The Reception of Beethoven in Copenhagen in the 19th Century

By Niels Krabbe

I. Introduction

> Bekanntlich kommt für die meiste Musik, die etwas taugt, einmal der fatale Zeitpunkt, wo sie sich, wie man so sagt, "durchsetzt", also ihre revolutionäre Funktion einbüßt und zum Kulturgut neutralisiert wird. Die gesellschaftliche Einrichtung, die diesen infolge der Widerborstigkeit der besseren Werke oft überaus langwierigen, doch im Interesse des Fortbestehens der herrschenden Verhältnisse offenbar unersetzlichen Prozess zuwege zu bringen hat, is das offizielle Musikleben, das zu diesem Zweck denn auch subventioniert wird.[1]

To call this article a historical outline of the reception of Beethoven would undoubtedly be an overstatement. Reception history has more at heart than the simple registration of performances, audience support, familiarity with works, points of contact between different musicians and composers etc. True reception scholarship investigates how and why a work, a repertoire or a composer's whole oeuvre is subject to changing evaluations among the recipients, and has had changing meanings for composers of later times and for the perception of other music in later times; in short, how it has - patently or implicitly - become part of the development of musical culture. It studies the complex interrelations between an object of art which in itself is in a sense immutable, and the reception conditions of changing times - that is, the interplay between the preserved music on the one hand, and the social, historical, aesthetic and other approaches to music

in any given period on the other. As Carl Dahlhaus has pointed out half regretfully and half polemically, it also reveals what he calls the *Autoritätschwund* of the work of art, and this we have to take on board with the rest.[2] It is a commonplace to say that no Beethoven work can maintain its authority, after 200 years, in a musical and cultural context which in every conceivable respect is radically different from the one in which the work was composed. Its neutralization to the status of a *cultural asset* (cf. the quotation above) is a process that has gone on since Beethoven's time until the present day.

In his reception research on Beethoven, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht has almost exclusively dealt with verbal discussion of Beethoven's music down through the generations, and he systematizes this discourse in a number of conceptual fields which remain more or less constant throughout history. Eggebrecht's "reception constants" include *Erlebensmusik, Überwinden, Zeitlosigkeit, Benutzbarkeit* and many others.[3] Of these unchanging conceptual fields Eggebrecht says:

> Und von diesen Konstanten behaupte ich, daß sie nicht auf subjektiver Willkür, geschichtsbedingten Prädispositionen, Gruppen- und Klassenbildungen oder auf erstarrten Topoi beruhen, sonder daß sie in ihrer alle geschichtlichen und personellen Diversitäten überdauernden und überschwemmenden Konstanz Beethoven als das erfassen und zu erkennen geben, was er ist, zumal es sich erwies, daß eben diese Konstanten in Beethovens eigenen verbalen Äußerungen bereits angelegt sind.[1]

At first glance such a view would seem to contradict the claim that the reception of music is conditioned by cultural, aesthetic, social and historical changes. This is not the place to enter into a more detailed discussion of the apparent contradiction; it should simply be noted that Eggebrecht's reception constants are so generalized and their specific meanings themselves so dependent on the contexts in which they are postulated, that it is perhaps only that - an *apparent* contradiction. It is hardly surprising that Beethoven reception in Denmark, too, is dominated by Eggebrecht's reception constants, although the empirical material collected so far is scanty. But if reception research on an empirical basis is to have any meaning in the longer term, an interpretation of the empirical material is inevitable. And as a corollary, a reception history will degenerate into pure speculation if it is not empirically grounded.

In the following I will provide an overview of some of the empirical material that can shed light on the reception of Beethoven in the 19th century, with the

main emphasis on the first half of the century, pieced together with details from a number of scattered sources. No general account of Beethoven and Denmark, of the same type as Carsten E. Hatting's book on Mozart and Denmark,[5] is available. The closest one can come is Sigurd Berg's article in his own and Torben Krogh's book on the Ninth Symphony,[6] and a section of Nils Schiørring's Danish history of music.[7] One might of course ask whether Beethoven's relationship with Denmark is as "interesting" as Mozart's. For good reasons we cannot produce a Husband No. 2 for the grieving widow! Nor did Beethoven play any role for Kierkegaard; nor do we seem to have produced any epoch-making contribution to Beethoven research or the understanding of Beethoven, with the possible exception of William Behrend's book on the piano sonatas from 1923,[8] and there seem to be no prospects either of an unknown symphony by the maestro surfacing at the Odense City Hall in the immediate future.

All things considered, Beethoven's impact in Denmark is perhaps not so different from his impact elsewhere in Europe. At least from 1814 on, when he basked in the reflected glory of the crowned heads at the Congress of Vienna, Beethoven enjoyed international fame as the undisputed musical master of the age. Nevertheless there was still quite some distance from Vienna to Copenhagen in the first half of the 19th century. Between the Copenhagen musical milieu and Leipzig - and to some extent Berlin - there were strong links; but Vienna was something quite different. It may therefore make sense to comb widespread and unconnected sources for details which, when gathered together, can give us a picture of Beethoven's relationship with Copenhagen and the musical life of the city. Perhaps it adds less to the history of Beethoven than to the history of music in Denmark - to paraphrase Carsten E. Hatting's methodological deliberations in the above-mentioned book on Mozart and Denmark; a book which incidentally provided inspiration and an incentive to the present study.[9]

In such a study one cannot skirt the issue of representativity. It might be tempting to dwell on a detail because it is "interesting"; but if the interesting detail is to have significance in the wider context, one must constantly assess whether it is "characteristic".

If this presentation concentrates on the 19th century (with the main emphasis on the first half of the century), it is due to the development of musical culture itself. With the development of the infrastructure of Europe in the 20th century, and first and foremost with the development of mass media like radio and the gramophone, it is no longer meaningful to talk about a specifically "Danish", not to mention "Copenhagen" reception of Beethoven. In this as in many other respects growing internationalization blurs any national distinctions there might

have been! In addition - not least when we apply the Copenhagen perspective to the material - with the death of N.W. Gade in 1890 and J.P.E. Hartmann in 1900 an epoch in the history of music in Copenhagen was over. Their contemporaries too experienced it this way. As Charles Kjerulf put it in the newspaper *Politiken* on 9.1.1893:

> With the death of Gade, time has now truly left its mark. There is a gaping hole where he stood. It lets in the draught, the chilly drifts, but light and air too it lets in, and in the end that is perhaps no harmful thing.

On the next New Year's Day Kjerulf repeated this view in his review of Danish music in the previous year:

> The death of Gade was the visible turning-point, the parting of the ways. So great and crucial was his importance to our whole musical life, that a whole new epoch must follow after.

II. 1800-1836

Beethoven's music in print

The first time Copenhageners could buy a Danish printed edition of a work by Beethoven was in 1804. It was an amputated version of the *Terzettino* from the ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* from 1801, with a number of omissions from the original, printed in one of the many music periodicals that had flooded the Copenhagen music market since 1795. This form of publication had been known abroad for about a century, but everywhere the genre saw a huge boom in the last decades of the 18th century, with the establishment of a general musical public.[10] Throughout the 19th century a profusion of these periodicals appeared in Copenhagen, each consisting of a multiplicity of the favourite genres of the day in the form of one-movement piano pieces, operatic selections for piano, potpourris, dances etc. In this kind of repertoire Beethoven played a relatively modest role, yet it is evident that he was represented by a few works.[11]

Such music periodicals, combined with catalogues of the leading subscription libraries of the city, as well as sales catalogues from publishers and music dealers, constitute important source material for the clarification of the dissemination of sheet music among the *connoisseurs* and *amateurs* of the day. For all three source

types there are full indices permitting detailed repertoire analyses.[12] Common to these sources is the fact that they all made their impact at more or less the same time, just before 1800, at the very time when Beethoven was gradually making his appearance on the Copenhagen musical scene. Another common feature is that they all came from music dealers and publishers - that is, from people who made their living from selling music - and that their content must therefore be supposed to have been subject to ordinary market conditions. This is not documentation in the modern bibliographical sense, but advertising of goods the seller thought could be sold to the public. It reflects the general musical taste of the period in the same way as a modern CD catalogue reflects that of our own period.

The material has already been thoroughly edited by Dan Fog, and here I will only single out some of the most important items of information the material can provide about the transmission of Beethoven's music - based in all essentials on Dan Fog's work.

Portrait of Beethoven, as Copenhageners could see him depicted in the periodical Figaro *published by Georg Carstensen in 1841.*

The subscription libraries were the public libraries of the age. In England the idea had caught on in literature as early as the first half of the 18th century with the rise of the reading public. In Denmark too such subscription libraries were known, but they do not seem to have played any great role in the circulation of literature, perhaps because that function was performed instead by the libraries of the literary clubs, and later by the actual readers' societies that formed the setting for Copenhagen literary club life.[13]

But for music the subscription libraries were of crucial importance; they began to appear shortly after 1800 and had their prime in the decades around the mid-century.[14] For a modest regular payment one could borrow sheet music from the huge selection made available by the city libraries and carefully registered in the impressive catalogues issued by each of the big firms (10,000 titles per catalogue was not unusual, and a few had over 20,000 titles). In certain libraries it was part of the annual subscription terms that selected music became the property of the subscriber.

Not surprisingly, the great bulk of the items were piano music, either original piano works or all sorts of arrangements for two hands, four hands, six hands and even eight hands. But chamber music and orchestral works with the original instrumentation were also offered for hire. The most important target of the catalogues - the homes of the music-making bourgeoisie - is clearly reflected in the fact that it was as late as 1875 before a catalogue explicitly distinguished between original piano music and arrangements for piano.[15] Beethoven is richly represented alongside the favourite salon composers of the lighter brigade, and from about 1860 pretty well all of Beethoven's works in the genres piano sonata, string trio, string quartet, piano concerto, overture and symphony could be rented in Copenhagen in arrangements or in the original.[16] Some of the catalogues could almost be used as worklists of Beethoven's oeuvre.

On the basis of the existing sources it is not possible to determine the scope of the borrowing. As far as we know, no lending statistics or other material that could document the actual use of the material has been preserved. In the 1920s some of the music was transferred to the *Statsbibliotek* in Århus, but its physical state provides no conclusive evidence of its use, if only because it had been stored in wretched conditions over the preceding decades. Yet in the sober commercial perspective there is no reason to doubt that the subscription libraries were an extremely important - and little heeded - source for the dissemination of Beethoven's music among the Copenhagen citizenry throughout much of the last century.

From the music dealers' sales catalogues, too, we can obtain an impression of the spread of Beethoven's music. These catalogues are not as comprehensive as those of the subscription libraries; on the other hand there are more of them, and they began appearing a few years earlier. Everything indicates that the first documented evidence of Beethoven in Denmark comes from one of these early publishers' catalogues - Søren Sønnichsen's sales catalogue of 1787.[17] Here we find just one of Beethoven's works, the three early sonatas for piano (WoO 47), incorrectly listed as having a violin part *ad libitum*, at a time when he must have been totally unknown in Copenhagen. This is the printed edition, published four years earlier, of Beethoven's debut work, dedicated to the Elector of Cologne, with the famous - but erroneous - statement that the composer was just eleven years old. In this period it was an isolated occurrence, and a further twelve years were to pass before a Copenhagen publisher again offered works by Beethoven for sale.[18] But then progress was rapid, and his music assumed a prominent position in the publishers' catalogues, and the leading Danish music dealer of the beginning of the 19th century, C.C. Lose, even ventured to *publish* a number of minor works as

a supplement to the many foreign editions in his assortment. Lose began cautiously with a few Beethoven pieces in the periodicals he published, but in 1817 he issued - for the first time as independent publications - Danish editions of two of the master's works, the march from Act One of *Fidelio* and the piano variations WoO 64. Apart from these scattered beginnings, it was only after Beethoven's death in 1827 that the Danish Beethoven editions really began to flow. The most ambitious of these publishing projects was Horneman and Erslev's collected edition of the piano sonatas, offered on subscription in 1847 with 15 batches in all - one a month at a subscription rate of 1 Rbdl. per batch.[19]

We can thus state that the Copenhagen public had good opportunities, from the very beginning of the century, either to rent or buy Beethoven's music, primarily for home use at the piano. There is nothing in the source material to suggest that the situation in the Danish capital in this respect differed from the situation elsewhere - and indeed it would be surprising if that had been the case, given Beethoven's early international breakthrough.

