A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD

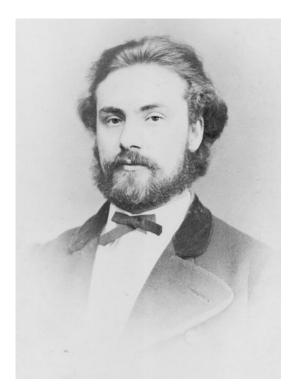
PANORAMIC CONSTRAINTS

A STUDY OF JOHAN SVENDSEN'S MUSICAL SKETCHES AND EXERCISES

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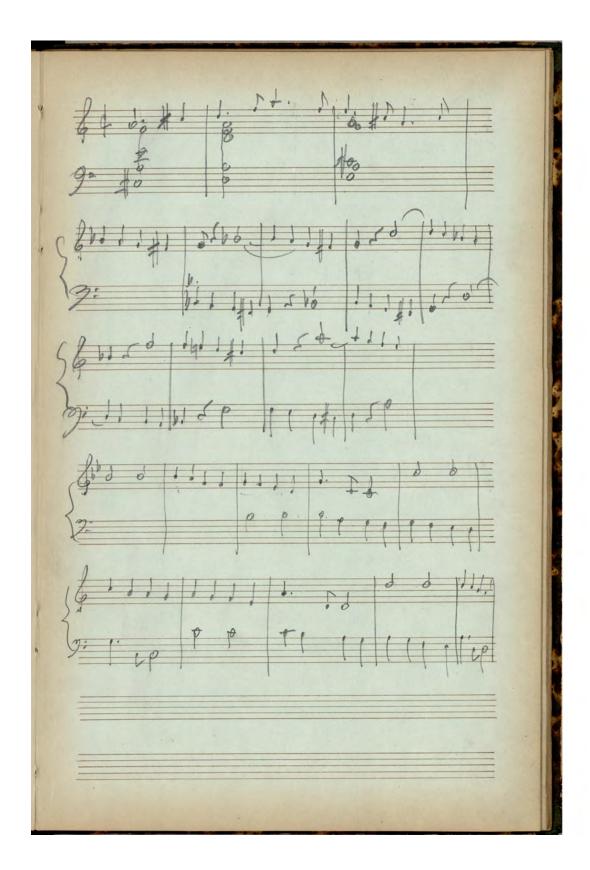
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Hundry



Musical notebook 02:53r. Two exercise canons written in Leipzig for Ernst Friedrich Richter (1864) Reproduced by permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen



Musical notebook 03:57r. Exploration sketches written in Christiania (1875) Reproduced by permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen

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Introduction

The present dissertation presents a study of all of the surviving musical sketches and exercises from the Norwegian composer Johan Svendsen's hand. The material is approached both via the physical sources and via the creative act of *writing* music. To my knowledge, this is the first thorough examination of Svendsen's sketches and exercises.

Sketch studies have traditionally been linked to a study of the *compositional process*. As scholars have pointed out over the past decades in particular, one has limited access to such a complex cognitive process solely through sketches. Obviously, sketching represents only one part of the compositional activity. I will argue, however, that sketches can provide a good understanding of the influence that *the act of writing musical notation* has on the creative process and its artistic outcome, in terms of actual works and overall style. The act of writing sketches is not merely mnemonic—it influences, and 'works back' on, the composer's imagination. Therefore this action plays its part in the creative process as well.

Musical intellect, craft and the ability to solve problems develop when composers train their techniques through the particular challenges of compositional exercises. A composer's awareness at a detailed level is sharpened through repetitive exercising within constrained technical areas. In addition, the practice of compositional techniques likely impacts the composer's musical language. Therefore, it is worth testing whether a study of a composer's compositional exercises might illuminate our understanding of his¹ techniques, working methods, style and aesthetics. Thus I will also include a study of the relationship between Svendsen's exercises as a student in Leipzig and his sketching methods.

