

*If all the suns were darkened, and all the stars laid low,
The fount of life eternal unceasing still would flow.*
From "Holger's Song of Life", Holger Danske, Ingemann 1837

The Sun Arises In The East

The Morning Songs for Children, 1837

by B.S. Ingemann and C.E.F. Weyse

By Sten Høgel

To my mother, Elisabeth Høgel

Introduction

One of the finest literary and musical creations of the Danish Golden Age is Bernhard Severin Ingemann's Morning and Evening Songs for Children, with music by Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse. These songs are not known to any significant extent outside Denmark. Within the borders of the country however, they are considered part of the Danish identity and are known and appreciated in the same way as Hans Christian Andersen's fairytales.

The morning songs in particular have become part of the life of the Danes. Titles like *I østen stiger solen op* (The sun arises in the east), *Nu titte til hinanden* (The pretty little flowers) and *Nu vågne alle Guds fugle små* (The birds of morning) are what most Danes will mention when they are asked about the morning songs they first learned as children. As an illustration from the front page of the newspaper *Politiken* from the 23rd August 1995 shows, the children still sing them.

The Morning and Evening Songs are as a rule mentioned as one work. And yet they are really two quite different collections. *Morgensange for Børn* (Morning Songs for Children) of 1837 takes the form of a homogeneous set of seven songs, one for each day of the week, with an added secular spring song, *Storken sidder på bondens tag* (See the stork on the farmer's thatch), as a kind of bonus or finishing touch.

The songs are notated on two staves with the melody part integrated in the piano accompaniment as was customary in the old songbooks meant for com-



Copenhagen school children singing *I østen stiger solen op*. They are reading the text from the overhead projector. In the 1990s morning singing in schools is becoming popular again. Photo: Lars Hansen. *Politiken* 25/8/1995.

munity singing. The tunes are simple. They are kept within the compass of a ninth, most indeed within an octave, and they are formed with stepwise motion or small intervals.

The evening songs, *Syv Aftensange* (Seven Evening Songs) of 1838, are not an artistic whole in the same way. Only one of them, *Til vor lille gerning ud*, is meant specifically for children. Four of the others involve the universe of children to some extent, while two, *Der står et slot i vesterled* and *Den store stille nat*,

are for adults. Musically, the evening songs are even less homogeneous, since they range from the simple folk-like music of *Dagen går med raske fjed* to the aria-like *Den store stille nat går frem*.

As a whole the evening songs are influenced by the *Kunstlied*. They were thus originally notated on three staves with the singing part against an independent piano accompaniment. Melodically, several of them are more demanding, with high interval leaps like sevenths and octaves. Nevertheless several have been successful as community songs like the morning songs. Today they are perhaps hardly as well known as the morning songs. In the songbook *Sangbogen* of 1993 there are four of the morning songs as opposed to one of the evening songs, and in the standard (almost "canonical") songbook of the Danes, *Højskolesangbogen* (1993 edition) there are six of the morning songs plus *Storsten sidder på bondens tag* against four of the evening songs. In the Danish hymnal *Den Danske Salmebog* of 1953 there are five morning songs and four evening songs.

In the following I will concentrate on the morning songs. I will give an account of their background, the Copenhagen nurseries. I will deal with Princess Caroline Amalie's interest in Ingemann and his works and with the likelihood that it was she who gave him the idea for the morning songs. Then comes an analysis of Weyse's relationship with the national song tradition. And finally I will try to characterize *Morgensange for Børn*.

It was 1835, two years before the morning songs were published, when *Hans Christian Andersen* published his first *Eventyr fortalte for Børn* (Tales Told For

Children). Ingemann's children's songs are a poetic counterpart to his friend's world-famous stories, and although it cannot be proved, there can hardly be any doubt that Andersen's style had an influence on the lively tone of the morning songs. Both poets were incidentally childless.

Although poetry by its very nature normally loses more in the translation than prose, the morning songs deserve to be better known by non-Danish-speakers. All eight are given here in English translation with the music from the original edition.¹

The morning songs and the Copenhagen nurseries

On 6th August 1837 Lucie Ingemann, the poet's wife, wrote to her friend Christiane von Rosenørn: "Bernhard is not writing at present, but that is usually the case in the summer. He has however written some morning songs, actually for day nursery children; but all but one would do well for children in general".² The song that reveals the association with the day nurseries is No. 5, *Gud ske tak og lov* (God be praised this day), the last line of which reads: "*Vi har kærligheds-asylet fundet...*" (We have found the refuge love has given).

At the end of the same month, Ingemann sent a letter to *Det kjøbenhavnske Asylselskab* (The Copenhagen Day Nursery Society). It is mentioned in the records of the society: "A letter from Professor Ingemann about his "Morning songs for the day nurseries", in which he announces that he is donating them to the day nursery".³

It was during the Enlightenment that the idea arose of giving the children of working parents supervision and care. In the 1780s day nurseries were established in various parts of the European continent. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the nursery scheme spread quickly because of the increasing industrialization that was taking working class women out of their homes.

In Denmark the coming queen, *Princess Caroline Amalie*, was one of the people who took up the nursery cause. She was a distinctive personality who combined a strong Christian faith with genuine social commitment. She was herself childless, but found compensation in involvement in the establishment of nurseries. Thanks to her efforts, the spiritual content of the activities of the Copenhagen nurseries was of a calibre that far exceeded what nurseries abroad could offer.

In 1828 *Det kvindelige Velgjørenhedsselskabs Asyl* (The Women's Charity Society Nursery) was opened, and the next year Caroline Amalie founded a nursery in her own name in the Copenhagen street Sølvgade. In 1835 the nursery movement

picked up speed with the establishment of the above-mentioned Copenhagen Day Nursery Society. A number of prominent men were mentioned in the foundation documents, for example the theologian *Peter Rørdom*, who was a close friend of Caroline Amalie.

The Princess was not content with simply taking the initiative. She worked determinedly on the internal affairs of the nurseries. She introduced the term *asylmoder* (nursery mother) or *læremoder* (teaching mother) instead of *bestyrerinde* (matron, principal) and attached the greatest importance to the care of the children. She personally worked out a timetable for the work in her own nursery:

8-9 am, the children are assembled; 9-9.30 am, Bible stories told; 9.30-11 am, play, breakfast, washing, play; 11 am - 1 pm (in several departments, varying) reading, writing, arithmetic, natural history, singing and storytelling; 1 pm - 2 pm, prayer, lunch, washing and play; 2 pm - 3 pm, roll call, reading; 3 pm - 4 pm, on one day knitting, on four days a half hour of singing alternating with arithmetic and storytelling; 4 pm - 5 pm, half an hour of arithmetic or storytelling, half an hour of play; 5 pm - 6 pm, prayer, evening meal, half an hour free; 6 pm - 7 pm, children leave or are amused until they are fetched.

The day began and ended with a hymn, and “some cordial and kind words” might be added by the “teaching mother”, who was also encouraged to teach the children “a small set of verses which they would perhaps never forget later”.⁴ Caroline herself was a great lover of hymns and songs and knew much verse by heart. So she knew from her own experience the happiness and enrichment that could result from learning good poems in one’s childhood. She personally defrayed all the expenses of her nursery and of course had a crucial influence on the selection of staff. She held regular meetings where the supervisors of the nursery discussed the spiritual and practical basis of the nursery work. Finally, she often visited the nursery, where she observed the teaching and herself contributed prayers and games.

In 1839 Christiane von Rosenørn wrote to Lucie Ingemann: “I wish [...] that Ingemann could have been present - so he could have seen the charming, lovable Queen Caroline Amalia, in humble attire, leading the Christmas prayers for the poor mites”. And in 1840: “When you come here to the city, dearest Lucie, we must see to it that we arrange for you to meet the Queen at the nursery! It would certainly please you greatly to see her motherly ways among the many small children”.⁵

Mrs. *Ingeborg Christiane von Rosenørn* was the widow of a county prefect. In 1829-37 she lived in Sorø in southern Zealand while her son attended the Academy there. She established a warm friendship with the Ingemanns. Her correspondence with Ingemann has been published, while her letters to Lucie Ingemann are as yet unpublished. In Copenhagen Christiane von Rosenørn became a member of the Copenhagen Day Nursery Society and for a period was a supervisor at the nursery in Sølvgade, before becoming the Queen's head lady-in-waiting in 1845.

Caroline Amalie's interest in the welfare of the children of the poor was genuine and is well documented. So it was no exaggeration when Grundtvig said of her, in a folk ballad pastiche, *Dronning Amalias Vise*, which found its way into A.P. Berggreen's *Sange til Skolebrug*, 1844:

No palace else holds a queen so mild
Who knows her neediest subject's child.
Our queen holds sway o'er all the hearts of Denmark.⁶

She wanted the influence the children received in her nursery to continue at school. In 1838 a school was opened with Peter Rørdam as principal: "It was the first Grundtvigian free school in Denmark".⁷ The teachers were unpaid theology students. For the opening of the school Grundtvig wrote his well known song *Der skinner en sol i lys og løn*, in which (in a stanza later omitted) he says of Caroline Amalie:

Her joy in the glory of the Lord
The school of life has given
Unto her people, and the Word,
Like sun-rays from bright heaven.⁸

Unfortunately the school had to close fairly soon, since the unpaid teachers did not show sufficient industry and conscientiousness. Instead the first *asylskole* or charity school was opened in 1841. It was quite independent of the Copenhagen education authority, it had paid teachers and it had *N.F.S Grundtvig* as "director".