Concert activities until 1836

One's first impression might be that symphonic music from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century only gained a foothold in Copenhagen musical life with the establishment of *Musikforeningen* in 1836. This view is strikingly put - and undoubtedly exaggerated - in an article in *Politiken* on 6th March 1886, the day after the 50th anniversary of the society:

> And was there a need for such a society? Yes - for people had no opportunity to hear truly good music then. One may well say that concerts given by travelling virtuosi were not rare occurrences; but they were as a rule jingle-jangle, technique without feeling, tours de force that had little to do with true art. However, the public was grateful, and gave as much applause to travelling virtuosi as to travelling mechanicals who gave performances - even at the Royal Theatre - with great artificial barrel-organs, chordaulodions, salpingions and whatever else such odd instruments might be called. The few really musical people of those days took their pleasure in the art of music *at home.*

In his Hartmann biography Richard Hove touched on the same problem. He spoke of "the long music-parched interval from 1814 to 1836" and further claimed

that "Beethoven represented a modernism and inaccessibility of which it is extremely difficult for us to have any notion now". Moreover, he went so far as to say that "in the period from 1814, when Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony was performed, until the foundation of *Musikforeningen,* it is unlikely that any of the symphonies had been performed in its entirety in this country".[20] As we shall see, other performances of Beethoven's symphonies are in fact documented from the period in question.

The impression of the slightly provincial musical situation in Copenhagen in the first decades of the century is confirmed when we read the scattered accounts of it that had appeared at regular intervals in the respected Leipzig music periodical *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* ever since it was founded in 1799. The earliest of these accounts in the first volume of the periodical is loud in the praises of the musical scene in Copenhagen, but from 1812 the periodical changes its tune. Until 1833 it periodically laments the state of concert activities: the programming is uninteresting, good music cannot be heard outside the Royal Theatre, several times the writers revert to the regrettable fact that symphonies are not performed in their entirety at the Copenhagen concerts - all this, claim the accounts, to pander to the public and ensure profits for the organizers.[21] A similar note was struck by the Copenhagen press; in 1822, for example, perhaps with some slight exaggeration:

> In no capital of Europe does music have more admirers and votaries than in Copenhagen; but occasions to hear good music have unfortunately, as an effect of the conditions of the times, become rarer and rarer recently.[22]

But things were not quite that bad, and closer scrutiny of the advertisements for public concerts (including those of the Royal Theatre) and the repertoire of the musical societies reveals a subtler picture than is evident from the above.

The concert advertisements in *Adresseavisen,* which normally only mentioned public concerts, and thus not the concerts in the musical societies, give a very mixed picture of Copenhagen concert activities in the first 30-40 years of the 19th century; and in the period 1811-1828 there were in fact several years where there were no advertisements for concerts at all in *Adresseavisen.* But in some periods the public did have the opportunity to hear proper concerts - even outside the Royal Theatre and the musical societies. Yet Beethoven appears very rarely in these programmes: an overture now and again, *Wellington's Victory* (Court Theatre 1834) and on rare occasions chamber works (the piano quintet op. 16 and the septet op.

20 in 1807, the string quartet op. 18 no. 4 and the trio op. 1 no. 2 at the Hotel d'Angleterre in the 1840s). Two more prominent events must be singled out in this connection - although quite different in character: the performance at d'Angleterre in 1837 of the Second Symphony on the mechanical instrument the *Symphonium,*[23] invented by the acoustician F. Kaufmann, and Clara Schumann's last concert in Copenhagen in 1842, where she played the piano sonata in C# minor op. 27.2.

The musical societies were past their prime, but it was still possible for the members to hear good music, as is evident from the following overview of major Beethoven performances in the decades before the establishment of *Musikforeningen* in a number of the leading societies.

Selskabet til Musikens Udbredelse

Founded c. 1820: 12 concerts in the course of the winter. An amateur society (in 1821 there were 300 members and 100 players), where only bassoons and trombones were played by professionals; the concerts were given at the Court Theatre; existed until and including the 1825/26 season.[24]

Christus am Ölberge (winter 1820-21); first performance in Copenhagen. The choir (50-strong) is particularly praised; tactfully the reviewer refrains from mentioning the amateur soloists by name.

Piano Concerto, C minor (winter 1820-21), performed at the same concert "mit vielem Geschmack, Kraft und Zartheit von einer Dilettantin vorgetragen".[25]

Symphony No. 2 in D major (mentioned in *AMZ).*

Fidelio Overture, no. 1

Det Venskabelige Selskab

Founded in 1793. According to Ravn 1886 one of the societies whose musical activities were kept alive longest.

Mass in C major, op. 86 (1817 and 1821?). In connection with both performances the Danish text was published in L.C. Sander's translation, the first time as *Kyrie Eleison,* the second time as *Hymne No. 1.*[26] The performance was clearly only of part of the mass, which had appeared in Germany both with the Latin

liturgical text and in a German translation, and was launched as "three hymns". It is thus the first of these "hymns" (i.e. the Kyrie and Gloria) that was performed in Copenhagen.
Egmont Overture, advertised in *Adresseavisen* No. 30, 1823.

Det harmoniske selskab

1778 to c. 1828. The leading musical society of the city.

Symphony No. 6 (advertised in *Adresseavisen* No. 47, 1814 as "New Pastoral Symphony by Beethoven"; the first performance of the work in Denmark.
Symphony No. 7 (advertised in *Adresseavisen* No. 235, 1814 as "new grand symphony comp. by L. van Beethoven (not previously performed)".
Piano Concerto (according to *Dagen* No. 241, 1815, performed at M. Foght's concert by "talented amateurs").
Choral Fantasia opus 80, performed in December 1817.[27] Text printed in L.C. Sander's Danish translation under the title *Tonekunstens Magt* (The Power of Music).

Det forenede musikalske Selskab

1787 - c. 1820; the articles of the society, stating guidelines for the behaviour of the members and the organization of the music in minute detail, were published in 1796.[28]

Egmont Overture and "grand rondo brillant for pianoforte" performed in November 1827 - the only documented Beethoven work from this society.[29]

The Royal Theatre

The Royal Theatre was the city's biggest concert venue and the most important meeting-place for the musical public. In his Mozart book Carsten E. Hatting has described the importance the place had for the Copenhagen bourgeois and higher civil servant classes,[30] and in this connection it is worth recalling that it was not only music drama that was performed at the Theatre. Symphonies and other non-dramatic works also found their way to the Royal Theatre, not least because

the Theatre had the city's best, most professional orchestra. Performances like these were given in three different contexts: the "Widows' Pension Fund" concerts, instrumental music between the acts of the plays, and proper concerts at the Theatre with the Royal Orchestra, sometimes featuring guest musicians. All in all, one must probably say that this was where Beethoven's music had the best performance conditions in the first decades of the century. It was in fact at a Widows' Pension Fund concert that Copenhageners first made the acquaintance of a symphony by Beethoven. Along with Mozart's *Requiem* and Du Puy's double concerto for two violins, his First Symphony was performed in April 1803, exactly three years after its premiere in Vienna.[31] V.C. Ravn claims that it was not much of a success, since eight years had to pass before the Orchestra put another Beethoven symphony on the programme.[32] In his copious handwritten notes for his book of 1886, Ravn listed the concerts at the Royal Theatre in the period 1803-27 where Beethoven was on the programme.[33] It is not always possible to determine *which* symphony was played; but according to Ravn a Beethoven symphony was performed in the following years: 1803 (First Symphony), 1811, 1812, 1814 (Sixth Symphony), 1815, 1816, 1817 (Seventh Symphony) and 1821 (Sixth Symphony). Later the Third and Fifth Symphonies were added; in the Theatre's large collection *Simphonier for Kapellet* of 150 symphonies and 76 overtures, now in the Royal Library, Beethoven is represented by Symphonies 3-6 and a couple of overtures; the symphonies were bought for the purpose by the Orchestra Manager A.W. Hauch in Vienna in 1814 when he was attending the Congress of Vienna in the company of Frederik VI.[34] It can be difficult today to imagine the effect of such Beethoven symphonies between performances of lightweight one-act vaudevilles and the like. But that is in fact how they were used. For example Franz Glæser, shortly after his appointment as *kapelmester*, had the *Pastoral Symphony* performed between the plays *Christen og Christine* and *Fristelsen* (The Temptation), as is evident from the poster for the show (see illustration 2). There was apparently some disagreement about the appropriateness of this practice. The musicians probably found it inconvenient to appear at the Theatre too when there were plays on the programme, and in *Musikalsk Tidende* of 1836, a general lament over the scarcity of occasions for hearing good symphonies in Copenhagen states briefly and simply: "We know, after all, that what is played between the acts of plays is not heard".[35] As late as 1859 the issue was raised again, this time in *Tidsskrift for Musik* No. 9. It was emphasized as a benefit that one could now see from the posters what would be played between the acts, but the writer of the reader's letter in question complained that it was simply too much for the audience that they were burdened with music at a time when they should more

properly seek the "necessary calm" before the next act. To this the editor answered that in his view it depended not on *how often* music was played, but on *what* was played.[36]

One can hardly imagine *Eroica* being used this way. Its first performance in Denmark took place in the Theatre at an evening of entertainment in March 1836, and prompted a number of reflections in *Musikalsk Tidende* about the audience's incomprehension of the work.[37] The explanation, according to the reviewer (presumably the editor A.P. Berggreen himself), was that the public rarely had the opportunity to hear such great symphonies - not least Beethoven's symphonies - and would therefore have difficulty "grasping the train of ideas in such a composition". Again, in other words, we find laments over the standard of Copenhagen musical life.

Tirsdagen den 6te September 1842, Kl. 7,
opføres paa det kongelige Theater:

Christen og Christine,

dramatisk Idyl i 1 Act, efter Scribes og Dupins "Michel et Christine," ved Hr. Professor, Ridder J. L. Heiberg.

Personerne:

Stanislaus, Grenadeer	Hr. Stage.
Christine, en ung Værtshuusholderske	Md. Larcher.
Christen, hendes Fætter	Hr. Phister.
Vilhelm, Opvarter i Værtshuset	— Møller.

Handlingen foregaaer i en Landsby.

Derpaa:

Pastoral-Sinfonie eller Erindring fra Landlivet,

stort musicalsk Tonemalerie i 5 Afdelinger, af Ludvig van Beethoven, udføres, under Anførsel af Hr. Capelmester Glæser, af det hele kongelige Capel.

Indhold:

1) Allegro, ma non moto. Vækkelsen af glade Følelser paa Landet; 2) Andante con moto. Scene ved Bækken; 3) Allegro. Landboernes muntre Sammenkomst; 4) Allegro. Uveir, Storm; 5) Allegretto. Hyrdesang; glade og taknemmelige Følelser efter Uveiret.

Derefter:

Fristelsen,

Skuespil i 1 Act af Forfatteren til „Indqvarteringen".

Poster for Franz Glæser's performance of the Pastoral Symphony *at The Royal Theatre as an "interval piece" between the two one-acters* Christen and Christine *and* Fristelsen.

It would take us too far here to go into detail about the many other works by Beethoven which were performed in the 1810s and 1820s at the Royal Theatre. The dominant genres were - not surprisingly - the overtures and a broad selection of the chamber music, but with one striking exception: the string quartet was not represented at all. In addition there were a couple of performances of the very popular *Wellington's Victory* (in 1822 and 1837).

However, one particular performance must finally be discussed in more detail, since it brought a response from the specialist journals. This was the oratorio *Christus am Ölberge*, performed at a Widows' Pension Fund concert in the cathedral Vor Frue Kirke in April 1836 with Kunzen's *Skabningens Hallelujah* (The Hallelujah of Creation).[38] The concert was fully discussed in Berggreen's *Musikalsk Tidende*, and the fundamental reflections on the concept of *sacred style* are particularly interesting. The reviewer criticizes Beethoven's choice of stylistic resources in this allegedly sacred work, and discusses which kinds of music are at all suitable for

performance in church. *Christus am Ölberge* does not fall into this category:

> ...excellent as this music is, both with respect to the expressiveness of the melodies, the richness of the harmony and the originality of the instrumentation - yet some of it is in so theatrical a style, that this composition thus becomes quite inappropriate in the church...[39]

To this it must be remarked that the critic was barking up the wrong tree. Beethoven's work is *not* a sacred work, nor is it a traditional Christian statement; it is rather one among many of Beethoven's works from the years of crisis and clarification c. 1802-1805, when he was so concerned with the *role of the hero* and the *death of the hero.* It is a misunderstanding to perform it in a church, and it can also be noted that the first performance in Vienna was at Beethoven's Academy in April 1803, with the Second Symphony and the Third Piano Concerto, and that a later performance in 1815 took place at a benefit concert, were it was played alongside *Zur Namensfeier,* op. 115, and *Meerestille und glückliche Fahrt.* op. 112. *Christus am Ölberge* is no more sacred music than oratorios by composers like Haydn and Händel, and it is equally inappropriate for performance in a church.