"The history of nineteenth-century music presents itself as a panorama", Carl Dahlhaus writes in *Nineteenth-Century Music.*² In *Foundations of Music History*, he elaborates on this observation:

Aestheticising the historical and historicising the aesthetic are opposite sides of the same coin. As meaning in art is felt more and more to bear the stamp of history [. . .] there arises a corresponding tendency to view history not so much as the preliminary build-up to the present

¹ For simplicity's sake, I will generally refer to the composer as 'he'. Although composers can be women as much as men, most of them were men in the nineteenth century, which is the epoch in focus in this dissertation.

² Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. Bradford J. Robinson (Berkely: University of California Press, 1989), 3.

and one's own existence but rather as a broad panorama to be gazed upon in aesthetic contemplation. 3

Dahlhaus' perspective on music history has inspired mine regarding Svendsen's sketches and exercises. Although this material emerged over the lifetime of this artist, it presents itself as fixed—as a landscape—today. The establishment of a chronology of these documents is important though very difficult, in this case. But it is not the only approach to understanding the intentions and processes behind these musical inscriptions. The 'aesthetics of the sketches'—what they 'express'—can be interpreted based upon their visual appearance, their physical position, their musical content, their relationship to other sketches and scores, and our knowledge of Svendsen's life and oeuvre as well. Often it is not important whether one sketch was written before the other—the fact that two different yet related sketches exist is illuminating by itself.

Because sketches are both provisional and temporal within a creative process they express possibilities as often as they do solutions. I will demonstrate how works emerge from broad perspectives to become the fixed objects of published scores, how a symphony movement is 'narrowed down' from a host of alternatives to a set of 'aesthetically harmonised solutions', how musical ideas have wandered from one work to another, even over the course of decades before they found their 'home' in a completed work, and how some ideas are 'still circling' with their immanent potentialities. While Svendsen's music reached the public via 'autonomous objects', or works, his sketches and exercises speak to his private compositional panorama.

On the other hand, his prospects were constrained by history and European culture in the mid-nineteenth century, the music industry within which he worked, his imagination, his aesthetic experience, his technical capacity and his everyday routine. In his creative process some possibilities were more likely chosen than others and some were never considered. Our perspective on his choices is also constrained by our limited access to his compositional activity. The 'openness' that sketches present in relation to completed scores from his hand distorts our understanding of the intention behind them. Thus my study of the fixed documents proposes a dialectical understanding of the open and the hidden, of possibilities and restrictions, as *panoramic constraints*.

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³ ———, Foundations of Music History, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 71.

The Norwegian Musical Heritage

The Norwegian Musical Heritage (Norsk musikkarv) provides the backdrop for the present dissertation and was in its preliminary phases when I was offered a PhD stipend in 2010. The project is a collaboration between the following institutions: The Arts Council Norway, the National Library of Norway, Bergen Public Library, the Norwegian Academy of Music, the music departments of the universities of Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and Tromsø, the Norwegian Society of Composers and the Association of Norwegian Theatres and Orchestras. Norwegian Musical Heritage's website states the following about its goals:

Norwegian Musical Heritage is a major national endeavour to secure that the works of Norwegian composers are conveyed to a wide audience through philological research, critical editing and publication. Of equal importance is the preservation of the musical sources through digitization.⁴

The main goal of the project is to produce new critical editions of works by Norwegian composers of the past. These critical editions are based on thorough scholarly studies of autograph scores and parts, existing editions and secondary sources such as letters, critiques and sketches—that is, all of the sources from the composer's lifetime that might enhance our understanding of his works and his intentions in the scores. In addition, a set of principles and guidelines forms the basis for the editorial work. The resulting editions, however, are first and foremost intended for practical use, as performance material. Hence, all editorial comments are placed in a separate critical commentary, not in the musical text itself.

The sub-project now called Johan Svendsens Verker (JSV) had already been launched when I started my PhD. JSV produces new critical editions of the complete works of Johan Svendsen, both original compositions and arrangements. At the present, a handful of other sub-projects focusing on various composers are in progress as well.

Digitisation has made it possible to photograph a large body of source material that is now easily accessible to JSV editors. In addition, the relevant libraries continuously publish high-quality scans online. Even though scans and photographs can never replace the value of a direct examination of the physical sources themselves, this undertaking paves the way for easier access and more efficient working procedures than have been previously possible.