N.F.S. Grundtvig, Peter Rørdam and P.O. Boisen

Caroline Amalie's patronage of Grundtvig is well known. It was through her friend Peter Rørdam that she made the personal acquaintance of Grundtvig around 1838. She already knew his writings and was enthusiastic about the educational

ideas he was just then formulating in *Skolen for Livet og Akademiet i Soer* (The School for Life and the Academy at Soer), which appeared in 1838. She approved of Grundtvig's ideas of using Biblical and patriotic stories and songs as teaching material. With *Historiske Psalmer og Riim til Børne-Lærdom* (Historical hymns and rhymes for the education of children, 1832) a new basis was created for Christian children's songs: "...there is a different life and spirit in most of *Kingo's* and some of *Brorson's* hymns than in those of the end of the last century", the preface says. It is also evident that the publisher, the theologian L.C. Hagen, had collaborated with "Pastor Grundtvig" in the selection. There were a number of songs by Grundtvig himself, based on Bible stories. Of morning and evening songs there were only two, and they were from the Baroque period - Thomas Kingo's *Nat, søvn og slum og seng farvel* (Night, sleep and dreams and bed farewell) and *Dagen nu sin afsked tager* (Now the day doth take its leave). There was thus a great need for new morning songs for children. Hagen's children's hymnbook was a success, and went through six impressions before 1856.

It is clear from Christiane von Rosenørn's letters that ample use was made of it in the nursery. "The Queen asked [P.O.] Boisen to ensure that a new impression of Hagen's children's hymnbook, which is no longer available, was procured", she tells Lucie Ingemann in 1840.⁹

Caroline Amalie soon involved Grundtvig in the nursery work. Christiane von Rosenørn wrote in a letter of 1839 about a Christmas Eve in the nursery when Grundtvig spoke to the children, and they sang one of his Christmas songs.¹⁰ In 1842 he issued a booklet of Christmas songs, *Jule-Sange for Dronning Caroline Amalias Asyl-Børn* (Christmas songs for Queen Caroline Amalie's nursery children).

Around 1840, Caroline Amalie, who had become Queen of Denmark in 1839, organized study circles at the palace of Amalienborg, where Grundtvig and others lectured on historical subjects. She had herself been brought up with a rationally tinged view of Christianity, and the encounter with Grundtvig as a preacher crucially changed the basis of her own religious life. She was thus thoroughly familiar with the person she put in charge of her school. As director of the charity school Grundtvig had a decisive influence on the content of the teaching, and he ensured that *community singing* assumed a prominent position.

Caroline Amalie had strong teaching assets in the two theologians Peter Rørdam and P.O. Boisen. Both were enthusiastic Grundtvig supporters, warm personalities, good storytellers and magnificent singers.

Peter Rørdam became a teacher at Caroline Amalie's nursery in 1835 and, as we have seen, was a co-founder of the Copenhagen Day Nursery Society. After

working as the principal of the first Free School in 1838-41, he left Copenhagen to become a minister of the church. It is not for his few written works he is remembered, but for his vital personality and his rhetorical skills. Of Peter Rørdam's work among the children, Christiane von Rosenørn wrote to Ingemann in 1842:

In the nurseries it is interesting to see how the children sing what Rørdam has taught them with life and expression. It is he who has taught the children here in the nursery to sing your charming little song "Giv Tid" [= *I sne står urt og busk i skjul*, Each plant and bush in snow is hid] and it is amusing to see how the whole lively little gathering shakes its wings. Madame Feilberg [= the "nursery mother"] was unable to tell me whose melody it was; but I have heard Mr. Rørdam say often that he drew from his store - much of which he has in his memory - the melodies he considered suitable to the expression of the poems. He fits spirit to spirit, not just syllables to bars".¹¹

It was Peter Rørdam's dream to become the director of the Copenhagen Board of Education, so that Grundtvig's ideas could as quickly as possible gain a foothold there. But this was hindered by Grundtvig's opponent, J.P. Mynster, who was the Bishop of Zealand. In her warm letter of recommendation Caroline Amalie wrote of Peter Rørdam's teaching work that it was "a practical attempt at living, oral teaching. He thus provided the impulse for a new teaching method that has prevailed with great success in the two charity schools".¹² Rørdam then became a country parson instead. Throughout his life he remained a close friend of Caroline Amalie, and it was thus with her support that in 1856 he was granted the benefice of the parish of Lyngby, where he stayed until his death.

Peter Outzen Boisen, mentioned above in connection with L.C. Hagen's children's hymnbook, became a teacher at Caroline Amalie's nursery in 1836: "Mr. Bojesen [sic], who has taken over Mr. Rørdam's functions in the nursery, also shows a great interest in singing", writes Christiane von Rosenørn in the above-mentioned letter to Ingemann. From 1841 Boisen was a teacher at the charity school, and from 1851 until his death its principal. He was even more musically skilled than Peter Rørdam. In 1849 he compiled and published *Nye og gamle Viser af og for danske Folk* (Songs new and old by and for the Danish people), which became very popular and had gone through no less than nine editions by 1870.

In 1853 Boisen followed Hagen's children's hymnbook up with *Bibelske og Kirkehistoriske Psalmer og Sange for Skolen* (Hymns and songs of Bible and church history for schools). Of Boisen's singing abilities it was said: "He had a high, clear, soft and yet powerful tenor and a soulful delivery which delighted all. In truth one

may say that, more than anyone, with his singing and his songbooks, he brought good song to life in Denmark” and “He became the choir-leader of the people matched by few or none”.¹³ Boisen was incidentally married to Grundtvig’s daughter Meta, who was Ingemann’s god-daughter.

Besides piety, storytelling talents and singing, the two teachers also shared an infectious *joy* in life and teaching. This is emphasized again and again by their biographers.¹⁴

I have tried, with a few strokes, to outline the fruitful teaching environment which Caroline Amalie succeeded in creating in her nursery, and which inspired the other nurseries. It was from this milieu that the impulse for Ingemann’s morning songs came.

Ingemann and the Royal couple

Caroline Amalie and her husband, the later King Christian VIII, both knew Ingemann personally and admired him as a poet. Since the young Caroline Amalie had seen Ingemann’s tragedy *Blanca* at the Royal Theatre, she had followed his career with interest. She was enthusiastic about his *Holger Danske* poems, most of which she had by heart.¹⁵

In his diary Prince Christian makes special mention of “Ingemann’s beautiful song for the Danish flag” (= *Vift stolt paa Codans Bølge*).¹⁶

In 1822 Ingemann became a Danish master at Sorø Academy. The next year the Royal couple visited the town and the Academy. For the occasion Ingemann had written a song of welcome, which pleased them so much that a few days later, at the palace of Sorgenfri, the Prince wrote a letter commissioning a birthday song for his consort:

My wish was that a song should be sung that was suitable for the celebration, and to whom better should I turn for that purpose than to you, who so recently and so touchingly have written your beautiful stanzas for the beloved Princess. It may be true that too much cannot be said in her praise, but her modesty is as great as her other virtues are elevated.¹⁷

So Ingemann wrote a festive song of homage to “the Princess of Hearts”. With reference to her Christian commitment he wrote:

Flowers spring up where'er she treads,
Ne'er on earth to wither
Heart's ease from heaven-seeds
Souls delights forever.¹⁸

The following letter from the Prince's librarian, Carl Heger, testifies to the success of this song:

HRH may write to you today, but if not, then I may provisionally assure you that the Prince was too pleased for words with the song and overjoyed with it; likewise all who read it considered it exceedingly lovely, so that I can assure you that it was no thankless task when you composed it.

It was sung in the forest [at Sorgenfri] at 11 pm in a festively decorated and illuminated ballroom which had been built the same day. With the full orchestra, conducted by [the composer Rudolph] Bay, it was sung by the same singers who, this winter at one of the prince's concerts, sang your *Danevang*. To the great delight of the family and all present it was performed as beautifully as could be.¹⁹

Ingemann's historical novels, too, were applauded. In 1827 the cabinet secretary Adler wrote on behalf of the Royal couple to Ingemann about the extraordinary "sympathy and satisfaction" with which the family had listened to a reading of his historical novel *Valdemar Sejr*.²⁰

And then came the morning songs. On 22nd July 1837 Peter Rørdam wrote to Ingemann about the reaction of the Royal couple:

Princess Caroline Amalie was very happy with the hymns. She has herself copied two out and read them for the Prince, who was also pleased with them. He liked No.3 most, while the Princess was most pleased with No.2.²¹

Number three is *Nu vågne alle Guds fugle små* (The birds of morning), and number two is *Lysets engel går med glans* (Angel bright).

For the Coronation in 1840 Ingemann wrote a song in which he emphasized Caroline Amalie's interest in national song:

Her sceptre is a lily wand;
When sweetly her Royal tones ring,
Life becomes music like waves of the sea
And the songs of a nation take wing.²²

On the death of Christian VIII in 1848 Ingemann conceived a memorial ceremony at Sorø Academy, consisting of a speech surrounded by newly-written songs.²³ The King had been a warm supporter of Grundtvig's plan for a "folk high school" at Sorø ("the Academy at Soer"). This plan was now buried with the King. The Academy, an educational institution for young noblemen, where Ingemann had taught since its re-establishment in 1822, was closed in 1849.

After the death of her husband, Caroline Amalie lived a more retiring life, but she continued with her social work and her charitable donations. It is clear from Ingemann's letters to Christiane von Rosenørn that he continued to send his new publications to the Dowager Queen and - via her head lady-in-waiting - received her comments.