Fidelio

Fidelio was not a success when the Copenhageners had their first opportunity to attend a performance in September 1829 - nor did the work really appeal to public taste in later revivals in the course of the 19th century.[40] In fact the opera was only performed a total of 25 times before 1900, and it was as late as 1966 before the opera had its 100th performance at the Royal Theatre.[41] The premiere took place at a time when the atmosphere of the Theatre was blighted by plotting and bickering.[42] And judging from the Theatre accounts, it was an extremely austere production which recycled sets from other productions, with total expenditure on scenery of 1 Rdl and 3 Marks. By comparison, the sets for Bournonville's ballet *Søvngiængersken* (The Sleepwalker), premiered the week after *Fidelio,* was 311 Rdl., 4 Marks and 2 Skillings.[43] In the records of the Royal Theatre one can follow the five performances of the season. After each performance the laconic comment is: "All took its due course" - a statement to which one should probably not attach too much importance, however. The Theatre management was not wholly satisfied, and they tried several stratagems to boost audience interest. At the third performance they preceded the opera with a small French one-acter, *The Partition,* which

had been in the repertoire since its premiere 23 years before![14] It does not appear to have helped, so they made a new attempt. At the next performance they deigned to indulge the general fondness of the age for Tyrolese song, and for the occasion had hired the Tyrolese Franzel, Bartha and Anton Leo to perform "national" songs, the titles of which are carefully noted in the records.[15] Then *Fidelio* was taken off the bill. Six months before, another Tyrolese group had performed at a concert of *Det harmoniske Selskab* at the Court Theatre with a mixed programme consisting of the overture to *The Magic Flute* and various national songs "with yodelling",[16] so the audience knew what it was in for, and indeed the fourth performance of *Fidelio* had the highest box-office takings hitherto - a modest 324 Rdl.[17] "After the solemn tones of Beethoven, a merry Tyrolese yodel - it was a combination that was to the taste of the audience...", as the theatre historian P. Hansen sarcastically observed.[18]

In an interesting exchange of letters between the actor and assistant director J.C. Ryge and the Theatre Director D. Manthey, they discuss whether the costumes in *Fidelio* should represent the present day or older times. One might expect that the problem was due to the political message of the plot, but the correspondence shows that it was prompted by purely practical considerations: with halberds, the chorus singers would be better able "without previous repeated practice", as Ryge's letter says, to move around on the stage than if they were furnished with more contemporary guns.[19]

In its report on the previous season in Copenhagen, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* took its point of departure in this *Fidelio* production and published a crushing review of the opera at the Royal Theatre: the performance reveals a fatal shortage of Danish singers who can be used in the great classical repertoire, and the public reacts by staying away. The reviewer actually thinks that the public should be grateful that *Fidelio* was the only new production in the whole autumn season of 1829. He even advises the management "die Oper so lange zu suspendieren, bis sie in den Stand gesetzt worden, neue und vorzügliche Subjecte zu engagieren, und sich für den Augenblick auf Vaudevillen oder höchstens auf kleine Operetten zu beschränken". Hard words about the Copenhagen music situation in the leading German music periodical of the age. And to make matters worse the article was even reproduced in *Kjøbenhavnsposten*![20]

A few years later, in 1836, A.P. Berggreen made an attempt to interest the public in Beethoven's opera in his periodical *Musikalsk Tidende*, by translating and publishing Ludwig Rellstab's ten-year-old ecstatic description of *Fidelio*, where the fictive artist's unforgettable experience of the opera is linked with his almost Werther-like captivation by a young girl:

> The whole opera appears to me to be a miracle. For it seems to me as if it has been created by a human being who yearns for an alien something, a heavenly beauty whose existence he glimpses - but which he cannot capture.[51]

His own experience of the performance is described in parallel with the girl's reactions, by which he is profoundly stirred, and at the end of the work it culminates in the exclamation:

> And now, oh song of joy through tears, oh blessed greeting from the beyond: "O namen - namenlose Freude!" - Silent! My heart breaks in the strong yearning of bliss, in the storm of rapture!
> And it is long past midnight; so enough! - The moon is rising!

Following up the five performances in the 1858-59 season the Theatre attempted a more prosaic propaganda campaign. Immanuel Ree's *Tidsskrift for Musik* Nos. 2-7 for 1859 featured a long article on Beethoven's opera, finishing with the following characteristic remark:

> The inclusion of *Fidelio* in the repertoire is a notable event in the annals of the Royal Theatre, and the management deserves as much appreciation because this work *has been* played, as strict censure because after only five performances it is *not to be played* more often.[52]

The article itself begins with a historical account of the origin of the work, the different versions and the four overtures. There follows a detailed musical discussion, number by number, and the article concludes with a review of the performance at the Royal Theatre. Considering the problems that singers, audiences, opera directors and others have had with the work since its appearance, the evaluation of the work given *here* is quite striking:

> ...we assert that *Fidelio* as a musico-dramatic work of art on the one hand towers above all its predecessors and on the other hand has not been excelled by any of its successors.

Not many opera connoisseurs since have been able to agree.

It should be added that the article in *Tidsskrift for Musik* is said to be based on the German book published the same year by C.E.R. Alberti about Beethoven as a

dramatic composer,[53] and that the periodical editor begins by ascribing to the performance of *Fidelio* at the Theatre such importance that as editor he is making an exception from the magazine's normal practice of not devoting much column space to opera reviews.

As is evident from the above, the Royal Theatre was indisputably the institution that meant most, in the years before the foundation of *Musikforeningen,* for the dissemination of knowledge of Beethoven's music among the Copenhagen bourgeoisie. There one could experience at first hand the music one had perhaps formed an impression of from piano duos at home. Because of the historical position of the Theatre, its economic potential, the size of the audience space, its musical resources and the very nature of Beethoven's music, no other Copenhagen enterprise could contend with it.

Kuhlau

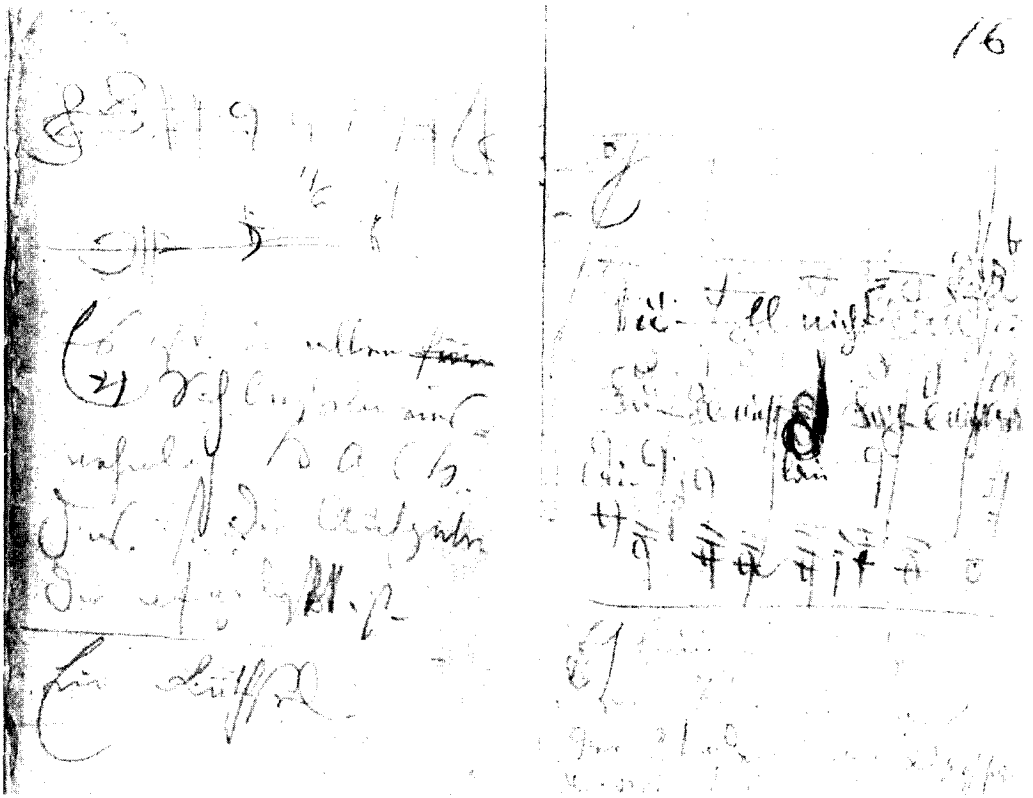
Kuhlau came to Copenhagen in 1810, at a time when the musical horizons of the pace-setting circles appears to have been rather limited; and if we are to believe Carl Thrane's very categorical description, it was not least Kuhlau's work that helped to open the eyes of the Copenhageners to the new currents in European music. "The great significance of Kuhlau in Denmark is that through him the new broke through in our music", Thrane claims in bold type.[54] It has often been pointed out how Weyse was Mozart's standard-bearer in Copenhagen, while Kuhlau was Beethoven's. For Weyse this distribution of roles seems to have meant a certain blindness to the expressiveness of Beethoven's music, while in Kuhlau we do not find a similar rejection of Mozart. On the contrary, Kuhlau was a great admirer of Mozart, although at an early stage Beethoven became his great model. Immediately after his debut concert in Copenhagen in January 1811 he constantly put Beethoven's works in his concert programmes: the chamber music, the concertos and on one occasion in December 1815 one of the symphonies; it is not evident from the sources which symphony he chose, but since both the Sixth and the Seventh had seen their Copenhagen premieres with the Royal Orchestra the same year or the year before, it was presumably one of these two that was now performed again. Advertisements in *Adresseavisen* and *Dagen* normally said which Beethoven works Kuhlau had performed at his concerts in Copenhagen in the years from 1811 until 1821, when, shortly before his grand tour to Germany, he stopped organizing concerts.[55] Worth singling out among these is the Copenhagen premiere of the Triple Concerto opus 56 in January 1815. At the same time as he

stopped organizing concerts, we can trace a notable decline in performances of Beethoven's music in the Copenhagen concert programmes; now it was the fashionable composers of the day who dominated them, with opera extracts, virtuoso variation works for piano or concertante works for various soloists and orchestra.

Of course it was not Kuhlau who introduced Beethoven in Copenhagen; as we have seen, several of his works had been performed before Kuhlau's arrival in the capital, but his concert activities and his declared adherence to Beethoven made a great contribution to the establishment of the Beethoven tradition which was not least continued by *Musikforeningen* and *Kammermusikforeningen.*

There are several testimonials, small and large, in Kuhlau's biography to this special interest in Beethoven. In 1810, the year before he went to live in Copenhagen, he asked in a letter to the music publisher G.C. Härtel to be sent a number of the master's compositions: the cello sonata op. 69, the piano trios op. 70, the piano sonata op. 27,2 and the piano variations op. 34 and 35.[56] Of these works, the first two were however no more than a couple of years old at the time. Shortly after his arrival in the Danish capital he became a kind of Danish correspondent for the respected German music periodical *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* published in Leipzig.[57] There he described aspects of musical life in Copenhagen for the German reader, and for example praised the Royal Theatre's performances of symphonies by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven;[58] it is interesting that Kuhlau at a relatively early stage perceived just these three - later "classical" - composers as a trinity. In the account for his German readers Kuhlau apparently expressed himself more cautiously than his true feelings justified. In a private letter six months before to the publisher of *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* he made no bones about it; he thanked him for inviting him to write for the periodical, but emphasized his distaste for the task, because he could find little good to say; the vocal music was beneath contempt, the Royal Orchestra was only mediocre, and in general very little feeling for music was evident in the capital![59]

The high point of Kuhlau's veneration of Beethoven was undoubtedly his personal meeting with the master in Vienna in September 1825.[60] The visit to Beethoven is meticulously documented in Beethoven's conversations notebooks 92-95 of September 1825, and later in Seyfried's book on Beethoven's studies in counterpoint.[61] Kuhlau had spent a few merry days in the presence of his famous colleague and a circle of his friends, where they drank, ate and conversed and sometimes found time to exchange canons. According to the tradition Kuhlau improvised a riddle canon on the spot based on the letters BACH, which he wrote in the conversation notebook. The next day Beethoven returned the compliment with *his* BACH canon to the text "Kühl nicht lau", presented to Kuhlau with an



Kuhlau's and Beethoven's exchange of canons on the notes BACH, entered in the composers' own hands in Beethoven's conversation book at the beginning of September 1825, when Kuhlau visited Beethoven in Vienna.

accompanying letter in which Beethoven wrote that because of the champagne he could remember little of what had happened the previous day. Kuhlau was however not totally unprepared when he presented his canon in the conversation notebook as an off-the-cuff improvisation; six years before he had in fact had a BACH canon printed in a German periodical.[62]

More interesting than these riotous high jinks is the fact that the first performance of Beethoven's string quartet op. 132 took place during Kuhlau's visit, on 9th September 1825 in the hostelry *Zum wilden Mann*. This performance of the just-completed quartet had been given at the urging of the music publisher Maurice Schlesinger, who himself took part in the fun and games, a couple of months before the official premiere by the *Schuppanzigh Quartet* in November 1825. Whether Kuhlau observed this musical event is doubtful. There are indications that the preceding repast in the hostelry had been such a strain on his constitu-

tion that he had to leave the scene just as the performance of opus 132 was to take place. At all events an entry in notebook 95 from this day states: "Der Kuhlau ist nach dem Prater gegangen um durch 2 Stunden spatziergehen sich von dem Genuß zu erholen". There is something tragicomic in the notion of one of the masterpieces of the quartet literature being performed in a Viennese hostelry while Kuhlau wandered around the Prater with a hangover.[63]

Kuhlau took home with him a lasting memory of the visit in the form of a print of Beethoven, signed and dedicated to "meinem Freund Kuhlau von L. van Beethoven". The print with Beethoven's inscription hangs today in Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen.