In 2007, conductor and JSV head Bjarte Engeset discovered eight notebooks in Johan Svendsen's hand at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Apparently they had not

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⁴ "Norwegian Musical Heritage," http://www.musikkarven.no/english/.

been examined before and were probably unknown to earlier Svendsen researchers. Engeset made a brief overview of them and identified sketches for a number of known works, in addition to a substantial number of exercises from Svendsen's years as a student at the Leipzig Conservatory. Among the sketches were what Engeset believed could be sketches for Svendsen's lost or unfinished third symphony. When I entered the project as a PhD candidate, Engeset and the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra engaged me to arrange a *performance version*, so to speak, of some of the 'third symphony sketches' for an anniversary concert for Johan Svendsen in February 2011. The intention was to give the audience an impression of what Svendsen had been planning, but not to realise all of the sketches or complete an entire symphony. The result was a seven-minute allegro in E minor consisting of an exposition and a coda. (The development section and recapitulation of a sonata allegro were not sketched in the source in question.) The musical character expressed in the sketches appears to be more dramatic than other works by Svendsen and even recalls the opening of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

For this interesting and rare commission, I was fortunate to be able to combine my experience as a composer and arranger with a scholarly study of Svendsen's style and sketching techniques. It should be emphasised that the piece I created was the result of both research and artistic choices. It does not *prove* anything regarding Svendsen's own musical intentions or choices. Studies of his musical style and sketching methods, however, produced a credible result that probably reflects some of Svendsen's intentions. I wanted to realise music that gives an *idea* or *notion* of Svendsen's musical voice, and a glimpse into a project that apparently remained on his desk.

This unique commission from the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra served as a very inspiring kick-start to my PhD and led to my decision to focus on a thorough study of Svendsen's sketches and theory exercises. I will also be the editor of the published sketches and unfinished and incomplete works in the JSV.⁵

⁵ I use the term *unfinished* in reference to autograph scores that Svendsen did not finish. *Incomplete,* then, refers to manuscripts with missing pages. In some cases, both incomplete and finalised autographs survive. Hence, the work is finished in at least one autograph. In other cases, the work itself seems to be unfinished. I will not use the term 'unfinished' on sketches, since they by nature represent work in progress and not a finished product. An incomplete autograph score presumably once existed in complete form. A *sketchbook* can also be incomplete, if some pages have been ripped out, for example.

Objectives of the Study

In what follows, I will clarify and summarise the two principal objectives for the present dissertation. *Objective 1* is philological—I want to map all of the sketches and composition exercises that have survived from Johan Svendsen's hand. This includes discussions of the physical conditions of the source material, its content and chronology and the relationship between different sources. I find such a basic survey to be necessary because this material has not previously been thoroughly examined.

The first aim, then, forms the basis for the second. *Objective 2* approaches various aspects of Svendsen's compositional activity. I will discuss the sketches in relation to the genesis of known works, possible unfinished projects and other reasons for sketching. Furthermore, I will investigate Johan Svendsen's compositional methods and strategies more generally by looking at the influence of his conservatory exercises on his working methods and compositional craft. The product of these investigations will be an elucidation of the relationship between a composer's working habits and compositional methods, on the one hand, and his artistic outcomes and musical style, on the other. Musical style is often related to influence, personality, genre and aesthetics and to the compositional techniques or devices⁶ to be found in a composer's completed scores. In spite of a long tradition of sketch studies, discussions of how working methods and habits can condition a composer's musical style remain uncommon.⁷ I will specifically engage with the interaction between compositional pre-established (learned) devices (such as common harmonic or contrapuntal techniques), which can be observed in the final scores, and Svendsen's private working methods and habits, and the actions these habits take in the process of composing.

Alongside the Norwegian Musical Heritage editions for practical use, I hope the present dissertation can be valuable too for musicians playing Svendsen's music (as well as for scholars and researchers).

⁶ Paul Hindemith's chapter 'Technique and Style' is primarily concered with this aspect: Paul Hindemith, *A Composer's World: Horizons and Limitations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 103-28.

⁷ The first attempt of which I am aware dates back to the early twentieth century: Paul Mies, *Beethoven's Sketches: An Analysis of His Style based on a Study of his Sketch-books*, trans. Doris L. Mackinnon (London: Oxford University Press, 1929).

Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into five parts of two to seven chapters each.

Part I: Johan Svendsen consists of chapters 1, 2 and 3. Chapter 1 presents a brief biography, some references to Svendsen's artistic beliefs and a description of his reception in his own lifetime. Chapter 2 discusses his mature musical style as a necessary backdrop to later discussions on the relationship between musical style and working methods. Chapter 3 discusses the compositional and stylistic development of his juvenilia. These works have not been studied thoroughly before. Knowledge of Svendsen's juvenilia illuminates the impact of his compositional exercises on his mature style. In addition, this chapter demonstrates the close relationship between compositional craft and aesthetics—the ability to express oneself as composer—which will be a central issue in this dissertation.

Part II: The Study of Sketches is divided into chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 takes a philosophical approach to some of the challenges associated with the study of compositional process through sketch studies and evaluates the active role of compositional techniques, sketching methods and habits in creative work. Towards the end of this chapter, I discuss the work concept in relation to compositional activity and ask, when does a work become a work? Chapter 5 takes a philological approach to sketch studies, including how sketches might be organised, labelled and analysed. I also briefly refer to the debate on sketch studies in musical analysis.

In *Part III: The Sources*, I arrive at the central source material for the remainder of the dissertation. This part consists of chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 discusses the six musical notebooks found by Engeset, while chapter 7 investigates other sources containing sketches. In both chapters, I discuss the physical characteristics of the sources, as well as the chronology and dating of their musical material. This work is central to objective 1 of the present study.

Part IV: Compositional Exercises is divided into chapters 8 and 9. Chapter 8 presents the educational system of the Leipzig Conservatory, with a special focus on composition and music theory (that is, harmony and counterpoint) at the time when Svendsen studied there. Chapter 9 analyses a selection of Svendsen's exercises in relation to Edvard Grieg's comparable exercises. Without some awareness of Grieg's work (and preferably that of other students as well), Svendsen's contributions simply appear isolated.

Part V: Private Panorama—Public Objects consists of chapters 10 through 16, where I undertake case studies of the genesis of selected works. Chapters 10 and 11 present examples from two different genres (folk tune arrangement and symphony movement, respectively) that align with very different working methods. Thus, these chapters discuss the fundamentals of Svendsen's sketching practice. Chapter 12 discusses Svendsen as a revising composer. In addition, chapters 12 through 14 discuss works that appear as 'autonomous objects' to the public yet are linked in various ways in Svendsen's private working documents. Chapter 14 focuses on problems related to the third and unfinished or lost symphony. Chapter 15 reflects briefly on other sketches that have no clear connections to final scores, and chapter 16 briefly surveys all other works with surviving sketches.

Philologically inclined readers can focus on parts I–III, whereas those who are interested in relationships between compositional methods and musical style may find parts I, II, IV and V more readily accessible. Readers with a special interest in particular works can consult chapter 16, which presents further documentation but does not introduce new elements to my main argument. Thus one may also skip from chapter 15 to the final conclusion.

An Introduction to the Source Material

As mentioned, Engeset discovered eight notebooks at the Royal Library in Copenhagen that were apparently unknown to previous researchers. Two of them are French exercise books and contain no music. The other six books will be referred to as *musical notebooks* and comprise the central material for the present dissertation. Three of them contain exercises from the conservatory years in Leipzig, and three contain musical sketches in pencil. Two contain both exercises and sketches. In other words, one book contains only exercises, two contain both exercises and sketches, and three books contain only sketches.

Even though sketches and exercises appear in the same physical books, they differ significantly in several aspects (in addition to their diverse functions). The exercises are mostly in ink and, to some extent, dated, while the sketches are mainly in pencil and never dated or labelled according to the work for which they were intended. As will be made clear in part III, exercises and sketches are written rather apart from each other, both in time and place, so two of the notebooks were used first as exercise books and much later as sketchbooks.

Otherwise, sketches exist in smaller amounts in various kinds of sources, such as loose leaves, gatherings, almanacs and autograph scores. The autographs can contain both revisions for the same work and sketches for other works.