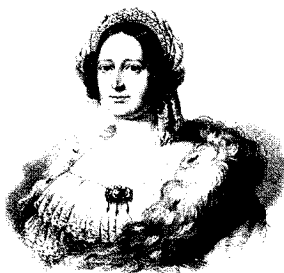
B.S. Ingemann



C.E.F. Weyse



Christiane



Caroline Amalie



Rørdam



Boisen

The main figures mentioned in the article, from top left: The poet B.S. Ingemann (1789-1862); the composer C.E.F. Weyse (1774-1842); head Lady-in-Waiting Christiane von Rosenørn (1784-1859); Queen Caroline Amalie (1796-1881); the theologians Peter Rørdam (1806-83) and P.O. Boisen (1815-62). Photos: The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

The morning songs

In the summer of 1837, when Peter Rørdam had been a teacher at Caroline Amalie's nursery for two years, he went on a walking tour of Zealand. On 30th May he came to Sorø. In his diary he wrote: "So then I visited *Ingemann*. I was startled at the sight of his wife; yet I soon discovered a pair of lovely eyes and noble features; but her attire I cannot quite come to terms with; it is remarkable. He is plain and familiar; sometimes his gaze is very appealing, with a flicker playing in his eyes".²⁴ Ingemann had just turned 48 a few days before this.

I think it is evident from the description that this was the first time Rørdam met the couple face to face. His observations also accord with those of others. Mrs Ingemann's peculiar appearance is described by Marie Rørdam, and Ingemann's eyes, which could look "quite fierily flashing", are described by the composer Peter Heise.²⁵ Rørdam and Ingemann spoke of proverbs and art etc. The morning songs were not mentioned. Kjeld Galster, the scholar who has dealt in most detail with the origins of the morning songs, is wisely cautious in his comments on Rørdam's first visit: "In the conversation that now took place, Rørdam must have requested Ingemann to write morning songs for the nursery children, if indeed he had not already asked him in writing".²⁶

Strictly speaking, we do not know at all whether the request came from Rørdam. Galster might have emphasized this more clearly, for the researchers who use him as a source take Rørdam's role quite for granted.²⁷

The next day, in the margin of his diary, Rørdam has written "P.C.A.".²⁸ The editor of the diary, H.F. Rørdam, deciphers this as "Princess Caroline Amalie", and guesses that Rørdam probably wrote to her about his visit to the Ingemanns. On the other hand it does not seem to have struck either H.F. Rørdam or Kjeld Galster that Peter Rørdam may have written to say that he had accomplished the *Princess's* mission. This is of course only guessing, but reviewing, as I have done above, the Princess's relationship with Ingemann, it seems to me that *all the circumstantial evidence points rather to her as the origin of the morning song idea than to Peter Rørdam*. Rørdam's letters to Caroline Amalie have not been preserved.

I have found support for this supposition in Hans Rosendal's biography of Caroline Amalie, where he says of her attitude to Ingemann's work: "The Queen had greatly appreciated *Ingemann* since her youth. His "Blanca" had touched her; his hymns had gladdened and elevated her - most of all his excellent morning and evening songs, which *at her urging had been written with the children in her nursery in mind*".²⁹ The last italics are mine.

Unfortunately, this claim is not documented. But *Hans Rosendal*, who lived from 1839 to 1921, was not just anybody. He was "one of the great figures of the

folk high school”, the principal of Grundtvig’s High School in Lyngby in 1892-1919. He was a trained historian, and it is said of him that “he had a strong and sure memory”.³⁰

It is also striking that Ingemann in his tribute to the Queen in the Coronation song of 1839, a stanza of which is quoted above, emphasizes that it is under her *sceptre* that “the songs of a nation take wing”. For according to the biographies Caroline Amalie was not particularly musical, as her husband was.³¹

In fact we do not know either whether Ingemann wrote down the songs between 30th May and 7th June 1837. As mentioned above, letters could have preceded Rørdam’s visit.³²

But on 7th June the “nursery morning hymns” are mentioned as a *fait accompli* in Peter Rørdam’s diary. He was now staying with the music-loving family of Pastor J.F. Fenger in Lyngby near Sorø. Pastor Fenger was a Grundtvig supporter and a good friend of Ingemann. It was for the Fenger children that Ingemann later wrote the Christmas song *Julen har bragt velsignet bud*.

Rørdam writes:

In the afternoon *Ingemann* came. He brought the nursery morning songs with him, and was very pleased, because both Fenger and I liked them. He is a man who can stand praise without being spoiled, but not censure; he considers his writing activities insignificant, and in that respect is often quite downhearted. He has no idea himself how many hearts he gladdens.³³

On 19th July Rørdam was back in Copenhagen, and from there, on 22nd July, he wrote the letter to Ingemann quoted earlier in which he tells him of the Royal couple’s reaction to the songs. It is further evident that he has seen proofs of the texts at the house of Gustav Schaarup, who was also a teacher at the nursery. He continues: “Then there is the matter of the music - in that you yourself should be able to be helpful. What do you say to Kroien?”³⁴

Kjeld Galster guesses reasonably enough that the “Kroien” suggested must be *Hans Ernst Krøyer*, who as the composer of several popular songs, including the national favourite *Der er et yndigt land*, would probably be worth considering.

But it was not he, but *C.E.F. Weyse*, who was given the job. Whether it was Ingemann himself who was “helpful” we do not know; but it is of course very likely. The year before the poet and the composer had collaborated on a Christmas cantata.

Ingemann and Weyse

Myths easily grow up around a classic work. In a recently published history of literature, for example, one can read the following: “Although Weyse lived in Roskilde, he and Ingemann saw much of each other”.³⁵ In contrast to this there is the following laconic and incontestable remark in the commentary on the edition of Weyse’s letters: “There is no information as to whether Weyse and Ingemann knew each other personally”.³⁶

Weyse lived in the street Kronprinsessegade near the park Kongens Have in Copenhagen. It is true that he often visited good friends in Roskilde, and one tradition states that he composed “most of the melodies” for the morning and evening songs in “Weyse’s chamber” at the manse during a visit to his friend, the parson Hans Hertz.³⁷

In 1837 Weyse was 63. In his composing career he had worked with innumerable poets on his many cantatas: Thomas Thaarup, Adam Oehlenschläger, C.J. Boye, Johan Ludvig Heiberg and others. He had known Heiberg since childhood, but with the other writers, as far as can be gleaned from his letters, he had more of an amicable professional relationship than a real friendship.³⁸ The discussions of the Christmas cantata *Jubler, o jubler i salige Toner* may therefore easily have been by letter, as was the case in 1838, when Weyse informed Ingemann of his wishes with respect to a cantata for the consecration of bishops.³⁹

Besides the Christmas cantata, which was incidentally a lasting success and is still regularly performed, Weyse had composed a melody for Ingemann’s poem *Spillemand spiller på strenge*, which appeared in H.P. Holst’s *Nytaarsgave for 1836*.

In three preserved letters from Weyse to Ingemann we read about an attempt to organize a personal meeting. On 20/3/38 Weyse writes that, if he were to visit his friend pastor V.T. Lindegaard in Slaglille, “I would certainly not neglect also to pay my respects to you, and on that occasion, after the space of many years, once more look around the town of Sorø, which I find so interesting”.⁴⁰

Of Weyse’s previous visit or visits to Sorø we know nothing. However, it is clear from the context that it is Weyse’s satisfaction with the morning songs that has given him the inclination to pay a possible visit to Ingemann.

To Pastor Lindegaard, to whom the evening songs are dedicated, Weyse wrote the same day: “I have had a very nice letter from Ingemann, in which he thanks me for the composition of the nursery songs. I have also answered him as best I can, but have not asked him to greet you, since I do not know if you see each other”.⁴¹

In the early summer of that year, 1838, Ingemann was in Copenhagen, and there he tried unsuccessfully to see Weyse at home. Weyse wrote to him on 26th

June: "During your stay in Copenhagen I should certainly not have neglected to repay your intended visit if I had known that I could find you. I would therefore ask you, against any future occasion, to be so kind as to inform me where you usually lodge".¹²

All in all, the tone of the letters suggests that the two artists had not previously been on familiar terms, but that now, thanks to their successful collaboration, would like to meet. We simply do not know if it happened.

Weyse and singing

As a practical musician, Weyse was primarily famous as a piano and organ virtuoso. While he only performed as a pianist after 1802 in private gatherings, anyone who so wished had the opportunity to hear his famed organ improvisations at public church services. In a letter to Lucie Ingemann dated 22nd September 1837, Christiane von Rosenørn wrote of her impression of Weyse as an organist. She had been to a service in the cathedral Vor Frue Kirke, where the curate Ernst Kolthoff's sermon, Bertel Thorvaldsen's statues and Weyse's organ music had all given her a great sense of spiritual uplift:

Nor would you have regretted yesterday being among Kolthoff's congregation when he so beautifully expounded how the love of God is inextricable from faith in Christ. With the lovely image of Christ before our eyes - the visible expression of all-embracing love - surrounded by the tall, noble apostles, whose characteristic positions in so many ways express faith, hope, piety and constancy, the rising spirit is uplifted, or rather supported at its highest peak, by the festive organ notes which Weyse unfolds under the mighty vault - now foaming like high seas, now melting like the faraway notes the soul sometimes dreams of sensing in a better world!

I imagine that [the recently appointed principal of Sorø Academy] Waage must greatly miss his beautiful church and Weyse's organ music.

The more often to enjoy this pleasure of the soul for eyes and ears, I have resolved, on my way home from [the two churches] Holmens Kirke or Slotskirken, to go into Frue Kirke. It is just when he plays for the congregation leaving the church that Weyse abandons himself to the musical impulses of his poetic imagination. His greatest admirers are

then gathered around the organ, while the church is almost empty, in accordance with the custom of the Copenhageners - so objectionable to me - of rushing out of the church as soon as the minister descends from the pulpit.¹³

That Weyse's improvisational powers were of the highest is witnessed by international virtuosos like Ignaz Moscheles and Franz Liszt. Nevertheless, the testimony of Christiane von Rosenørn is not without interest. As an amateur in the area of music she can stand for the ordinary cultured listener. In her own quite subjective, "romantic" way, she is able to express in words her experience of a service where Weyse participates. Besides piano and organ, Weyse had also played violin as a child and a very young man. And then there was the *singing*.