Whether it was this very visit to Beethoven in Vienna that was the reason Kuhlau over the next few years used lieder by Beethoven as the themes for a number of variation works for piano, is unknown. At any rate it was only now, after many years of writing variations on other composers' themes, that Kuhlau went to work on Beethoven's music. The result was the four series of variations for piano duo op. 72a, 75, 76 and 77, and the three *Rondoletti* op 117 from the years 1826/27 and 1831. It is also worth noting that the overture to C.J. Boye's play *William Shakespeare,* composed shortly after his return from Vienna in 1825, according to the Kuhlau specialist Gorm Busk, is his most Beethoven-inspired work.[64]

In one particular area it is rather surprising that Kuhlau's admiration for Beethoven did *not* make an impact, as it did with so many like-minded composers: apart from an early work from his period in Germany, which has been lost, he wrote no symphonies. History is silent on whether this was due to the fear - well known from Brahms - of expressing himself in this most "Beethovenesque" of all genres, or whether it was just an expression of Kuhlau's - and his age's - general preference for solo and chamber music. In his extensive output there are very few orchestral works: the above-mentioned symphony of his youth, two piano concertos and a *Concertino* for two French horns and orchestra; and we can add the overtures to the operas.[65]

In this connection it can be mentioned as a curiosity that Kuhlau - like Beethoven - set Schiller's drinking song *Ode an die Freude* to music; a text F.L.Ä. Kunzen was firmly convinced "eignet sich [...] wenig zur Musik"![66] This cantata, which apart from a few choral parts has been lost, was performed a couple of times in 1814 and 1816 in Oehlenschläger's translation.[67] It does not appear to have been much of a success, and there is absolutely no connection between Kuhlau's cantata and Beethoven's choral finale.

Such a connection there is, however, between Kuhlau's only preserved piano concerto, opus 7,[68] which was performed in Copenhagen in January 1811 but

presumably composed before his arrival in Copenhagen, and Beethoven's piano concerto opus 15. As has been thoroughly documented by L. Beimfohr, this C major concerto, in its whole organization and thematic structure, shows such a resemblance to Beethoven's concerto in the same key that one can almost talk about a composition after a model - a technique that Kuhlau also made great use of in his operas (cf. p. 125-126). Against the background of his meticulous stylistic analysis of the two works, Beimfohr can however conclude:

> Trotz der Fülle thematischer und motivischer Entlehnungen aus Beethovens C-Dur Klavierkonzert ist die Bezugnahme von Kuhlaus C-Dur-Klavierkonzert nicht eng genug, um es auf weite Strecken zu einem Plagiat abzuwerten, denn die Einzeluntersuchungen haben ergeben, daß Kuhlau die übernommenen Themen und Motive entweder variiert, oder anders fortsetzt, oder in einen anderen Zusammenhang stellt.[69]

III. After 1836

Musikforeningen

From A.P. Berggreen's ambitious periodical *Musikalsk Tidende* one gets a good snapshot-like impression of Beethoven's importance in the Copenhagen music milieu in the very months when the plans to establish the most important institution of the next fifty years, *Musikforeningen,* were taking form. The first issue of the periodical was on the street on 17th January 1836, but after the 20th issue in June the same year, it already had to close down again - purportedly because of failing support from the public. In its content and attitudes it seems to have modelled itself closely on Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik,* established two years before. At several points we can almost hear Berggreen paraphrasing the German periodical; for example the introductory manifesto, noting the extreme inadequacy of newspaper reviews of musical affairs, states: "To remedy this *arbitrariness,* and help to *justify* judgements on musical subjects, some friends of art have united their efforts to publish a musical periodical".[70] And it is later emphasized that the editor will give the magazine "a particular colour, a particular fundamental tone". Beethoven is clearly the dominant figure in the magazine. As we have seen, several of his works were given detailed critical analysis in connection with performances in Copenhagen, and continuous sequences of issues feature extended sections on his life and works.[71] It is the familiar "romantic image of Beethoven" we meet here,

as we know it from Arnold Schmitz's systematization of Bettina von Arnim's and other early Romantics' four basic notions of the master: as *priest, magician, child of nature* and *revolutionary.*[72]

As has been evident from the above, in the first few decades of the 19th century, the Copenhageners had plenty of opportunity to go to concerts. But the range of music on offer was patchy, and not always of the highest quality. All this changed shortly after the foundation of *Musikforeningen* in 1836. It soon developed into the biggest, most ambitious concert institution in the city, whose activities and concerts attracted considerable attention, partly thanks to their quality, and partly because the society absorbed all the important personalities in Copenhagen musical life, either as ordinary members or as members of its management. To this it should however also be added that *Musikforeningen* - alongside the Royal Theatre - is precisely the institution of the 19th century whose activities are most thoroughly described.[73] It was founded on Weyse's birthday in 1836 with the object of publishing Danish music, but quickly changed character and became a pure concert society. In the following I will give a brief assessment of the Beethoven repertoire, supplemented by a more detailed account of two of the most striking personalities in this context, Franz Glæser and N.W. Gade - in the case of Gade with special emphasis on his work related to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

It is not surprising that Beethoven's symphonies were rarely performed in the Copenhagen societies *before Musikforeningen* began its concert activities in 1837. In the first place some time would surely have to pass before societies really dared offer the Copenhagen music audiences Beethoven's symphonic idiom; and secondly the works made demands on the musicians which before 1837 could hardly be honoured by anyone but the musicians of the orchestra of the Royal Theatre. In *Musikforeningen,* by contrast, the symphonies assumed a central role. As early as the second concert in November 1837 the Fourth Symphony was on the programme, and over the next nine years all the symphonies were performed except the First and Ninth - the works from Beethoven's "second period" regularly and Nos. 2 and 8 a single time each.[74] Only then did they venture to take on the Ninth Symphony, and - as we shall see - at first without the choral finale.

A crucial turning-point in the cultivation of Beethoven by *Musikforeningen* came with Franz Glæser's appointment as conductor in 1842 - the same year as he was engaged as *kapelmester* at the Royal Theatre. From his thirteen years in Vienna Glæser knew Beethoven personally and thus represented a direct line back to the composer's performances of his own works. Glæser was present for example at the first performance of *Die Weihe des Hauses,* for the inauguration of the Josephstadt Theatre in Vienna in 1822, where he had just been engaged as *kapellmeister,* and by

his own account he intervened in an embarrassing situation that arose in connection with Beethoven's inadequate conducting of the work. The incident, which has been retold in many variants in the literature, is fully described in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* No. 49 of 1822, which says:

> Der Meister dirigierte selbst; da man jedoch seinen leider noch immer geschwächten Gehörswerkzeugen nicht sicher vertrauen kann, so war ihm im Rücken Hr. Kapellmeister Glæser postiert, um dem gleichfalls neuorganisierten Orchester des Autors Willensmeynung erst recht eigentlich zu verdollmetschen, welches doppelte, nicht selten ganz verschiedene, Taktieren sich der That recht sonderbar gestaltete. Dennoch ging Alles so ziemlich glücklich von statten, bis auf die Chöre, welche manche Dissonanzen extemporierten...

Later Glæser himself returned to the event in his small unprinted autobiographical sketch, written down in 1843, about his life until and including 1822, and now with further details. The biography fills eight pages, of which this episode takes up the last one and a half - so Glæser himself attributed no small importance to it and must have been well pleased with his own contribution. He ends his account of the incident as follows:

> Wie nachher erzählt wurde, so hätte ich mir unbewusst dem grossen gigantischen Meister sogar einmal die Hand gehalten, bis das Schiff wieder in seinem ruhigen Laufe dahin segelte. Scherzhafter Weise konnte man annehmen, ich habe bei dieser Gelegenheit, den grossen Meister selbst dirigiert.[75]

Like other good stories, this one too took on a life of its own, and twenty years later, in 1861, it appeared in *Illustreret Tidende,* but now with the claim that it was at a performance in Vienna of *Fidelio* that Glæser, at a critical point, seized the baton from Beethoven's hand, rallied the troops and handed the baton back again!

Franz Glæser's connection with Beethoven presumably came from his father, Peter Glæser, who had worked as a copyist for Beethoven, and in this capacity was behind the dedicatory copy of the Ninth Symphony which Beethoven sent in 1826 to the King of Prussia.[76] After the first years of the history of *Musikforeningen,* with a strong Danish element in the programming, Glæser, when he took up his post, changed the agenda of the society; and now Beethoven's symphonies in particular

formed the core of the repertoire so much that Richard Hove, in his Hartmann biography of 1934, can claim that "these scattered performances of Danish works had to be squeezed in between the instructive repetitions of Beethoven's symphonies which now began to work with their full force on our music audiences".[77] The statistics given below on the performances at the society of Beethoven's symphonies at the first 265 concerts, divided into three periods (*before* Glæser, *under* Glæser and the period *after* Glæser), surely confirm Richard Hove's remarks; although they are periods of different durations, the table shows a clear prioritizing of Beethoven under Franz Glæser.

Symphony	Number of performances			
	I. 1836-42	II. 1842-50	III. 1850-70	Total
No. 1		1	1	2
No. 2		2	3	5
No. 3	1	3	5	9
No. 4	1	5	5	11
No. 5	1	4	2	7
No. 6	1	4	4	9
No. 7	1	4	4	9
No. 8		4	6	10
No. 9		2 (1st three movements only)	4	6
TOTAL	5	29	34	68

I: Musikforeningen *concerts 1-12 (1836-1842) (Bredahl, Fröhlich, Funch)*
II: Musikforeningen *concerts 13-64 (1842-1850) (Glæser)*
III: Musikforeningen *concerts 65-265 (1850-1870) (Gade)*

A few facts catch the eye in this overview: apart from the single performance at the Royal Theatre in 1803 (cf. p. 170), the First Symphony does not seem to have been heard in Copenhagen before Glæser included it in the programme in 1849, and in the 34-year period studied it was only performed twice.[78] "It was not the Beethoven who appealed to the Romantics", as Hove soberly records. Yet this tendency cannot be traced in the distribution in general. The two "non-heroic" symphonies, the Fourth and the Eighth, are much in evidence - oddly enough given the Beethoven myth of the 19th century and the priorities of the music industry of the 20th century (in fact the Fourth is the most frequently performed of Beethoven's symphonies in the first 50 years of the history of *Musikforeningen);* nor does the Fifth seem to have been heard in Copenhagen before *Musikforeningen* performed it at its sixth concert in May 1839.

Glæser's performance of the Fourth Symphony in January 1850 incidentally gave rise to a rash of press polemics - partly about Glæser's abilities as a conductor, partly about the appropriateness of making the *Musikforeningen* concerts the subject of public press coverage at all.[79] In the first case one of the sore points was that the conductor, in his repeat of the scherzo, increased the tempo. "We are convinced that the *Herr Hofcapelmester* must concede that the composer cannot possibly have conceived of more than one tempo in which the Scherzo at issue is to be executed, and we can assure him that no other conductor of repute employs this procedure" - thus an anonymous writer in *Berlingske Tidende* on 11th January 1850. The reviewer should never have taken the risk of writing this. He was soundly put in his place in both *Fædrelandet* and *Flyveposten,* and an address from a number of prominent men was necessary to prevent Glæser making good his threat to resign his post as conductor at *Musikforeningen. Flyveposten* incidentally could not refrain from pointing out that Glæser "had trained as a conductor so to speak directly under the auspices of Beethoven", that he had heard Beethoven conduct the work in exactly the same way, and that all German conductors did the same![80] But in its attempt to take the final trump the newspaper was in error when it claimed that "in the score of Beethoven's symphonies it is expressly stated for all the scherzos that the tempo is to be forced in the repeat, and it is consequently clear that the omission of this remark in the scherzo of the B♭ mayor symphony is quite accidental". Neither in the tempo markings nor in Beethoven's own metronome markings, as given for example in the December 1817 issue of *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* is there any justification for this claim.