I would say that less than a quarter of the sketches Svendsen made have survived. In the case of the exercises, however, most, if not all, of them have survived through the musical notebooks.

An Introduction to Svendsen's Compositional Phases

As early as 1739, Johann Mathesson described the process of composition according to *phases* (see chapter 5). In part II, I will discuss problems concerning the study of sketches in general, as well as the terminological basis that underpins it. I will also problematise *compositional phases* and the ways in which we might discern such phases in the visual appearance of sketches. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to present the compositional phases that struck me early in my work with Svendsen's sketches. I theorised these phases while I arranged the performance versions of the unfinished symphony draft, and they have proven somewhat relevant to the scholarly organisation of the sketches as well.

In his most complex mature works, then, Svendsen seems to have sketched in the following phases (the terminology will be discussed in chapter 5):

- 1. *Memo sketches*: Catching *germinal ideas* on paper.
- 2. *Exploration sketches:* Exploring possibilities and/or steering germinal ideas towards the work he has in mind. Generating raw material.
- 3. *Particella/continuity draft:* Composing the musical material bar by bar and (especially in Svendsen's case) planning out the texture in detail. In this phase, the syntactic structure of the work is explored and realised.
- 4. *Autograph score:* Based on relatively detailed drafts, the orchestration would be further explored and realised as he composed the score. Svendsen signed and dated these autograph scores at the end, which *intentionally* marked the completion of the work.
- 5. *Proofreading, copying, performance and publishing:* Even though this phase takes place after the work is completed as such, further adjustments often took place.
- 6. Substantial revision: Re-compositions of work took place in some cases.

For smaller works, phases 2 and 3 blend together, and it is often difficult to discern the difference between phases 1 and 2 in single sketches as well. As mentioned, these categories, and the principle of describing compositional phases in the first place, deserve a more thorough discussion, and I will return to them later.

Work Titles and the JSV Numbering

The ongoing JSV project has revealed significant variation in work titles, opus numbers and other numbering systems. In many cases, it is difficult to identify an *original title*, as the sources arising from the composer himself are often titled differently. Hence, the JSV has seen the necessity to systematise and modernise its use of work titles. Each edition preserves the *historical title* of the *main source* on the first score page. Otherwise, modernised Norwegian and English titles are used. The present dissertation uses the latter as a rule.

The JSV project has preserved Svendsen's opus numbers in the modernised titles as well. In addition, it has devised a new chronological numbering system, called JSV numbers, which will be communicated in the present dissertation.⁸

Source References and Labelling of Sketches and Exercises

Most of my sources are now digitised and available online. To label and identify a specific sketch or exercise, I will refer to its physical position in the source as follows:

Source:Leaf:Music staves:Bars.

In case of the six central musical notebooks, I will use the labelling of the Royal Library in Copenhagen from 01 to 06. The label 03:25v:1–3:2, then, refers to musical notebook 03, leaf 25v, music staves 1–3, bar 2. In this case, music staves 1–3 are bracketed together (in a particella). If there is but one sketch on a page, and I refer to this sketch as a whole, I will simply refer to the page as 06:1r, for example, meaning the sketch on page 1r in book 06. Sketches in other sources will be referred to as follows: 7882j:1r:1–3, meaning source 7882j, staves 1–3. The listing of the location of the particular source will rely upon a typical academic reference system.

In autograph scores I will refer to rehearsal marks, if they exist. When referring to the published scores, I will use both bar numbers and rehearsal marks. The new JSV editions contain bar numbers, but the old editions do not. While referring to rehearsal marks, C+8 indicates the eighth bar after letter C, and C-5 the fifth bar before C.

——, "JSV Numbers: The New Numbering System for Johan Svendsen's Works," *Unpublished* (2015).

⁸ Bjarte Engeset, "Opus Numbers in Johan Svendsen's Works," *Unpublished* (2015).

PART I JOHAN SVENDSEN (1840-1911)

Overview

The first part is intended as a frame of reference for the discussions that follow in parts II to V: Chapter 1 is a biographical mapping, which is especially valuable for those readers that are not particularly familiar with Svendsen's lifespan and how his music was received in his own time. In chapter 2 I discuss his mature musical idiom based on existing research, and argue that Svendsen was a classic-romantic composer who successfully combined stylistic features from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from new and conservative trends and from various national musical dialects.