As a child, with his maternal grandfather, the cantor Bernhard Christoph Heuser, he had heard concerts given by the virtuosos of the day in Altona and Hamburg. The singers had included "Madam Lange" - probably Mozart's sister-in-law Aloysia Lange - and "some Italian buffo singers, male and female".

This prompted the boy himself to try his hand at singing:

Soon I too was trying to sing bravura arias and copied everything I could possible get my hands on. I had a treble voice of wide compass and easily sang three octaves from the small to the three-line A. My voice must I suppose also have sounded well; for everywhere I was asked to sing, and they seemed glad to hear me. In this connection I recall a comic use of my singing which at that time became very popular. In the Altona hymnal there is a funeral hymn, *Begrabt den Leib in seine Gruft*, which takes the form of antiphonal singing between the congregation and the deceased. Hitherto it had not been the custom to have the deceased sing, though at all funerals the hymn was sung by the congregation - not to mention that it would have cost a few *Thaler* more if the deceased were to lift up his voice. But my grandfather once gave the congregation this hymn free of charge. For, hidden near the coffin, to the soft accompaniment of the organ, I performed the role of the deceased. This caused the most lively sensation, and after that time whoever had a few *Thaler* to spare had the deceased sing.¹⁴

In 1795, when F. L. Æ. Kunzen came to Copenhagen to succeed J. A. P. Schulz as *kapelmester* at the Royal Theatre, he brought his wife, the singer Johanne Margrethe, *née* Zuccarini. Weyse tells us that "she was a very fine singer, and my

acquaintance with her was the reason that I now, quite on my own, more than ever studied the nature of song".⁴⁵ This employment benefited him in the singing lessons he gave to earn his living to the daughters of the aristocracy and the affluent bourgeoisie - and to Princess Caroline, the daughter of King Frederik VI.

In 1801, after he had broken off his relationship with *Julie Tutein*, the pupil with whom Weyse had fallen in love, the two young people met around 1st July in the house of a common acquaintance. Both tried to appear unconcerned. She sang, and he accompanied, then together they sang *Fra gli amplessi*, the duet of Fiordiligi and Ferrando from *Così fan tutte*. It ends, as we know, with the lovers - the resistance of the girl having been overcome - falling into each other's arms! No wonder poor Weyse had to rush into an adjacent room to recover somewhat from that duet. It is at the end of this letter to his friend Hermann Kramer that he quotes the concluding lines of Thekla's song *Der Eichwald brauset* from Schiller's *Wallenstein*:

*Ich habe genossen das indische Glück,
Ich habe gelebt und geliebet.*

With the music he wrote to this poem he created one of his most brilliant songs from the great unhappy love affair of his life.⁴⁶ He never married.

The Tutein family and Weyse were soon reconciled. At the end of July 1801 he went with the family on a picnic to Frederiksdal:

Wir assen im Tannenwalde und nach Tische lagerte der jüngere Theil der Gesellschaft: Jette, Julie, Pauline, Auguste, ich Meder, u a sich auf einem Hügel im Walde ... [It is again Hermann Kramer in whom Weyse confides] ... Wir sangen das schöne Terzett aus *Così fan tutte* soave sia il vento zwey mahl; das erstemal wollte es nicht recht gehen. - Es fehlte wenig dass ich bey diesem Terzett nicht Thränen vergoss. Alle alten Erinnerungen schwebten meiner Seel so leebhaft vorüber.⁴⁷

The male roles in these Mozart numbers were written for tenor (Ferrando) and bass baritone (Don Alfonso). However, the latter's part in the trio is very high, so if we can be permitted to infer anything from this very tenuous basis, Weyse still had a high voice as an adult - tenor or tenor baritone. It is also amazing that these young people would have been able to sing the extremely difficult trio a cappella. It is not surprising that it only went fairly well the second time! The singers must have been amateur musicians of a certain standard.

After this nothing is preserved about Weyse as a singer, with the exception of his miaowing performance of the *Cat Cavatina*, his own parody of the Rossini style which delighted his good friends, the Hertz family in Roskilde.

The description that *Elise Fich, née Hertz*, wrote of her childhood in the deanery in Roskilde gives us a perhaps prettified but nevertheless delightful picture of the home life of a cultivated bourgeois family in the Danish Golden Age:

Anyone who wished to see a merry, loving family picture should have peeped into this spacious drawing-room in the winter twilight when the fire blazed in the modern stove - modern by the standard of that time - which was at the middle of the wall between the bedroom and the hall door and lit up the whole room. There Father would sometimes sit, but more often *Hans*, at the piano, *Herman* with his violin in the corner beside him, and *Børge* with his flute on the low corner cupboard formed by the dado; then Father and Mother would walk arm in arm in the middle, and as many of us children and other young people as were gathered and there was room for in the broad row across the room, went hand in hand, back and forth, and sang with pure clear voices to the accompaniment of the instruments, all well practiced in playing together, one beautiful song after another.⁴⁸

This scene took place around 1808. The three boys playing were the writer's brothers. A few years later the oldest, Hans Hertz, made the acquaintance of Weyse, when he went as a student to Copenhagen. This was the beginning of a lifelong friendship.

Weyse appreciated the singing at the deanery and used the many singing voices in a quite special way in Roskilde Cathedral:

... one of his greatest pleasures in the church was however when he could gather many young people with singing voices around him. Then he arranged us all according to the pitch of our voices on the round walkway above the sacristy, and while the older ones and those without a voice went down into the church and listened, he improvised for them on his "living organ", as he called us - that is, he walked quickly around behind the whole row and gave each a note - *piano* - which we then had to remember and sing when he gave the signal - first *piano*, then *fortissimo* and then back down to *pianissimo*, all according to his signs,

and before this chord quite died out, he gave us new notes and so on in the most wonderful chords and changes, which sounded particularly marvellous down in the church. Father said that he imagined he was hearing “the Harmony of the Spheres”.⁴¹

Weyse and national song

Weyse’s childhood and early youth coincided with the Enlightenment. At the age of fifteen in Copenhagen, he became a pupil of J.A.P. Schulz, who in his songs “in the folk music style” was a great champion of national song. Weyse followed up on this line with his first songs, which were included in the collection *Blandede Kompositioner* (Miscellaneous Compositions), which appeared in 1789 in a Danish and a German edition. Of these songs just one, the harvest song *Vipper springe over Klinge*, has stayed in the community singing repertoire until today. Despite the fact that it is extremely simple in melodic and harmonic terms, Weyse has succeeded in giving it the striking *Schein des Bekannten* that makes it stick in the mind:

Allegretto

Vip - per sprin - ge o - ver Klin - ge un - der Le - ers Lyd

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Vipper springe over Klinge'. It is written in 2/4 time and marked 'Allegretto'. The melody is in the treble clef, and the accompaniment is in the bass clef. The lyrics are: 'Vip - per sprin - ge o - ver Klin - ge un - der Le - ers Lyd'.

In 1801, with *Thekla’s Song* to a text by Friedrich Schiller (Danish translation by Adam Oehlenschläger) he abandoned the broadly national song style for a quite personal romance style more suited to solo than to community singing. The right-hand arpeggios in the accompaniment emphasize the agitated mood:

Andante

Der Eich - wald brau - set, die Wol - ken ziehn, das

The image shows a musical score for 'Thekla's Song'. It is written in 3/4 time and marked 'Andante'. The melody is in the treble clef, and the accompaniment is in the bass clef. The lyrics are: 'Der Eich - wald brau - set, die Wol - ken ziehn, das'. The accompaniment features prominent arpeggios in the right hand.

Nevertheless, O.D. Lütken included it in a three-part version in the melody part of his *Huus- og Skole-Sangbog* of 1819. It is evident from the preface that Weyse has helped the publisher with a few things: “This collection is also greatly indebted to Professor Weyse, both for those of his beautiful melodies that grace it, and for the sympathetic assistance he has afforded”.

The songbook also features two of Weyse's Schulz-influenced songs - for example *Vipper springe* - and then there is a melody from the Singspiel *Ludlams Hule* (Ludlam's Cave), which had been premiered in 1816:



This became one of Weyse's most popular community song melodies among his contemporaries. Among other things it formed the setting for Ingemann's *Danevang med grønne bred*, which as mentioned before also had a melody by Rudolph Bay. With this text and *Vift stolt paa Kodans Bølge* Ingemann had made early, welcome contributions to the wave of patriotic songs that was soon to flood the country. For the text by Juliane Marie Jessen in the abortive competition for a new national anthem in 1818, Weyse wrote, after thirteen attempts, the tune *Dannemark, Dannemark, hellige lyd*:



With its fanfare-like character and strongly marked march rhythm the melody "recalls the whole military apparatus of Frederik VI" (Sven Lunn). Weyse wrote several melodies of this type.

In 1839 he published a chorale book which shows that in the area of the popular chorale he was conservative. His own contributions are close to the traditional four-part form with the many even notes - the so-called "stiff" chorale. None of the typically Weysonian melody types mentioned here are like the melodies of the morning songs. Ingemann's texts inspired in him another tone, that of the spiritual songs of Schulz, with which he was familiar from his childhood. I will return to this.

In view of Weyse's prominent position his melodies appeared in the songbooks relatively late. Far into the nineteenth century these were dominated by the repertoire of the Enlightenment. This is true for example of a songbook like *Seidelins Visebog eller Danske Selskabssange*, which appeared in 1821. But it had in fact included eight Weyse melodies. Six of these come from Singspiele, four from *Ludlams Hule* and two from *Sovedrikken* (The Sleeping Draught).

Only the last two, *Dannemark, Dannemark, hellige Lyd*, and *Duftende Enge og kornrige Vange*, were composed for community singing. Just as many of Schulz's popular songs came from stage works, many of Weyse's Singspiel romances were to find similar favour as community songs.