Five years before, *Berlingske Tidende* had clearly taken the side *of* Glæser in similar polemics about his musicianly qualities; in that case it had been *Kjöbenhavns Theaterblad* which had strongly criticized Glæser both as a conductor and as a composer. He appears to have been a person who provoked strongly conflicting evaluations.[81]

On certain occasions, however, Glæser did interfere with Beethoven's original ideas - not least in the Fifth Symphony, which he launched at a concert at the Royal Theatre in November 1842 as a *Fantastic Sound Painting from the History of Alexander the Great.* The newspaper *Dagen,* normally very kindly disposed towards Glæser, was not unreservedly enthusiastic, but did admit "that if the public must be given a vantage point from which it can properly grasp the character of the work, this title was very happily chosen".[82]

At a Widows' Pension Fund concert at the Ridehus of Christiansborg Palace on 7th May 1845, the Fifth Symphony concluded the concert, conducted by Franz Glæser, and here the Alexander story was repeated - now in more elaborate detail

in German in the programme: *Third section. Alexanders Zug nach Babylon. Grosze Symphonie in C mol von L. van Beethoven, als Fantasie Gemälde betrachtet, zur Characteristik Alexander des Groszen Leben und Thaten.* This is followed by a programme for each of the four movements: *Allegro con Brio: Bewegung und Treiben der Völker und Krieger auf dem Zuge nach Babylon. Andante: nächtliche Stille im Lager. Bewegung bei Anbruch des Tages. Allegro: Murren der Unzufriedenen. Marcia trionfale: Einzug in Babylon. Huldigung und Feste.*[83]

It was not the only work to be subjected to Glæser's imaginative ideas. The A major symphony too was granted a few explanatory words. At the concert at *Musikforeningen* on 1st February 1843 it was marketed as follows: *Humoristicher Tongemälde in 4 Satzen. 1ster Satz: Vorbereitung zür Ländlichen Hochzeitsfeier. 2ter Satz: Allegretto: Geständniss. 3ter Satz: Presto: Fröhliche Gefühle der Brautleute und ihrer Verwandten. Meno assai: Der Segen wird über das Brautpaar gesprochen. 4ter Satz: Fröhlicher Hochzeitstanz bei welchen ein Trupp ungarischer Zigeuner Spiel und Tanz ausführen.* At a new performance two months later it was simply called "Motif taken from a Gypsy wedding".[84]

This kind of claim for esoteric programmes underlying Beethoven's symphonies was by no means Glæser's invention. It was common in the Beethoven reception of the 19th century to "poeticize" Beethoven's instrumental music in this way, either in vague terms or more concretely as in Glæser's case. It was partly inherent in the contemporary view of music, and partly due to Anton Schindler's, Carl Czerny's and other early Beethoven aficionados' accounts of Beethoven's own cryptic and very ambiguous statements about literary models for a number of works - statements that later had their most dramatic result in Arnold Schering's Beethoven interpretations.[85] The absolute opposite pole to Glæser's *hermeneutic* approach to Beethoven is Gade's analytical introduction to the Ninth Symphony, discussed later.

On the whole Glæser had a talent for "topicalizing" Beethoven. As has been the case many times since - most recently on the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and at the opening of the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992 - it was also Beethoven who was commandeered for a concert at *Casino* in May 1848 in support of the dependents of the wounded and fallen in the war with Germany of 1848. On this occasion Glæser headed the performance of Beethoven's *Wellington's Victory* (alongside J.P.E. Hartmann's *Battle Song by Andersen, arranged for male choir and orchestra),* one of innumerable examples of the way Beethoven's musical message transcends time and place and is turned into the message of universal humanity: no one appears to have considered it offensive to use Beethoven's - a German's - work to commemorate the efforts of Danish soldiers in the war against Germany -

a work of which Beethoven in fact wrote that it fulfilled his long-felt wish to "lay one of his works on the altar of the Fatherland".[86]

As we have seen, Beethoven was the dominant figure in the programmes of *Musikforeningen,* especially after Glæser took up the post as conductor in 1842; and conversely it can be added that it was *Musikforeningen,* more than any other institution, which spread the knowledge of Beethoven's orchestral music. The performance statistics from the years 1836-1886 show that Beethoven, with 295 performances of 58 different works, very clearly takes pride of place; in fact he accounts for a sixth of all performances at *Musikforeningen* in this period with symphonies and the *Choral Fantasia* as the dominant works.[87] Among the composer's major works, only the *Missa Solemnis* had been neglected. True, this work was on the programme in February 1869, but it was only the *Kyrie* that was performed. Not until 1884 - at *Cæcilieforeningen* - was the Copenhagen public able to hear the work in its entirety, and even then the newspaper *Politiken* called it a work "whose full comprehension will be difficult for most people".[88]

This cultivation of Beethoven by *Musikforeningen* was several times the subject of reflections of principle in parts of the press. As early as 1858 *Tidsskrift for Musik* complained that a composer like Beethoven was an obstacle to the performance of *Danish* music at *Musikforeningen.*[89] In a longish review in *Politiken* on 23rd April 1886 of Angul Hammerich's *Festschrift* for the society's 50th anniversary (Hammerich 1886) the signature *A.M.* discussed these matters again. The review says:

> Let no one object that Beethoven has ever been the preferred composer of Musikforeningen; for there is a difference between permitting Beethoven to predominate now and half a century ago. Now it is all that a conservative musician could demand, then it was the height of European radicalism. [...] When Musikforeningen has still come no further than playing Beethoven and the more recent composers who to some extent followed him, how can anyone seriously claim that it has remained true to its traditions?

And with a dig at the programme notes Gade had drawn up for performances of the Ninth Symphony (cf. below), it goes on:

> Even *the Ninth* the Society has not properly accepted. The heap of music examples and wrong-headed explanations and Lord knows what that they burden the symphony with every time it appears anew - it is really

> nothing more than a half-muffled echo of the age that regarded this colossal work, the starting-point for the modern approach in music, as eccentric and incomprehensible chaos.
>
> The day they approach *the Ninth* without reservation, then one dares hope that the days of the one-sided tyranny of Classicism will be numbered. Then Beethoven will no longer exclude Wagner, piety towards the old no longer exclude our own age.

Musikforeningen was of course not the only concert society in the city in the second half of the century; but it was hard for other enterprises to compete with the powerful society. I will mention just three such attempts, all at the initiative of the composer C.E.F. Horneman. At the inauguration concert of the music society *Euterpe* in March 1865, for which no less a figure than Hans Christian Andersen had written the prologue, Horneman himself conducted the *Pastoral Symphony.* But the society failed after a couple of seasons. Three years later Horneman tried again, this time with a series of Saturday soirées at Casino. Again he began with Beethoven, whose Eighth Symphony was on the programme of the opening concert in January 1868.[90] This project did not prove viable either. Horneman's third and last project, *Koncertforeningen,* had more staying power. The society existed in the years 1874-1893 with a repertoire of recent music that *Musikforeningen* on the whole avoided. With this programming policy Beethoven naturally assumed a more modest position, and in fact only three of his works were performed in the lifetime of *Koncertforeningen* - the *Egmont Overture* and extracts from *Fidelio* in 1876, and the piano concerto op. 37 in 1884.

From the end of the 1870s a large number of new concert initiatives were taken in Copenhagen, but it falls outside the scope of this article to go into these.[91]

The Ninth Symphony

The reception of the Ninth Symphony in Denmark has been carefully documented by Sigurd Berg and Torben Krogh.[92] Their book lists all performances in the 19th century, and there are ample quotations from coverage of the work in the newspapers and periodicals. The following sketches out some of the main lines, and a few details are added to the presentation in Krogh-Berg.

Much has been said and written in the course of time about the choral finale of the symphony, ranging from a eulogy of the movement as the most sublime thing Beethoven ever wrote to the charge of betraying the symphonic tradition. It

is well known that the finale was to have far-reaching importance for the further development of the symphony as a genre, and that no composer with respect for himself neglected to express a firm view of the work; among the many Schumann, Berlioz and Wagner can be mentioned.

After a performance of the Ninth Symphony as early as 1826 - two years after the first performance - the touchy question of the finale was taken up, and the reviewer in *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* pulled no punches: after noting that the work is so large and complex that it takes time before the listener can really penetrate into it, he gives a brief account of the first three movements. But then out comes the heavy artillery to blast the last movement: the instrumental recitatives "rumble" in a "grotesque manner", the quotations of the subjects of the three preceding movements seem unmotivated, the *Freude* theme develops into a "wild Bacchanal", and the words of the bass about singing "etwas freudenvollere" are degraded to "trivialities". He is in no doubt about how the problem should be solved: leave out the movement and reverse the order of the scherzo and adagio, so it becomes a three-movement symphony with the familiar sequence of movements fast-slow-fast.[93]

As we shall see, this was exactly the solution that was chosen in many places - including Denmark. In fact it has been calculated that the number of incomplete performances in Europe in the years between 1824 and 1850 exceeded the number of performances of all four movements; even an authority on Beethoven like F.A. Habeneck in Paris was apparently in doubt; at a performance of the symphony in 1834 he began the concert with the first three movements (the adagio before the scherzo), and then only after other programme items concluded with the finale. In England the problem was solved in another unconventional manner. At the English premiere in London in 1825 the singing was in Italian, and later it became common for a couple of decades to sing the text in English.[94] In Denmark, however, the finale never seems to have been sung with a Danish text, although the possibility existed inasmuch as Oehlenschläger had translated Schiller's ode, retaining the original metre.[95] In Beethoven's native country, too, there were problems with the choral finale for several years after the death of the composer. Four out of six performances of the Ninth in Berlin in the years between 1832 and 1846 contented themselves with the first three movements, to the unmixed satisfaction of the reviewers in the leading music periodicals *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Iris*.[96]

In 1846 the symphony saw its first performance in Denmark under the baton of Franz Glæser, but as indicated above this was only the three instrumental movements with the second and third exchanged.[97] This amputated version was

repeated the next year in March 1847, and as late as 1897 the symphony was performed without the finale, this time conducted by Joachim Andersen at the *Palæ* concerts, purportedly because of the lack of a serviceable soprano.[98] Another factor that may have contributed to the omission of the jubilant finale may however have been that the concert was a memorial concert for Johannes Brahms, who had just died three weeks earlier. Beethoven's *Adagio* could thus form a fine transition to Brahms' *Tragische Ouverture.*

PROGRAM.

Fredag d. 23. April Aften Kl. 8

12te Palæ-Koncert

med Orkester under Direktion af Hr. Kapelmester Joachim Andersen
og Solist-Assistance af den svenske Sangerinde
Frk. **Wilma Enequist** samt af Fru **Kellers Dameko**
og
Sangforeningen **Ydun.**

1. L. van Beethoven: Niende Symphoni, Op. 125. (De tre første Satser).
   a. Allegro man non troppo, un poco maëstoso.
   b. Molto vivace — Presto — Molto vivace.
   c. Adagio molto e cantabile.

Pause.

JOHANNES BRAHMS.
† den 3. April 1897.

2. Tragische Ouverture.
3 a. Liebestreu. } Synges af den svenske Sangerinde
b. Wiegenlied. } Frk. *Wilma Enequist.*
4 a. Menuet af D-dur Serenade. Op. 11.
b. Ungarsk Dans. D-dur.

5. Richard Wagner: Gæsternes Indtog paa Wartburg, Marsch og Kor af Ope „Tannhäuse

Kor. { Fru *Kellers Damekor.*
Sangforeningen „*Ydun*".

Orkestrets Besættelse til denne Koncert:

8 Første Violiner.	3 Fløiter.	3 Trompeter.
6 Anden Violiner.	2 Oboer.	3 Bassuner.
4 Bratscher.	2 Klarinetter.	1 Tuba.
3 Violonceller.	2 Fagotter.	2 Janitscharer.
4 Kontra-Basser.	4 Valdhorn.	

Orkestrets Koncertmester: Hr: *Fr. Schnedler-Petersen.*
Accompagnement: Hr. Holger Dahl. — Flygel: Hornung & Møller.

