Winkel 1940/41.
61. Schiørring 1977/78, 2 161f.
62. Nørgaard-Krebs-Wolsing 1978, 3, 271.
63. For information on frequency of performance I am greatly indebted to Hans Peter Larsen, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, P2 Music.
64. Samfundet til udgivelse af dansk musik/Society for the Publication of Danish Music, 3rd series, No. 217.
65. Series F. Vol VI. The Symphony in Denmark. 1983.