1836, the year before the morning songs, saw the publication of *Samling af danske Sange I-II*, "collected and ordered" by the poet Henrik Hertz. In this collection Romanticism was richly represented by the poets Oehlenschläger, J.L. Heiberg and Ingemann, the composers Kuhlau and Weyse, and others. There were eleven Weyse melodies. Five were from *Sovedrikken*, two from *Ludlams Hule*. Hertz had rejected *Dannemark, Dannemark, hellige Lyd* and instead included *Der er et Land, dets Sted er højt mod Norden*. Weyse had composed this song for the soirées of the actor Nicolai Peter Nielsen in 1826.

Before 1840, community singing in Denmark - apart from school singing - was primarily festive singing and club singing. This is directly evident from the titles of many of the songbooks. After his youthful forays, Weyse apparently took little interest in this type of song. The community songs that do not come from his Singspiele were usually composed on request. With his support for O.D. Lütken's songbook he had shown an incipient interest in school singing. At the beginning of the 1830s school song publications really began to appear regularly. L.C. Hagen's songbook of 1832, which was used in the nurseries, has already been mentioned.

In 1834 and 1838 *Carl Joachim Borchhorst*, a close acquaintance of Weyse, who was among other things the singing teacher at the Vajsenhuset orphanage school, published school songbooks with three-part and four-part settings, where Weyse was well represented. In 1834 too, *Andreas Peter Berggreen*, a pupil of Weyse and later the government's first "inspector of singing", began his long series of songbooks. Here too Weyse's melodies were obvious inclusions. At first it was adult texts that dominated these collections, but there were also a few children's texts. In Borchhorst's first collection there are thus a couple of canons and a "post-examination" song, *Vi stå i livets vår* (In spring of life we stand), with music by Weyse. Berggreen included H.A. Brorson's *Her kommer, Jesus, dine små* (Behold, Lord Christ, thy little ones) in his third issue of 1836 with a melody by Schulz from *Religiöse Oden und Lieder*.⁵⁰

Childhood faith, sunlight and the joy of living

In his memoirs, *Levnettsbog*, Ingemann described his happy childhood in the manse at Torkildstrup. Many literary scholars have compared the morning songs

with these memoirs and pointed out the inspiration from his childhood - something Ingemann himself was in fact the first to emphasize.

In these early years a childhood faith and optimism had been instilled in him which served him as a spiritual resource he could draw on after his exile from the Paradise of childhood:

As far back as he is aware, he can recall no time when he did not feel and believe that he had as sure a link with the invisible Father and Creator as with his visible parents, who in their answers to the boy's earliest questions about earth and heaven, must always arrive at the last and only explanatory reply, in which *Our Lord* figured. In whatever shape the notion of the Almighty was given life in the child's mind, it would still have been inseparable from the life he knew and the world in which he consciously formed his life.⁵¹

Ingemann did not care too much for Grundtvig's elaborate Bible story hymns: "I am far fonder of purely lyrical hymns like "Welcome again, God's Angels Small!", where no story is told, the historical miracle is taken as given, and the childlike emotion flies to Heaven with the Christmas angels. However, as you have combined the story with the childlike tone in "The three holy kings" (= *Dejlig er den himmel blå*), it is undeniable lovely". This was written to Grundtvig four years after the morning songs had been written, and as emphasized by Karen Stougård Hossy, Ingemann has in fact here given his own recipe for his nursery songs.⁵²

Weyse too imbibed his childhood religion with his mother's milk, although perhaps with rather more discipline:

... my parents, like my grandfather, were very religious, and from my youth had set me to religious exercises. After the fashion of those days I had to read aloud before and after meals; morning and evening prayers must never be neglected. Every Sunday morning I had to go to church and later tell my parents the content of the sermon, whether they had been there themselves or not. Soon I myself also became so religious that I regarded God as my most loving father, and never failed to prostrate myself before Him and ask His forgiveness, when I thought I had done something against His will; to call upon His help in distress and trouble, or to thank Him with all my heart when things went well for me.⁵³

The Sun Arises In the East

Although in Weyse's account there is a slight (and characteristic) ironic undertone which is far from Ingemann's attitude, it is clear that he too had experienced a fundamental trust in Providence in his childhood. Musically it was nourished by his preoccupation with Schulz' *Religiöse Oden und Lieder*, which had been published in 1786, and Weyse writes that they were to be found (as is confirmed by his stepfather's name in the subscription list for the music) in his home.

Looking at the simple, strophic songs in this collection, it is not difficult to find points of similarity with the morning songs. A melody like the mainly three-part *Morgenstund har guld i mund* (Rise and shine and gold is thine) is close to that of *Den süßen Schlaf erbitten wir* (i.e. the Danish *Her kommer, Jesus, dine små*):

In etwas lebhafter Bewegung

Den stis - sen Schlaf er - bit - ten wir, du be - ster Va - ter! uns von dir

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It is in 3/4 time and G major. The tempo/mood is 'In etwas lebhafter Bewegung'. The melody is in the right hand, and the bass line is in the left hand. The lyrics are: 'Den stis - sen Schlaf er - bit - ten wir, du be - ster Va - ter! uns von dir'.

The idea of small independent bass figures playing against the melody (as in *Lysets engel* and *Morgenstund*) can also be found in Schulz:

Lebhaft, doch nicht zu geschwind

Er - hö - het die präch - ti - gen Pfor - te der Sie - ge!

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It is in 4/4 time and G major. The tempo/mood is 'Lebhaft, doch nicht zu geschwind'. The melody is in the right hand, and the bass line is in the left hand. The lyrics are: 'Er - hö - het die präch - ti - gen Pfor - te der Sie - ge!'.

And *I østen stiger solen op* (The sun arises in the east) has the following counterpart in Schulz (*Die Morgensterne priesen*):

Mässig

Die Mor - gen - ster - ne prie - sen in ho - hen Ju - bel - ton

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It is in 3/4 time and G major. The tempo/mood is 'Mässig'. The melody is in the right hand, and the bass line is in the left hand. The lyrics are: 'Die Mor - gen - ster - ne prie - sen in ho - hen Ju - bel - ton'.

The dancing 6/8 rhythm of *Nu vågne alle Guds fugle* (The birds of morning) is found in Schulz in *Verhallt ist schon des Donners Laut*:

Lebhaft

Ver - hallt ist schon des Don - ners Laut, er - frischt Ge - fild und Lust

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It is in 6/8 time and G major. The tempo/mood is 'Lebhaft'. The melody is in the right hand, and the bass line is in the left hand. The lyrics are: 'Ver - hallt ist schon des Don - ners Laut, er - frischt Ge - fild und Lust'.

The resemblances are of course quite vague, but they are striking enough to make it reasonable to conclude that Weyse found inspiration in the spiritual songs of his childhood.

In the following I will now make some remarks on each morning song (see pp. 81-89).

Nu ringer alle klokker mod sky (The bells with clamour fill the sky), the Sunday song, has often been compared to its counterpart in Ingemann's *Morgenpsalmer* of 1823, which was intended for the schoolboys of Sorø Academy.

A holy morning sun ascends,
Its lustrous, silent way it wends
O'er wood and shining water.
Up, every soul the whole world wide
That trusts in Christ that for us died,
Arise, and praise thy Maker!
Soft! Be still, all worldly grieving!
Once believing,
Peace is given -
Earthly life with peace of Heaven.

As pointed out by Knud Bjarne Gjesing, this text attempts “through ample use of imperatives” to “work its way up to a mood” that is the quite natural background for *Nu ringer alle klokker*,⁵¹ where it is direct joy that permeates the text. The word *glæde* (joy) occurs a total of five times, and “the joy that Sunday sun beheld”, the Resurrection, is emphasized by the upward surge of the melody at the beginning and end of the stanza. The recurring rhythmic figure of the bass, suggesting the bells, supports it.

Sunday is the day of the Resurrection. Concisely and comprehensibly, the Resurrection is depicted in the fifth stanza, where the angel seated on the tombstone points out the place “to show the tomb was empty there”.

Ingemann exploits repetition, a feature of folk song, in several of the songs. Here it is the line “For on a Sunday morning fair / Our Saviour from the tomb did rise”, from the second stanza, which concludes the song with a refrain-like significance.

In *Lysets Engel* it is “the triumphal course of the Sun angel over the vault of Heaven that creates the poem’s remarkable and almost inexplicable beauty”, says Hans Brix. He also points out that the long fourth line “provides room for word-painting”, so the poet for example “can afford the rich word” *himmelglans* (light of

heaven).⁵⁵ By having the angel kiss the child in the cradle, Ingemann associates the representative of Heaven with domestic bliss. The grandly striding melody in common time illustrates the walk of the angel “through gates of light”. The four-part setting, where a “walking bass” is varied with dotted figures (b. 3) and semiquaver motion (b. 6), underscores the processional feel. The text is replete with words that signify light, joy and love. Ingemann strengthens the word *glans* (light) by placing it at the top of the ascending triad at the end of the first line.

In *Nu vågne all Guds fugle små* (The birds of morning) the presence of the flying creatures is emphasized by a pastoral, lively, dancing 6/8 rhythm. Weyse was very fond of 6/8 time and knew how to vary it. The difference from the heavy bell rhythm in *Nu ringer alle klokker* is striking here. The high upbeat note at the beginning of each stanzas gives the impression of the sudden awakening of the morning light. The lively, chattering birds recall Andersen’s tales. The lightly hovering melody comes to a stop on a long-held note in the fourth line (b. 7). Although, at least in stanzas one, three and four of the Danish text it is important syllables that are emphasized in this way, the note often creates difficulties in a cappella community singing. Of this and a couple of other similarly long notes in *Nu titte til hinanden* (The pretty little flowers) Jens Peter Larsen has remarked that they are presumably “due to the wish to achieve a regular division of the sequence of bars”.⁵⁶ This is probably true, but Weyse is unlikely to have felt that these long notes were unnatural. They are found in many of Schulz’s songs and his own. The notes are after all filled out by the piano accompaniment, which Weyse must have considered inseparable from the sung part, unless the songs were performed polyphonically. The nursery songs - unlike the songs for the state schools - were meant to be sung with piano accompaniment.⁵⁷ The dying-out of the melody at the end of the stanza has a particular sound-painting effect in Stanza 2, where the final word in Danish is the drawn-out *hensu-use* (wing away). As in several of the other songs, the text makes a play on the Biblical passage which says that no sparrow falls to the earth without the Lord being aware of it. Ingemann applies this to the weak among men, to the poor and to children.