12te og sidste Søndags-Koncert i denne Sæson finder Sted d. 25 Eftrmdg. Kl. 4½ (med samme Program som iaften.) Billetsalg: Wilhelm H Musik-Forlag, Gothersgade 11.
Palæ-Koncerterne fortsættes i næste Sæson.

Programme of the concert, 23rd April 1897, commemorating the death of Johannes Brahms. The finale of the Ninth Symphony has been omitted, while the slow Adagio movement forms the transition to Brahms' Tragische Ouverture.

Only after Gade had in more than one sense taken up the baton at *Musikforeningen* and reorganized the choir and orchestra could there be any question of an entire performance of all four movements. This Danish premiere of the whole work took place at the Society's 119th concert in April 1856 - 22 years after the first German performance and ten years after Glæser's presentation of the first three movements. The performance was repeated the next year and prompted an unsigned series of articles (probably by the editor, Immanuel Ree) about the work in *Tidsskrift for Musik,* 1857, No. 4. However, the writer here contented himself with quoting the opinions of a number of German writers about the work, and did not venture an evaluation of Gade's performance or the first encounter of the Danish public with the symphony in its entirety. Characteristically, this was a subscription concert for connoisseurs - not a concert for *all* the members, for whom the work was still considered too difficult.[99] As late

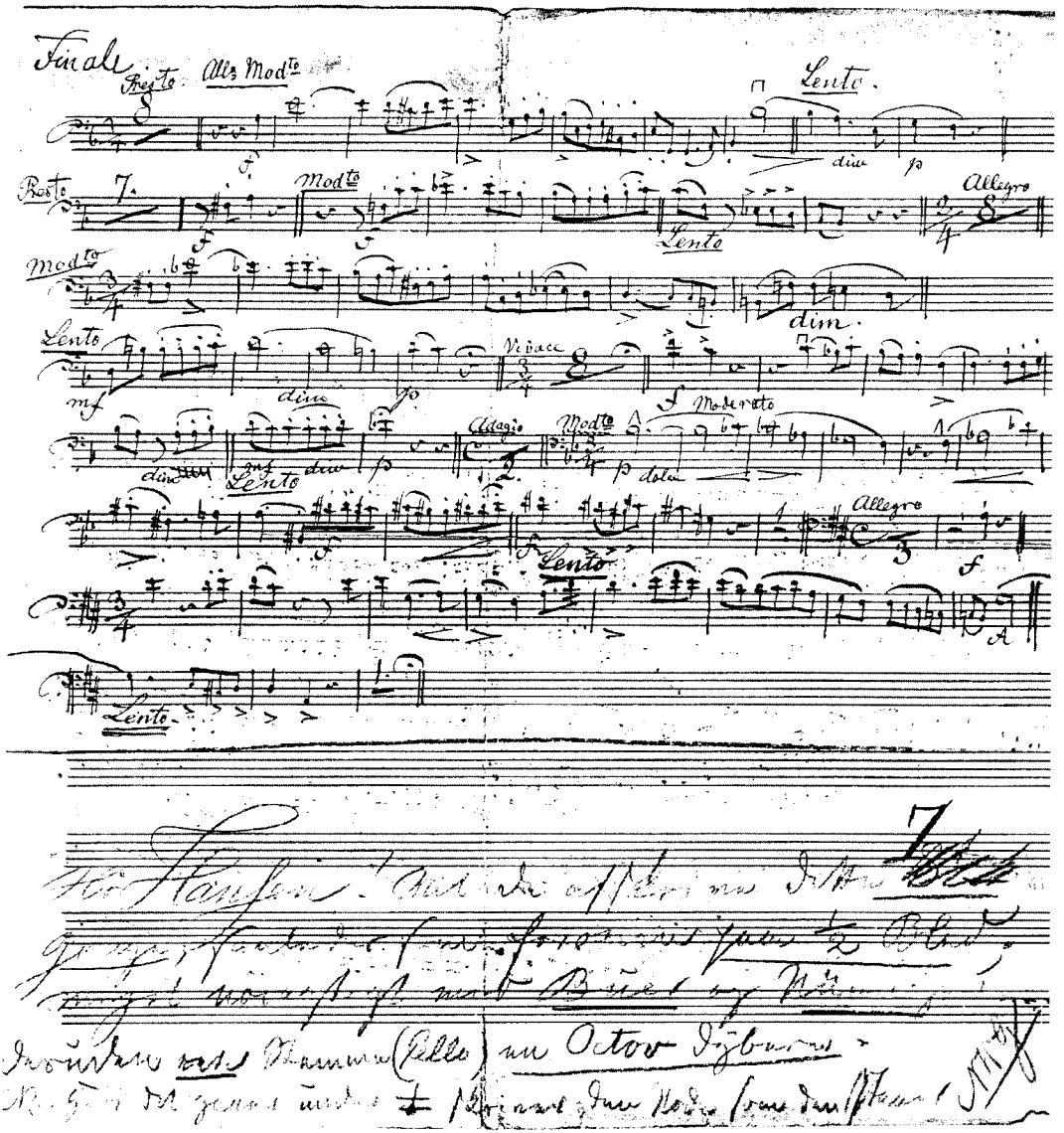
as the 1880s people were still upbraiding Beethoven for the choral finale. The anonymous *Musikens Historie,* based on a number of German histories, speaks of how many people have had "much to say against this work, among other things and not wholly without reason, against the sometimes impracticable passages for the singing voices and especially against the strange dissonances in the finale, which can hardly be approved either according to the principles of harmony or of aesthetics".[100]

Gade had a special relationship with the Ninth Symphony, and especially in his last years at *Musikforeningen* he often headed performances of the work.[101] Apart from coverage of these performances in the newspapers and the music journals, two documents in particular testify to this special interest. The first is a hand-written music sheet at *Musikhistorisk Museum* in Copenhagen, where, on the upper half, Gade has copied bars 1-91 of the double bass and cello parts of the finale - that is, the instrumental recitative that precedes the presentation of the *Freude* theme, and this with meticulous indications of phrasing and tempo which are not found in Beethoven's version. Below, addressing the copyist of *Musikforeningen,* he has written:

> Herr Hansen! Will you copy this out 7 times, as above on a half-sheet; very accurately with phrasing and nuances. Moreover six parts (cello) an octave lower. NB. Where it goes below  write the note as it stands. NWG.

A typewritten note[102] attached to this Gade autograph suggests that Gade's preoccupation with this particular passage of the score may have been related to his experience of hearing the work conducted by Wagner in Dresden ten years earlier. Wagner himself says in *Mein Leben* that on that occasion Gade had expressed his fascination with Wagner's interpretation of the instrumental recitative,[103] and the phrasing marks on the music sheet may thus be a direct Danish continuation of the tradition of Wagner. That Wagner himself devoted the greatest attention to precisely this passage, the introduction to the finale, is evident from his own claim to have spent no less than twelve special rehearsals on the instrumental recitative.[104]

The second testimonial to the importance Gade attached to Beethoven's Ninth is the above-mentioned short analysis of the work with copious music examples which he attached to the *Musikforeningen* programme on the many occasions in the 1870s and 1880s when he conducted the work. Even so relatively late in its reception history, Gade thus thought it was appropriate to give the audience a



Music sheet in N.W. Gade's hand with the instrumental recitative from the finale of the Ninth Symphony, furnished with Gade's performance markings and sent with related instructions to the music copyist of Musikforeningen. *See the translation of Gade's text on p. 189.*

helpful introduction to this particular work. The notes were even published as an offprint by Wilhelm Hansen ("Printed with the permission of *Musikforeningen* from its concert programme"). In the introduction to his guide, Gade writes that it "is only meant to facilitate the perception and understanding of such listeners as

have not had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with this extensive and profound work of music". Gade may have appropriated the introduction from Wagner with a view to using it at the first performance in 1856. This supposition is based on a letter of 1855 from Hans von Bülow to Franz Liszt, where von Bülow asks Liszt to send him Wagner's commentary on the Ninth Symphony because - as the letter says - "Gade voudrait s'en servir cet hiver à Copenhague pour l'exécution de cette oeuvre et faire traduire en danois ce commentaire".[105] In 1895 a new, fuller introduction was issued: *Vejledning til Forstaaelse. Med tematiske Node-Exempler* (A Guide to Understanding. With thematic music examples). This anonymous pamphlet is really a hermeneutic analysis of the Ninth Symphony which, with copious use of Goethe quotations, excellently guides the listener through the changing emotional outbursts of the work.

One other detail in connection with Gade's interpretation of the Ninth should be given. In a letter to Gade of 12th March 1853 the pianist Ignaz Moscheles, one of Beethoven's contemporary admirers, passes on Beethoven's metronome markings for the Ninth Symphony, which he claims to have had from Beethoven himself.[106] With this information Gade should thus have been able to use the master's own tempos and thus ensure an "authentic" performance. As we know, doubts have been raised from time to time about the reliability of Beethoven's metronome, and the transmission of these allegedly canonical metronome indications are surrounded by considerable uncertainty.[107] The very fact that there are two *different* indications for the introduction to the finale from Beethoven's hand (metronome figures 96 *and* 66 for dotted minim) blurs the picture; here the metronome figure 66, which is indeed often indicated in modern editions of the work, seems more appropriate than Moscheles' figure of 96. It is hard to imagine that Gade, on the basis of Moscheles' metronome figure, conducted the finale at such a breakneck pace.

We cannot leave the reception of the Ninth Symphony in Denmark without mentioning the debate about the alleged similarity between the *Freude* theme and the American folk tune *Yankee Doodle,* which raged in the music journals in 1915[108] (with even a stray article in the Copenhagen newspaper *Ekstrabladet)* between the Norwegian lawyer Haakon Løken on the one side and on the other the respected music historian William Behrend, known for his very widely read book on Beethoven's piano sonatas.[109] Briefly, the Norwegian lawyer claimed that Beethoven's famous theme in the finale had been inspired by an old German peasant dance he had heard as a boy, sung by the Hessian troops during their march through Bonn, a tune that later surfaced in America as *Yankee Doodle.* According to Løken, Beethoven's theme was so close to its alleged "model" that it

had "mystified expert musicians". The explanation was said to be that since there was no freedom in Europe the composer had to resort to an American freedom tune as a setting for Schiller's freedom poem. Behrend's firm refutation of this interesting hypothesis is couched in objective terms, but is not quite free of a certain condescending - if understandable - irony.

Hans Christian Andersen and Adam Oehlenschläger

In his book from 1930 Gustav Hetsch has given a detailed account of the relationship between H.C. Andersen, the writer of tales, and the music and musicians of his time.[110] Here we can read of the author's youthful, failed attempts to become a singer, his importance as a librettist for a number of works - mainly by Danish composers; his central position in Danish musical life as a member of *Musikforeningen* from its very start in 1836 and as a regular guest in the prosperous bourgeois homes where people played and talked about music, and finally his many acquaintances among the leading foreign composers and musicians of the period, whom he often visited on his innumerable journeys around Europe. But this was not until after the death of Beethoven. On the whole, he does not seem to have had any special link with Beethoven, although the composer appears in at least two places in his works - at one point purely parenthetically, and at another quite strikingly. In his Danish translation of 1855 of *Der Sonnwendhof* by S.H. Mosenthal (with the Danish title *En Landsbyhistorie...med tildigtede Chor og Sange af H.C. Andersen* - A Village Story...with additional choruses and songs by H.C. Andersen)[111] Andersen gives existing melodies for the new choruses and songs. For the presentation song of one of the characters he uses Rocco's aria *Hat man nicht auch Geld beineben* from *Fidelio* in a way that assumes that the public is familiar with the original context of the song. However, in 1855 there are unlikely to have been many Copenhageners who understood this point, since at that time *Fidelio* had not been performed in the capital in the preceding sixteen years.[112]

Beethoven has a much more conspicuous place in Andersen's late *roman a clef, Lykke-Peer* of 1870. In this impressionistic *Künstlerroman* with clear autobiographical elements, the childhood and youth of the poor boy Peer is described up to the peak of his career when, as a feted opera singer in Copenhagen, he makes his debut as a composer with the opera *Aladdin* to his own libretto and with himself in the title role! As, crowned with laurels, he receives the enthusiastic homage of the audience on stage after the production, he drops dead: "An artery in the heart had burst, and like a bolt of lightning his days had ended here, ended without

pain, ended in earthly jubilation, in the vocation of his earthly mission. The happy man, before millions!" In the course of the novel we are acquainted several times with Andersen's views on music, not least his preoccupation with Wagner's ideas of music drama. But, as mentioned before, also with Beethoven. During his period with the *singing-master* Peer has plenty of opportunity to hear music; in the house quartet evenings are held, with the music including works by Beethoven, and on one occasion he hears his Sixth Symphony:

> In the great public concert hall one evening, a rich orchestral ensemble played *Beethoven's* "Symphonie pastorale"; it was especially the Andante, *"Scene by the Brook"* which with its strange power flowed through and elevated our young friend; it carried him into the living, fresh forest landscape [....] From that hour he knew within himself that it was the painting kind of music in which nature was reflected and the currents of the human heart echoed that affected him most deeply; *Beethoven* and *Haydn* became his favourite composers.