The sun as a harbinger is the starting point for *I østen stiger solen op* (The sun arises in the east). But in contrast to *Lysets engel* the sun progresses here from being a servant of light to a symbol of Jesus himself - “Thou Sun of Suns from Bethlehem”.

The unrivalled evocation of light in the morning songs prompted Georg Brandes to cite the Vedic hymns to the goddess of dawn Ushas.⁵⁸ In the Christian tradition one might point to the *Song of Brother Sun* by St. Francis of Assisi:

The face that no eye ever views
 The name on which all creatures muse
 Is figured in the rising sun
 Where all things are in song made one.

The many words in the Danish text with the high vowel “i” (*glimt* “gleam”, *livets abild* “Eden’s apple”) help to create the impression of light. The sun brings *liv og lys og lyst til store og til små* (rendered in English here as “delight and life and laughter gay alike to great and small”) with virtuosic use of alliteration.

In Weyse’s quite simple melody one can, if one wishes, hear the rising of the sun in the two ascending figures (ll. 1 and 3) which are crowned by the long high note at the beginning of the fourth line.

The key of A major contributes to the impression of light.

The composer Niels W. Gade later used stanzas one, two and five as a lyrical choral number in his *Elverskud* (The Elf-Shot), a large-scale work from 1854, based on a folk ballad motif, for soloists, choir and orchestra. He too describes the rising of the sun in ascending motion, but in a broad, hymn-like structure:



This is the same breadth and weight as we find at the beginning of the Danish national hymn *Den signede dag* (The blessed day), which Grundtvig wrote for the millennium of the introduction of Christianity in 1826. Gade’s hymn is “a far echo” of Weyse’s monumental melody for this hymn (Jens Peter Larsen):



Both these descriptions of the coming of light have a melodic weight that is intended for strong adult voices.

Gud ske tak og lov (God be praised this day) was written, as mentioned above, “especially with the children of the nurseries in mind”. Ingemann added this remark as a note below the song. He wished to give a description of the situation of the poor nursery children with their working parents. Once more there is a comparison with the defenceless birds.

The short lines, 1, 2 and 4, 5, often have an exclamatory tone - for example the first line. Weyse exploits this with fanfare-like musical outbursts which are further

underscored by the drum-like bass notes that fill in the breaks after the short lines.

The association with the nurseries did not prevent the song from spreading wider. The most recently published children's hymnbook from 1993 is called *Gul ske tak og lov* and has the song as the first item. As is so often the case, the stanzas of social realism, three and four, which today appear dated, have been omitted.

Morgenstund har guld i mund has an untranslatable proverb as its introductory motto (literally, "morningtime has gold in its mouth" - the closest English equivalent is "the early bird catches the worm" or "early to bed, early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise..."). Grundtvig later wrote a morning hymn with the same beginning, and its popularity has probably been a factor in preventing Ingemann's from achieving the same popularity as the other morning songs. The poem is in fact highly esteemed by many students of hymnology. It is true, as Frederik Rønning says, that it is the least visually evocative of the songs, "but a wonderful morning freshness wells forth from it".⁵⁹ The themes are the same as those we have seen before. Variations of compound "morning words" (*morgenstund* "morningtime", *morgensol* "morning sun", *morgenglød* "morning glow", *morgenluft* "morning air") bind the stanzas together. One effective repetition is the coupling of *fattigst fugl* (literally "humblest bird") in the first stanza with *fattigst sjæl* "humblest soul" in the last (Hans Brix). Weise has emphasized the airiness by setting it in the easily singable key of A major with three-part writing almost throughout.

Only the first and last of the morning songs have a direct link with a particular day of the week. While Sunday is the day of the Resurrection, Saturday is for Ingemann the day of death. In *Nu titte til hinanden* (The pretty little flowers) Jesus bears the child in his arms up to his Father, for he has given the little children "the pledge of Paradise". And the song is in fact used at children's funerals; but it is as a morning song and a christening song that it has really done sterling service. The impression of the song is far from gloomy. On the contrary, it is on the close, familiar things - flowers and animals - that Ingemann plays. The "lovable" snail to which Ingemann himself refers in his memoirs must be singled out. It has a counterpart in the ant in the *Song of Brother Sun* of St. Francis of Assisi:

See Brother Ant, with wisdom rare:

His chattels are what he can bear...⁶⁰

Once more it is God's care of the children that is the main theme. Ingemann has the gift of associating the close, the familiar, with the supernatural and inexplicable so that it can be visualized. Like an adult blowing or kissing away the hurt,

God's breath "dries the eye that is weeping". Weyse's setting emphasizes the nodding morning greeting of the birds and flowers with the many dotted notes which give the melody a lively, playful quality. The many dotted notes in *Nu vågne all Guds fugle små* and in this song can be difficult to remember when singing. This has prompted the editors of *Den danske Koralbog* to omit some of them, which probably makes the melodies easier to remember, but it also deprives them of some of their grace.

In the concluding, secular spring song, it is the stork, the Danish national bird, who is the main character. Ingemann has also celebrated the stork in a favourite children's song, *Stork, stork, Langeben* (Stork, stork, lanky-legs). This picturesque bird of passage, which has now all but vanished from Denmark, is the guest who only stays as long as the summer lasts. It sits, flaps its wings, flies off and struts, but above all it brings "the lightsome time so long a-borning" - again an expression that Ingemann uses several times, reinforced the last time as "for the lightsome time my heart is yearning".

The song heralds the arrival of "Walpurgis", i.e. Mayday or St. Walburga's Day, and "sparkling Whitsun light on billows falling". The homage to nature matches that of the morning songs, as do the joy and expectation. The key words *fagre* "lightsome" and *pinseglans* "Whitsun light" come on the high note of the final phrase of the stanza. Weyse's music has a woodland note with a touch of the horn, which is underlined by the melody in the tenor (b. 5-6), with the effect of a faraway echo.

Weyse's and Ingemann's view of the morning songs

On 20th March 1838 Weyse wrote to Ingemann:

Although I the undersigned, C.E.F. Weyse, normally have a lazy pen in the epistolary department, this time I cannot refrain from thanking you - *mi domine professor!* - for your kind letter, and testifying to my pleasure that you are satisfied with my composition for your beautiful morning songs. But I can assure you that I have wrought the melodies very much *con amore*, as I found that you had been so particularly fortunate in expressing in them the special inwardness and artless warmth peculiar to children. If therefore, you should in the future pen more songs of this nature - perhaps evening or table songs - then the undersigned is again at your service.⁶¹

As we know, the invitation resulted in the *Syv Aftensange*, the Seven Evening Songs. Weyse was a good judge of literature, and he would often lament the poor texts the Royal Theatre offered him for his music drama work. His description of the morning songs is in all its offhand brevity probably the finest we have of Ingemann's texts. The next year he wrote to Ingemann of the evening songs that "the music for such beautiful poems composes itself. Ergo, the question is whether it is *I* who composed it".⁶²

Ingemann was not at a loss for an answer. He had a close, non-professional relationship with music. There had been much playing and singing at the manse in Torkildstrup. On the piano, for example, one could see the music for Schulz's *Høstgildet* (The Harvest Festival). It is true that posterity has granted Ingemann no great feeling for music; but this view has been revised by Torben Krogh, who has cited a letter to J.P.E. Hartmann in which Ingemann gives a very detailed characterization of that composer's melodies for some of his poems.⁶³ While we do not have Ingemann's letter of thanks to Weyse for the morning song melodies, the poet did show his gratitude in another way. In the novel *Landsbybørnene* (The Village Children, 1850) he has added some of the familiar Weysian character traits to the depiction of an old professor of music. At one point he has the professor play some children's songs that he has composed:

Now he played some very simple, but infinitely graceful melodies in a style which, without being sacred or definitely religious, still approached that feeling; they evinced something as peaceful, trusting and comforting as when a child looks his father in the eye or hides his face in his mother's bosom. They had been set to some songs which were for children, but which adults could also learn.⁶⁴

One can only agree with the editors of Weyse's letters: the description "presumably expresses Ingemann's view of the morning songs".

If the style approaches the sacred, it is because most of the melodies (Nos. 1-5) have a fairly square-cut four-part harmony which recalls the chorale. But any heaviness is lightened by the melodies. The melodies "stroll" in *andante*, *andantino* and *moderato tempi*. The many dotted notes give them a rhythmic verve that is far from the chorale melodies of the age and of Weyse himself. The "peaceful, trusting and comforting" aspect is due to the way the melodies, although unique, move within a tonal idiom that was known and loved not only by Weyse but by his age. The same is true of the modulations. In all the songs there is a predictable modulation to a half-cadence around the middle of the stanza, and then back to the tonic.

That Weyse, whose mother tongue was German, supremely mastered Danish, is obvious from his letters. As with his teacher Schulz, the prosodic features of his compositions are almost always exemplary. The brilliance of the melodies cannot be captured in words, and it is understandable that Ingemann had to be content with calling them “infinitely graceful”.

Of the music of the morning songs, Jens Peter Larsen has said: “They are full of noble simplicity (in the best sense of this word), but the simplicity is throughout the result of an extreme mastery of structure, an extraordinarily artistic superiority. Only the chosen few are gifted with such fine means of creating such great, imperishable art”.⁶⁵

The reception of the morning songs

In September 1837 Ingemann sent a letter to Christiane von Rosenørn:

Permit me to send you the small songs enclosed, which I think will find a response in your loving, pious mind, although they are primarily intended for children; but children we should all in some sense be, and the glad feeling of the child’s bond with the great eternal Father is something I know you feel and maintain. When this mood takes me I feel at my very happiest, and it appears to me as if that great Father looks down mildly and views even the least happy manifestations of human nature as great childish pranks, to which He turns a blind eye in His eternal love.⁶⁶

Since Ingemann had lost his father at the age of ten, his life had often been harsh, both externally and internally. Even the idyllic Sorø, which still offered him a secure environment, sometimes seemed stifling. The childhood faith that he had retained through life’s vicissitudes was thus by no means something he had come by easily. It was rooted in a firm conviction that light is despite everything stronger than darkness, and that in the end life will emerge victorious.

His correspondence with a like-minded, very gifted friend like Christiane von Rosenørn was a great encouragement to him. She answered him at the end of the same month:

And do you know which for me is the dearest of your lovely morning songs, with which I was already very familiar before I received them from your hands? It is the one which takes my thoughts to Rigi, where you

know I am so truly fond of *hearing* the sun rise. I long for the day when we have melodies for all these beautiful childlike songs. Then I would really practice them on the harp...⁶⁷

Morgensang paa Rigi (Morning song on Rigi), from Ingemann's Italian journey in 1818, is a precursor of *Lysets engel*:

He gives the heavens,
The earth and sea
A fiery mantle
Of radiancy.

In a letter from Christiane von Rosenørn to Lucie Ingemann from January 1840 we are given a glimpse of the community singing in one of the institutions for which the morning songs were intended: "And I believe it will cheer you to know how well the children remember Ingemann's beautiful songs. Today they sang his lovely Christmas song for children, which went well conducted by Boiesen".⁶⁸

It is evident from the printed and unprinted letters that Ingemann was to visit the nursery in Sølvgade at Whitsun 1842 and hear for himself the children singing his songs. But Lucie Ingemann was weak and not "transportable", so the visit is unlikely to have taken place. In 1845 he was in Copenhagen and may then have visited the nursery. In 1849 he had the following cordial letter from P.O. Boisen:

As I have done so before *orally* on behalf of the children at the school, I also feel the urge now [...] to express my heartfelt thanks for all that you are to us, with the most genuine wish that Our Lord will preserve you *long* as a blessing for Denmark and for the benefit and pleasure of us all, great and small, who hum (each bird with its own beak) the *tone* that has come from the heart, and must penetrate all Danish hearts - the *tone of the people*, which is so good for all woes and pains!⁶⁹

The morning songs began their triumphal course in the schools of the country. Weyse himself was able to say in the above-quoted letter of thanks of March 1838 that "the songs are frequently sung both by young and old. In the schools where the music teacher Borchhorst teaches the children singing, and in the orphanage and Nyboder School, the children sing them in four-part harmony".⁷⁰

As early as his songbook of 1838 Carl Joachim Borchhorst had included *I østen stiger solen op* in a four-part version. He urged Weyse to compose more songs for children, and the first of several planned books had appeared by 1841. Of Weyse's songs for schools Nils Schiørring has said: "These late songs show that there was

something primal in Weyse's mode of expression which never abandoned him; on the contrary, at the close of his life he created works which were fully as valuable as the works of his youth".⁷¹

The morning songs were mentioned in the newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* on 16th September 1837:

For the benefit of the nurseries, a book has now been published and is available from all the booksellers of the city for 1 Mk: *Morgensange for Børn*, by Professor *B.S. Ingemann*. It could have been foreseen that so noble an enterprise as the organization of nurseries where the coming generation could be preserved in its flowering from oppression and depraved impressions, and where the first seed of its morality could be planted, would prosper and gain the sympathy of all Danes; but so fortunate a result as the establishment of the Copenhagen nurseries has achieved could hardly have been predicted. All classes have added their mite to this, including the poets, and this small collection of poems shows that the subject must have had a high significance that could fire the imagination of the poets. That same childlike, pure spirit that we have so often admired in Ingemann also shines forth here, and in the following three verses he has conveyed the gratitude of the small children to the benefactors of the nursery.⁷²

The article concludes with the last three stanzas of *Gud ske tak og lov* (God be praised this day).

Conclusion

Finally, I will cite three very different testimonials to the morning songs from our own century.

The first comes from the memoirs of the author *Tove Ditlevsen*. She was born in the very poorest part of Copenhagen in a home with slender means and no sort of spiritual ballast:

I am in my second year at school, and I want to write hymns, for they are the most beautiful things I know. On my first day at school we sang "God be praised this day, deep in dreams we lay" - and when we got to *nu som fuglen frisk, rask som havets fisk, morgensolen skinner gennem ruden* I was so happy and moved that I burst into tears, whereupon all the children laughed⁷³

In 1989, the bicentenary of Ingemann's birth, an anthology of Ingemann's poems was published. In the preface the editor, the author *Dan Turèll*, describes the morning and evening songs, "this Himmelbjerg [the highest point in Denmark] of Danish literature" as follows: "These songs are unique - magic, miraculous, visionary, sophisticated, primitive, consciousness-expanding and childlike all at once". He shows how Ingemann deliberately chose "the songbird stance" and then he tells the following anecdote from his own childhood:

I was about ten years old and a pupil at the Bakkegård school in Vangede. Every morning - as was the custom in the state schools then - we sang at assembly in the aula. One morning the headmaster had chosen "Angel Bright".

When I heard the first stanza:

Angel bright, through gates of light,
Passing in thy splendour!
Now confounded, shades of night
Must before thy fiery crown surrender!

- I fainted, for the first time in my life. I collapsed and was carried into a classroom, where I woke up a few minutes later, still mumbling - they said - about the angel of light".⁷¹

The last example is from my own experience. In 1989 I met a 94-year-old lady, *Elisabeth Aspel*. At her request the university extension centre Skærum Mølle in West Jutland had taken the initiative for an event, "Ingemann in words and music", which I was asked to supervise. In a subsequent conversation with Mrs Aspel, she told me about her long life as a teacher's wife and organist in the nearby village of Råsted. She had come there from Zealand in 1924, and adjusting to the harsh West Jutland environment had not been easy. She developed the habit of going with her husband to the morning assembly of the children. She recalled how generation after generation of children had embraced Ingemann and Weyse's "wonderful" songs, and the happiness and enrichment that the songs had given the children and herself. Her story was a new confirmation of what the morning songs have meant and - with the newspaper picture of the children of today in mind - can apparently still mean.

OTTOR MELLIORER

af
B. S. Jørgemanns

Morgensange for Børn

med
Accompagnement af Pianoforte
componeret

C. E. F. WEYSE.

Kjøbenhavn

1837.

Printet hos C. A. Reitzel for 24. Nbr.

W. G. Frederiksen, b. Skolebøgeri (C. Bergs gade N. 1)

Andante (No. 1)

Andante (No. 2)



2

Andantino (No. 3)

Nu længe al... le Guds Fag... le omade flyve fra Be... den og sju... ge, de p... ter Ver... te van

sødt de for... narnde i... k... ke for Et... vet og Lyset... med flitt... tede T... ge...

Andante (No. 4)

I O... sten søl... ger Sø... len og: den g... der Guld paa Bky, g... er

... det Hav... g... er... top... g... er... ver Land og By...

Andante (No. 5)

Gud s... T... og Lov! Vi sandt... l... t... hav! Baret... læs med... varme... Kind paa... Pa... den...

Nu som Fag... ten... træk! Luk... om... l... er... Flak! M... g... ten... l... t... g... en... Hu... den...

Moderato (No. 6)

M... g... stand... har Guld i... M... det M... g... sol... Guds Big... dem... N... id... op... luk...

... sid i... gyl... ne M... g... stand... fat... tig... t... Fag! H... za... le... ba... det Luk... l... er...

Moderato *No. 1*
 Nu stille tilhinde favre blomster smalt de munde tre fugle kalde paa hver
 an det ene lille Jordenes Bredderes Ojne og opslaaet na Børgen med Høns og Gevæl Yan det.
Andantino *No. 2*
 Her kan sid der du Mon den Tids kan seer over Mark og Kædet Det bliver saa stille en
 Parvordag nu Kommer den favre Tid, jeg ventet Man lina af.



The Morning Songs

The bells with clamour fill the sky

(Nu ringer alle klokker mod sky)

The bells with clamour fill the sky
 In kingdoms far and hamlets near.
 Each Sunday morning, heaven-high,
 Their laughter peals out loud and clear.

They fill the air with praise and prayer
 From earth below to Paradise;
 For on a Sunday morning fair
 Our Saviour from the tomb did rise.

For us the grave he did endure,
 And to the realm of death descend
 In Heaven's glory bright and pure
 To rise and live for us again.

There lay the light of all the world;
Now greater joy can no man know;
The joy that Sunday sun beheld
Has not its like on earth below.

Upon the stone an angel calm
Did sit amidst the lilies fair
And pointed with a branch of palm
To show the tomb was empty there.

And like the angels' song above
Great joy rang out from shore to shore.
The King of Life in arms of love
His children to bright Heaven bore.

His children shall with the angels pray,
Rejoicing in His Paradise;
For on a Sunday morning fair
Our Saviour from the tomb did rise.

Angel bright, through gates of light

(Lysets engel går med glans)

Angel bright, through gates of light,
Passing in thy splendour!
Now confounded, shades of night
Must before thy fiery crown surrender!

O'er the world the sun has soared,
Light of God unfolding.
Lo, the Angel of the Lord
Walks on clouds of gold for our beholding!

O'er the earth his radiant gaze
Shines on every nation;
In his mantle's gleaming rays
Heaven's light enfolds all glad creation.