Quite in keeping with the words of his literary colleague E.T.A. Hoffmann about instrumental music (and especially Beethoven's) as the most *romantic* of all artistic modes of expression,[113] Andersen too swears to pure instrumental music without disturbing interference from words, scenery and costumes. Instrumental music has all this in it, and imperceptibly the characteristic word *tonedigtning* (tone poetry) is introduced into Andersen's novel.

Hans Christian Andersen never met Beethoven. The other great Danish Golden Age poet Oehlenschläger did have dealings with him, but without speaking to him, as he says himself in his memoirs ("Beethoven I have seen, but not spoken with").[114] Behind the extremely laconic mention of Beethoven in the diary entries from Oehlenschläger's visit to Vienna in 1817 lies a considerable portion of wounded pride and old grudges. The note from 1817 continues: "Beethoven wanted me to write him a Singspiel, as I would have done, if I had felt more in the mood. He is said to have composed a very fine opera". But not only that: in a footnote - added decades later in connection with the publication of his memoirs - Oehlenschläger tells how Beethoven positively pestered him to get him to furnish the maestro with an opera libretto. And the worst thing was, adds Oehlenschläger, that he did not do it. For what a triumph it would have been, if he had taken the plunge in time, and thus, in the face of Weyse and Baggesen, who had each disparaged his talents as a writer of opera texts, could have appeared as nothing less than Beethoven's librettist:

> Twice the great artist sent a friend to me to get me to write a Singspiel - and I let it pass! If I had done it, and if I had succeeded as with Ludlams Hule and Røverborgen, and Beethoven had set music to it as to Fidelio - what a triumph! I could not have had a nobler revenge on Weyse - a great enough artist, but to me faithless - who became good friends with Baggesen just when the latter was most mercilessly demolishing *Ludlams Hule*.[115]

Revenge would have been sweet, but Oehlenschläger let the chance pass! Whether Beethoven's alleged wish for close collaboration with Oehlenschläger was seriously meant is another matter.

Tivoli

The Copenhagen amusement park *Tivoli* opened in August 1843. A few years earlier the composer H.C. Lumbye had formed his own orchestra for the purpose of introducing the Copenhageners to the music of the Strauss brothers. Lumbye was thus ready from the first day to take over the post as the musical arbiter of the new amusement park and thus to build up and consolidate the role music has had in Tivoli from that day to this. For the first few years Lumbye's concerts at Tivoli were still promenade concerts in the true sense of the word: people wandered conversing around the concert hall while the music played, and the social intercourse rather than the music itself was the main concern. Soon the concerts changed their character despite the remark in *Tivoli-Avisen* "that all music of a more serious nature would indeed have a purely parodic effect in a place where it no more belongs than dance and opera music in a church".[116] Lumbye quietly sneaked the "great" symphonic music in on certain evenings, first a single movement at a time, but soon complete symphonies, which from 1848 became a regular element of the repertoire at the weekly Saturday concerts. And now too fixed seating had been installed in the concert hall; Beethoven's and others' symphonies would not tolerate people wandering around - they had to be listened to in concentration - and seated. Lumbye's concerts consisted of three sections, such that the first and third section would include a group of isolated numbers, while the second section would have a symphony on the programme. These concerts were therefore a welcome summer supplement to the winter concerts of *Musikforeningen* (and it was by and large the same musicians who did service in both places), and from the start Beethoven's symphonies were naturally on the

programme; according to Godtfred Skjerne they began with the A major symphony, while Fabricius states that the C minor symphony was the first symphony by Beethoven to be performed in its entirety at Lumbye's Saturday concerts.[117] Tivoli's concerts were of course *public* - unlike the concerts at *Musikforeningen* in those years - and they were therefore reviewed much more in the press. In the decades after 1850, at Tivoli as well as the various other concert enterprises in the city, Beethoven's music became a permanent and natural fixture in the repertoire.

Beethoven and the written word

It would go far beyond the scope of this article to go into more detail about the aspect of Beethoven reception that took the form of the written word. In the first place books and articles in Danish about Beethoven are not a special Copenhagen phenomenon, and in the second place it appears that most of the literature from before 1876 is translations or adaptations of foreign publications.

Cartoon by the Danish artist Fritz Jürgensen (1818-63). The caption reads: Bravo, what a beautiful composition! Wasn't it something from Beethoven's C sharp minor quartet?
- Oh dear, no! I was only cleaning the keyboard with a woollen cloth.

Of course the selection of such foreign sources *could* express an attitude, but the body of written material as a whole does not present us with any specifically *Danish* profile. There is in fact only a very sparse amount of material to build on, and it was only in 1876 that the earliest monograph on Beethoven in Danish was available - *Ludwig v. Beethoven. Af en musikers Liv og Virken. Efter Ferd. Hiller o. Fl.,* published in the educationalist and politician Herman Trier's series *Kulturhistoriske Personligheder* (Personalities from the History of Culture). This too was really only a reworking of a German original. Before that, as the overview

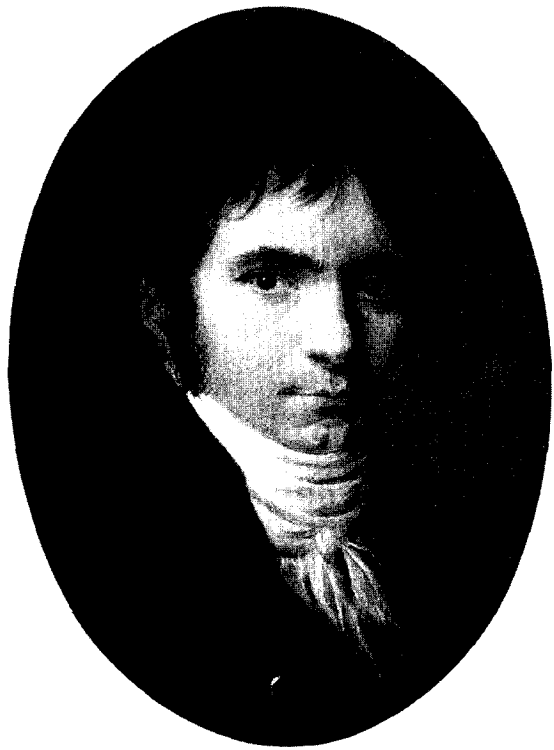
below shows, there had only been articles in various periodicals, the most important of which were those already discussed, from *Tidsskrift for Musik* in 1858 and 1859. If one were to emphasize any one strand running through this Beethoven literature, it would have to be the strong focus on Beethoven's peculiar lifestyle and the clear emphasis on the interrelations of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven - "the unsurpassed triumvirate of recent music", as the first article of 1824 puts it.

Not all of it is equally serious. At the bottom of the barrel we find the anecdotes that *Kjöbenhavns Theaterblad* featured as a serial seven days in a row in 1845. One of them goes as follows: Beethoven's old housekeeper often had difficulty at the end of the week getting the housekeeping money out of her employer. On such an occasion Beethoven is said to have hummed the questioning motif from the quartet opus 135, to which the housekeeper promptly replied "Muß es seyn?"!

Beethoven literature in Danish before 1876

(disregarding concert reviews)

1824 "Beethoven", *Litteratur-, Kunst og Theaterblad*, 1824, pp. 11-12 (translation)
1827 Joh. Sponschil, "Beethoven", *Hertha. Et Maanedsskrift*, 1827, Vol. III, pp. 391-401 (obituary - translation)
1833 Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried, "Ludwig van Beethoven", *Riises Archiv*, Vol. 54, 1833, pp. 237-260 (translation)
1836 "Træk af Beethovens Liv", *Musikalsk Tidende*, 19-20, 1836
1841 "Beethoven", *Figaro* I (publ. by Georg Carstensen), 1841, pp. 310-312
1845 "Characteertræk og Eiendommeligheder hos Beethoven", *Kjöbenhavns Theaterblad*, vol. 2, 1845, Nos. 51-57
1845 "Beethoven-Festen", *Tivoli-Avisen*, 1845, No. 95
1855 P. Scudo, *En Sonate af Beethoven*, 1855 (translation)
1857 I. Seyfried, "Om Beethovens niende Symfoni", *Tidsskrift for Musik*, 1857, Nos. 5-6 (translation)
1857 En Kunstven ("A Friend of Art"), "Beethovens Symphonier betragtet efter deres ideale Indhold, med Sideblik til Haydns og Mozarts Symphonier", *Tidsskrift for Musik*, 1857, Nos. 15-16
1858 "Af Beethovens Liv", adapted by L.B., *Tidsskrift for Musik*, 1858, Nos. 1-2 (translation?)
1859 "Fidelio", *Tidsskrift for Musik*, 1859, Nos. 2-3, 4, 6 and 7 (adapted from a German work by C.E.R. Alberti)
1870 Carl Thrane, "Ludwig van Beethoven", *Illustreret Tidende*, 1870-71, pp. 103-104
1871 I.C. Lobe, "For hundrede Aar siden", *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Musik*,1871, pp. 5-6
1875 Otto Gumprecht, "Julia Giucciardi. Et Bidrag til Kritikken af Beethoven-Biografierne", *Nær og Fjern*, 1875, No. 171, pp. 1-5



Beethoven, painted in Vienna in 1803 by the Danish portraitist Christian Horneman (1765-1844), who was the father of the composer C.E.F. Horneman. Beethoven presented the picture to his friend Stephan von Breuning. It is considered the best of the early portraits of Beethoven (today at the Beethovenhaus, Bonn; reproduced here after H.C. Robbins Landon, Beethoven, A Documentary Study, *Zürich 1970, p. 169).*

Conclusion

The foregoing scattered samples from Copenhagen musical life do not of course give us any overall picture of a specifically Copenhagen Beethoven reception in the first two-thirds of the 19th century. But they show how the composer's impact, the composition of the repertoire, the public's "understanding" of the music, Beethoven's special position (from about 1810 the most famous composer of the age and the first composer whose output was on the whole published in his own age) - in short, the whole approach to Beethoven and his music - mirrors what we find elsewhere and thus contributes to the general picture of Beethoven that was already formed in the composer's lifetime, and which despite nuances and small vicissitudes, made up and makes up the epitome of bourgeois musical culture.