Lowly hovel, royal hall,
Light to none denying,
Blessing all, both great and small,
Kissing child in cradle sweetly lying.

Us he likewise will enfold
In his mantle gleaming,
Angel from the realms of gold,
Angel with the light of Heaven beaming.

Us the loving Lord holds dear;
In each sunbeam glistening
To our souls the Lord is near,
To our happy morning song is listening.

The birds of morning at break of day

(Nu vågne alle Guds fugle små)

The birds of morning at break of day
Awaken and fly from their nests away,
And praising their Maker as well as they may
They sing
Of their joy in the life and the light that the sunbeams bring.

The swallow chirps from the church on high
While down in the farmyard the sparrows fly.
“Good morrow! Good morrow! The day is nigh!”
They call,
Then go winging their way in the praise of the Lord of all.

The Lord He lists to the small birds' cries,
Remembers each soul in His Paradise.
The praise of the poor He will never despise -
He hears!
And the song of the least of his creatures delights His ears.

Our song Thou hearest, O Lord of Love!
It rises to Thee in Thy home above.
While swallow and sparrow and linnets and dove
Rejoice,
In the throng of the morning Thou hearest Thy children's voice!

The sun arises in the east

(I østen stiger solen op)

The sun arises in the east,
It clothes the clouds in gold.
It sails o'er sea and mountain peak
And town and field and fold.

From yon fair shore where Eden lay
It brings unto us all
Delight in life and laughter gay
Alike to great and small.

It greets us still from that first dawn
That once in Eden glowed
And gilded the eternal fruit
Whence life unceasing flowed.

It greets us from the home of life
Where strongest shone God's light,
A Star of Bethlehem to guide
Three wise men through the night.

The Sun of God from eastern skies
His glory to us shows:
It shines from shores of Paradise
Where Eden's apple grows.

And lesser stars bow down their heads;
Yon eastern sun to them
Is like unto the fairest star
That shone o'er Bethlehem.

Thou Sun of Suns from Bethlehem,
Our praise will fill the skies
For radiance from the home of light,
From thy sweet Paradise!

God be praised this day

(Gud ske tak og lov)

God be praised this day!
Deep in dreams we lay;
Fast asleep with peaceful cheek on pillow.
Came the morning new;
Fresh its breezes blew,
Whispering through oak and ash and willow.

Softly glowed the sky,
Morning light was nigh.
Soon the living light of day was o'er us.
Cocks of morning crew,
Bade the night adieu,
Joining in the joyous morning chorus.

Now with spirit strong
Men who labour long
Poor but proud their children's bread are earning.
Wives of poor men too
Toil the long day through,
Late at e'en to home and hearth returning.

Ashes in the grate,
Closed and barred the gate;
Still a refuge shall not be denied us.
Father went his way,
Mother could not stay;
Loving hearts the Lord has sent to guide us.

E'en the tiny mouse
Has his lowly house;
Poorest sparrow has his dwelling humble;
In his nest so warm
Shelters from the storm;
Nor shall we in search of refuge stumble.

Sing, ye birds of morn!
Gaily greet the dawn!
Life and light are shining from God's Heaven!
Fresh the morning breeze
Whispers through the trees;
We have found the refuge love has given.

Rise and shine and gold is thine!

(Morgenstund har guld i mund)

Rise and shine and gold is thine!
Morning sun a treasure trove uncovers.
Clad in golden light divine
Humblest lark in heaven's glory hovers.

Morning gold is wealth untold;
Morning air sets morning cheeks a-glowing.
All creation's richest gold
Through the gates of Paradise is flowing.

Rise and shine in morningtime!
Soul, rejoice, as lark in sky rejoices!
Humblest souls with glory shine
When to realms of light they raise their voices.

The pretty little flowers are peeping all around

(Nu titte til hinanden de favre blomster smaa)

The pretty little flowers are peeping all around;
The merry birds are to each other calling.
Now wide awake we watch as across the dewy ground
The snail takes his house and goes a-crawling.

The Lord has clad in glory the lilies of the field;
The lowly worm is also in His keeping;
But most to Mankind's children His mercy is revealed;
His breath dries the eye that is weeping.

For Jesus was an infant and in a manger lay;
A bed of hay was all that He was given.
But in the life to come, His little ones will play
With garlands from meadows of Heaven.

The Son of God is mighty, he calmed the raging storms,
But fearless children at his knee did gather.
He loves the little child, and in his loving arms
Will bear him aloft to His Father.

O Lord, who gave Thy children the pledge of Paradise,
One morning fair Thy glory we shall see.
Thy children will adore Thee, our voices will rise
Forever to sing our song in praise of Thee.

Spring song

(Storken sidder på bondens tag)

See the stork on the farmer's thatch,
This blessed springtime morning,
O'er field and meadow he keeps his watch
To welcome the lightsome time so long a-borning.

Hear the stork as he chatters now
To cuckoo in forest calling;
Walpurgis is here with her May-green bough
And sparkling Whitsun light on billows falling.

Now the stork from the farmhouse flies
And struts in the meadows of morning;
He comes as our guest as the Maytime nighs;
He brings us the lightsome time so long a-borning.

Harvest comes and the stork's away,
And long we await his returning;
O fair-weather friend, too short is your stay
And now for the lightsome time my heart is yearning.

(Translated by James Manley)

NOTES

1. The following morning songs are available in other English translations: No. 1, *Now bells are ringing far and wide* and No. 7, *The flowers now awaken* (P.C. Paulsen) in *Hymnal for Church and Home*, 4th ed., 1942; No. 4, *The sun is rising in the east* (J.C. Aaberg) in *A World of Song*, Iowa 1958. The last two are also in *Songs from Denmark*, 1992. No. 8, *See the stork on the farmer's roof* (Arne Pedersen) in *Favourite Songs of Denmark*, 1992. I thank Peter Balslev Clausen for his help.
2. Galster 1927, 108.
3. Hossy 1986, 629. On the situation in the foreign nurseries, p. 634.
4. Rosendal 1915, 103.
5. *Breve fra I.C. v. Rosenørn til Lucie Ingemann*, Ny kgl. Saml. 3826. The letters quoted here are dated Copenhagen 30/12/1839 and 28/1/1840.
6. The melody is "Den gl. danske Folkevise om Tovelille" (the old Danish ballad of Tovelille), *Sange til Skolebrug udgivne af A.P. Berggreen, 1ste Samling for tre og fire eensartede Stemmer*, Copenhagen 1844, p. 24.
7. Rosendal 1915, 47.
8. Rosendal 1915, 57.
9. Copenhagen 28/1/1840, note 5.
10. Copenhagen 30/12/1839, note 5.
11. Copenhagen 28/2/1842, Heise 1881, 30.
12. Pontoppidan 1898, 43.
13. Barfod 1924, 67.
14. See for example Pontoppidan 1898, 36. and Boisen 1862, 6.

15. Rosendal 1915, 84.
16. Fabritius-Riis-Kornerup 1973, 168. It is evident from this work that Christian VIII received Ingemann as a dinner guest, and that the King was an avid reader of his historical novels.
17. Heise 1879, 160.
18. Ingemann 1864, 120.
19. Heise 1879, 162.
20. Heise 1879, 189.
21. Galster 1927, 109.
22. Rosen 1881, 22. The whole song can be found in B.S. Ingemann: *Folkedands-Viser og Blandede Digte*, 1842, 163.
23. Ingemann 1848.
24. Rørdam 1891, 87.
25. Marcus 1965, 262. Marie Rørdam (1834-1915), daughter of the poet Carsten Hauch, married to Thomas Skat Rørdam. On Peter Heise, see Hetsch 1930, 61.
26. Galster 1927, 108.
27. Billeskov Jansen 1958, 351. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, II, 122.
28. Rørdam 1891, 88.
29. Rosendal 1915, 84.
30. DBL/2, XX, 32.
31. Barfod 1884, 17.
32. Galster 1927, 108.
33. Rørdam 1891, 95.
34. Galster 1927, 110.
35. Holst 1984, 359.
36. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, II, 120.
37. Berggreen 1876, 98. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, II, 91 and 121.
38. According to Weyse's letters his acquaintance with Thomas Thaarup and C.F. Boye, for example, was quite slight. For a period he had a slightly closer relationship with Adam Oehlenschläger.
39. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, I, 115-16.
40. *Ibid.*, I, 109.
41. *Ibid.*, I, 110.
42. *Ibid.*, I, 111.
43. Cf. note 5. I thank Louise Arnheim for help with reading the letter.
44. Berggreen 1876, 12.
45. *Ibid.*, 33.
46. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, I, 28.
47. *Ibid.*, I, 29.
48. Fich 1909, 102.
49. *Ibid.*, 129.
50. I thank Henrik Glahn for referring me to Berggreen 1836.
51. Ingemann 1862, 68.
52. Hossy 1986, 632.
53. Berggreen 1876, 20.
54. Ingemann 1989, 43.
55. Brix 1912, 95.
56. Larsen 1942, 39.
57. Hossy 1986, 632.
58. Brandes 1899, 460.
59. Rønning 1927, 263.
60. Supplement to *Den Danske Salmebog*, 1994, No. 755, translated into Danish by Johannes Jørgensen and Johannes Johansen.
61. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, I, 108.

62. Ibid., I, 116.
63. Krogh 1955, 125. For referring me to Ingemann's letter to J.P.E. Hartmann I thank Inger Sørensen.
64. Quoted from Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, II, 121.
65. Larsen 1942, 39.
66. Heise 1881, 1.
67. Ibid., 3.
68. 28/1/1840, note 5.
69. Heise 1879, 452.
70. Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, I, 109.
71. Schjørring 1977/78, 2, 178.
72. Ingemann 1945, 55.
73. Ditlevsen 1967, 29.
74. Turéll 1989, 15.