As Scott Burnham in his 1995 book puts it:

> For nearly two centuries, a single style of a single composer has epitomized musical vitality, becoming the paradigm of Western compositional logic and of all the positive virtues that music can embody for humanity. This conviction has proved so strong that it no longer acts as an overt part of our musical consciousness; it is now simply a condition of the way we tend to engage the musical experience.[118]

NOTES

1. Metzger 1979, p. 5
2. Dahlhaus 1977, 238 ff.
3. See Eggebrecht 1994, 56 ff.
4. Eggebrecht 1994, 8
5. Hatting 1991
6. Krogh-Berg 1949, 107
7. Schiørring 1977/78, Vol. 2, 77-80
8. Behrend 1923
9. Hatting 1991, 154 ff.
10. The history of music periodical publishing can be read in the introduction to Fellinger 1986.
11. See Erichsen 1975, No. 1
12. Particularly worth mentioning here is Dan Fog's unique collection of indices to these catalogues (available at the Royal Library and the Department of Musicology at the University of Copenhagen) and his monograph, Fog 1984. In fact any work dealing with music printed in Denmark in earlier times owes an incalculable debt to Dan Fog - including the present article. For the music periodicals, further reference may be made to Erichsen 1975 and Fellinger 1986.
13. See Fjord-Møller-Nielsen-Stigel 1983, 541 f.
14. See the overview and analysis in Fog 1984, 35-86.
15. *C. Plenges Musikhandel. Systematisk Fortegnelse over Musikalierne i Leieinstituttet,* Copenhagen 1875.
16. See for example Emil Erslev, *Musikalsk Leiebibliotek* from 1868, from which it is evident that well nigh all Beethoven's works in the genres symphony, string quartet and piano sonata (except the last three) could be rented in arrangements for both piano solo and duo.
17. *Fortegnelse paa de nye Musikalier som sælges hos Søren Sønnichsen....,* Copenhagen 1787
18. Haly's catalogue No. 4 of 1799. Fog 1984 (pp. 205-211) has an overview of occurrences of music by Beethoven in Copenhagen music publishers' catalogues before 1804.
19. The call for subscriptions in *Adresseavisen,* 5.1.1847. The sonatas appeared under the title *L. van Beethoven's samtlige Sonater for Pianoforte. Ny correct Udgave med Fingersætning* (L. van Beethoven's collected sonatas for pianoforte. New correct edition with fingering).
20. Hove 1934, 7 and 23.
21. AmZ I, 545 ff., XIV, 645 f., XV, 463 ff., XXXII, 192 f., XXXV
22. *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn* 1822, No. 15, pp. 230-231
23. The whole programme, according to F. Kaufmann's advertisement in *Adresseavisen,* 15.6.1837, was performed "with my own inventions and constructions the harmonichord, symphonion, salpingion, chordaulodion and trumpeting machine". The third section of the concert was a "combination of all instruments"!
24. The activities of the society are described in AmZ No. 25 from 1821, *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjøbenhavn* 1822, No. 15 and in Abrahams 1876. Lisbeth Ahlgren Jensen, has kindly drawn my attention to the importance of the society for the subject of this article.
25. AmZ No. 25
26. *Kyrie Eleison, fordansket af hr. Professor Sander efter van Beethovens Musik, for første gang opført i den stille Uge i det venskabelige Selskab 1817,* Copenhagen n.d., and *Hymne No. 1 af L. van Beethoven, Text af Professor Sander,* Copenhagen 1821.
27. Date according to handwritten addition to a copy in the Royal Library of the printed text (cat. sign. Z, 259/220): *Tonekunstens Magt. Fantasie for Pianoforte, fuld Orchester, og Chor af Beethoven. Texten af Hr. Professor Sander. Opført i Det harmoniske Selskab,* Copenhagen 1817.
28. Love for det forenede Musikalske Selskab. Antagne i Aaret 1796
29. *Dagen,* No. 280, 1827.
30. Hatting 1991, 81 ff.
31. *Adresseavisen,* 2.4.1803: "...en ny stor Simphonie af Beethoven.."
32. Ravn 1886, 180

33. Royal Library, Ny kgl. Saml. 3380, 4, III
34. Cf. Thrane 1908, 426
35. Berggreen1836, col. 157
36. The tradition of entr'acte music had been introduced in the mid-1760s and resulted in, among other things, new purchases of a large number of symphonies from Germany for the purpose and mainly copied by C.A. Thielo for the Theatre ("Saml. A" and "Saml. C" in the Royal Library). When Johan Svendsen became *kapelmester* in the mid-1880s, the entr'acte music was discontinued ("a shameful abuse of the orchestra", Friis 1948, 174) and replaced by an overture before all performances without music of their own; this practice too was discontinued from 1st January 1900.
37. Six years later *Eroica* formed the conclusion of the concert at *Musikforeningen* commemorating the death of C.E.F. Weyse in 1842.
38. The work had already been performed at a Widows' Pension Fund concert in the Trinitatis Church in 1824.
39. Berggreen 1836, col. 227 ff.
40. As early as 1825 there were plans to perform *Fidelio,* which for unknown reasons came to nothing; cf. letter from Jonas Collin to the Theatre Director, 15th July 1825 (Royal Library, Collins sml. 44)
41. The first 25 *Fidelio* performances were distributed as follows: 1829/30 - 4 performances; 1838/39 - 3 performances; 1858/59 - 5 performances; 1860/61 - 2 performances; 1870/71 - 6 performances; 1889/90 - 5 performances.
42. Overskou 1854/64, 5, 74 ff.
43. The figures come from the management accounts in the archives and library of the Royal Theatre. The possibility of a slip of the pen cannot be ruled out.
44. *Skillerummet,* Play in one act by Bellin de la Liborière. Performed for the first time on 17th Dec. 1806. Aumont-Collin III, 243.
45. *Gemsenjager-Lied, Der Tiroler und sein Schatzerl, Der Alpenjäger* and *Liebe der Tiroler zu ihrem Kaiser.*
46. *Adresseavisen,* 13.3.1829. For the next ten years there were regular advertisements in *Adresseavisen* for performances of Tyrolese song in various Copenhagen establishments.
47. Overskou 1854/64, 5, 76
48. Hansen, n.d., 567
49. Undated latter from J.C. Ryge to the management, with the reply to Ryge from D. Manthey, also undated, in the archives and library of the Royal Theatre.
50. *Kjøbenhavnsposten* 16th April 1830
51. *Musikalsk Tidende* No. 16, 1836. "From a young artist's posthumous papers. A musical sketch by L. Rellstab", from German "Aus dem Nachlaß eines Künstlers", *Cäcilia,* Mainz 1826.
52. *Tidsskrift for Musik* 1859 No. 7, p. 3
53. *Ludwig van Beethoven als dramatischer Tondichter. Eine ästhetische Würdigung seiner dramatischen Kompositionen, vornehmlich seines Fidelio,* Stettin 1859.
54. Thrane 1875, 95
55. 16.2.1811 - Quintet for piano, oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon, op. 16; 24.4.1811 - "Overture"; 22.1.1813 - "Piano Concerto"; 11.4.1814 at the society *Harmonien* - "Grand divertissement for pianoforte and cello" [= cello sonata op. 69 ?]; 19.1.1815 - triple concerto op. 56; 13.12.1815 at *Det harmoniske Selskab* - "Grand symphony by Beethoven" [No. 6 or 7 (?)]; 21.3.1818 - piano concerto No. 3, op. 37.
56. Busk 1990, 35
57. Probably until the post was filled in 1821 by F. Goetze.
58. AmZ 1812, No. 39
59. Letter to Härtel dated 8.12.1811, Busk 1990, 41
60. This meeting is described in detail in Busk 1986, 55 ff.
61. Seyfried 1852, 22 ff.
62. AmZ 1819, No. 48, col. 832

63. *Konversationshefte* 8, p. 124. A rather cautious interpretation of this remark in the conversation notebook can be found in Busk 1986, p. 58.
64. Busk 1990, 156
65. Fog 1977, 14
66. Letter from Kunzen to A.W. Hauch, quoted from Busk 1988.
67. Performed at Kuhlau's concert at *Harmonien,* 11.4.1814.
68. Piano concerto in C major op. 7, *Society for the Publication of Danish Music,* 3rd Series, No. 129, 1958.
69. Beimfohr 1971, 47
70. Berggreen 1836, col. 3
71. E.g. *Træk af Beethovens Liv* (after I. v. Seyfried, Beethoven Studien), col. 298 ff.
72. Cf. Schmitz 1927
73. Hammerich 1886
74. Third, Fourth, Sixth and Seventh Symphonies four times each, Fifth Symphony three times. Only in 1849 did the First Symphony have its first performance at *Musikforeningen.*
75. Royal Library, Hagens Samling 20.4°, Franz Joseph Glæser's Autobiography in S.A.E. Hagen's transcription of 1891.
76. Cf. Kinsky-Halm, p. 376. Two letters in Beethoven's hand to Peter Glæser about details of the copying of the Ninth Symphony (Anderson 1961, Nos. 1255 and 1338) are in Musikhistorisk Museum in Copenhagen.
77. Hove 1934, 52
78. The first time under Glæser in 1849 (*Musikforeningen* concert No. 55), the second time at one of the three concerts which Hartmann conducted in 1853, while Gade was in Germany (*Musikforeningen* concert No. 86).
79. Polemics printed in Smith 1986, I, 14 ff.
80. *Flyveposten* No. 20, 23.1.1850
81. *Berlingske Tidende,* 6.1.1845 and *Kjöbenhavns Theaterblad,* 8.1.1845
82. *Dagen* No. 309, 11.11.1842
83. *Adresseavisen* No. 102, 3.5.1845
84. Cf. Hagens Samling 204 in the Royal Library ("Glæser")
85. Schering 1934. Cf. for example Beethoven's answer to Schindler's enquiry about the meaning of the D minor sonata: "Lesen Sie nur Shakespeares 'Sturm'".
86. Anderson 1961, p. 1438. Original wording: ...der schon lange bei mir gehegten Wunsch erfüllt zu sehen, unter den gegenwärtigen Zeitumständen auch eine größere Arbeit von mir auf den Altar des Vaterlandes niederlegen zu können.
87. Cf. Hammerich 1886, pp. 154, 169 and 184 ff.
88. *Politiken,* 18.2.1885
89. *Tidsskrift for Musik* 7, 1858, 4; specifically, this is about a performance of the Choral Fantasia opus 80.
90. Cf. Fabricius 1975, 232 f.
91. These are recorded in Røllum-Larsen 1995
92. Krogh-Berg 1949
93. Kunze 1987, 491
94. The information on the various performances of the Ninth Symphony comes from Eichhorn 1993.
95. *Digte af Friedrich v. Schiller oversatte af Oehlenschläger, Ingemann, Holst o. A. samlede af Frederik Schaldemose,* 1842.
96. Mahling 1978, 352-353
97. Musikforeningen concert No. 40, 1st April 1846.
98. Cf. Krogh-Berg 1949, 82. Twelfth Palæ concert, 23rd April 1897
99. Hammerich 1886, 141
100. Anon 1881/87, 298
101. There were performances of the Ninth Symphony at Musikforeningen conducted by Gade on

26.4.1856, 23.5.1857, 19.12.1865, 7.5.1867, 5.3.1872, 8.11 and 24.11.1883, 19.11 and 21.11.1885, 23.2 and 25.2.1888, and 5.12 and 6.12.1889, for the first time in the large hall of the Koncertpalæ.

102. On the face of it one would think that the note was written by Sigurd Berg, but it is not mentioned in Krogh-Berg 1949.
103. Altmann 1924, 1, p. 454: "...wogegen Gade, welcher aus Leipzig, wo er damals die Gewandhauskonzerte dirigierte, uns besuchte, mir nach der Generalprobe unter anderen versicherte, er hätte gern noch einmal den Eintrittpreis bezahlt, um das Rezitativ der Bässe noch einmal zu hören."
104. Eichhorn 1993, 83
105. La Mara 1898, Letter 56, dated 3/4 September 1855: "...Gade will use it this winter in Copenhagen in connection with the performance of this work and will translate the commentary into Danish".
106. Royal Library, Ny kgl. Sml 1716 fol. The letter is mentioned for the first time in a notice by Julius Clausen in *Musik. Tidsskrift for Tonekunst,* Vol. 6 No. 11, November 1922, p. 144. Krogh-Berg, 61 ff., mentions it too. The letter in its entirety says: "Lieber Herr Gade. Beiliegend folgt die Metronom Bezeichnung Beethovens 9ter Sinfonie wie er sie mir brieflich mitgetheilt hat". Then follow the metronome figures for all four movements of the symphony.
107. Stadlen 1979, 12 ff. and Riehn 1979, 70 ff.
108. *Dansk Musikertidende* 1914 and 1915 and *Medlemsblad for Dansk Organist- og Kantorforening* 1915. The discussion is well summarized in Krogh-Berg 1948, 91 ff.
109. Behrend 1923
110. Hetsch 1930A
111. *En Landsbyhistorie. Folkeskuespil i fem Acter efter S.H. Mosenthals "der Sonnwendhof" med tildigtede Chor og Sange af H.C. Andersen. Forlagt af C.A. Reitzels Bo og Arvinger,* Copenhagen 1855. Tove Barfoed Møller has kindly provided me with information about this play, among other things that the song in question is sung by a genial, gossipy tinker - cf. also Barfoed Møller 1995, 222.
112. Andersen had heard the opera in Vienna in 1834, on which occasion he also visited Beethoven's grave and drew it, as he states in his diaries.
113. Cf. Hoffmann's articles in AmZ, July 1810 and March 1813.
114. Oehlenschläger 1850,/51, III, 165-166
115. Baggesen had launched a vehement attack on Oehlenschläger in the famous Copenhagen literary feud *Tyhytestriden.* Weyse, after collaborating with Oehlenschläger on works like *Sovedrikken* (The Sleeping Draught) (1808), *Faruk* (1811-12) and *Ludlams Hule* (Ludlam's Cave) (1814), rejected a Singspiel text by Oehlenschläger (*Amors Hevn* - The Revenge of Cupid), claiming that the characters were "trivial and poetically inconsistent" (see Lunn-Reitzel-Nielsen 1964, Letter No. 439).
116. Quoted from Jeppesen 1968, p. 65
117. Saturday concert in 1848; cf. Skjerne 1912, 237 and Fabricius 1975, 324.
118. Burnham 1995, xiii