In chapter 3, I will present a chronological survey of Svendsen's juvenilia, which involves a study of a vast number of sources other than those comprising the core material of this dissertation. Hence, chapter 3 might seem to be a digression from my main arguments, but I include it for the following reasons: First, a study of Svendsen's juvenilia up to his entrance at the Leipzig Conservatory will elucidate the stylistic development in his early career. Whereas his mature style is relatively stable, his juvenilia reveal a different condition. Second, his juvenilia can shed light on the impact his composition exercises in Leipzig may have had on his mature style. Without a study of his juvenilia, we would have little knowledge of his skills, capacities and aesthetics before Leipzig. Third, in turn, it can illuminate the relationship between working methods and idiom, between habits and artistic output. Fourth, a thorough study of his juvenilia does not exist. Chapter 3 will therefore pave the way for further research on and editions of Svendsen' early works.

It is reasonable to assume that his style *did* change in his early career, as is the case with most composers, but only a thorough study can reveal *how*. Likewise, it is reasonable to assume that compositional exercises did influence his style and skills, but only a thorough study can demonstrate *how*. Finally, it is reasonable to believe that working habits and musical style and aesthetics are connected, but again only a thorough study can reveal *how*.

Chapter 1: Biography

Johan Svendsen is one of the most influential Scandinavian composers of the nineteenth century, and around 1880 he was the most performed Nordic composer in Europe. He contributed in particular to the orchestral repertoire in Scandinavia, and his two symphonies remain among the most performed in that genre by a Norwegian composer. Svendsen was also a celebrated conductor throughout Europe. Despite the towering position he holds in the history of Norwegian art music, however, most of his works are not performed very often today.

1.1 Lifespan

Johan Severin Svendsen (30 September 1840–14 June 1911) grew up in the poor quarters of Piberviken (near today's City Hall) in Christiania (now Oslo). His parents, Guldbrand Svendsen and Pernille Marie Elg, had both moved there from the countryside, and she was already pregnant when they married. In 1851, eleven years after Johan was born, they divorced and Pernille moved back to Rendalen (a valley in Eastern Norway). Johan stayed with his father in Christiania. His relatively poor circumstances and unstable family background seem to have affected Svendsen's later career and personal life profoundly. Many letters to friends and publishers bear witness to his personal economic roller coaster, and letters to his close friend Edvard Grieg in particular testify to how finances disrupted his compositional creativity as well. Svendsen struggled to handle success and had a rather wayward attitude towards women—rumours had it that he kept his own 'Mille e tre list' of lady conquests. One musician who played under his baton in Copenhagen said: 'He had the habit of tripping himself up'. In the part of the poor conditions of the profoundation of the part of the p

Johan's father was a fiddle player, violinist, violist and cornetist in the military band at Akershus fortress, and Johan also became a multi-instrumentalist. His main instrument became the violin, but from 1856 to 1862 he too served in the military band and switched among a number of instruments. Obviously, this laid the groundwork for his brilliant and much acclaimed achievements as orchestrator and conductor.

⁹ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen: mennesket og kunstneren* ([Oslo]: Aschehoug, 1990), 164.

¹⁰ Hans Riis-Vestergaard "Johan Svendsen: En mindeudsendelse," Danmarks Radio (DR) (1961).

¹¹ Ibid.

While in Christiania, Svendsen composed eighteen known and surviving works, mainly waltzes, marches and polkas—popular music of the day—and some of them feature quotations of Norwegian folk music. During these years, Svendsen also came in close contact with continental art music, and his roughly eighty arrangements for string quartet, prepared in Christiania and during a long-lasting trip to reach Leipzig, bear witness to his familiarity with a wide repertoire of the day's music.

Svendsen recalls his early years in a letter to the composer Catharinus Elling in 1901 which reveals his debt to Beethoven as a significant formative influence. Svendsen also mentions, among others, his father; the German composer, pianist and teacher Carl Arnold (1794–1873); the Norwegian composer and conductor Johan Gottfried Conradi (1820–1896); and Ole Bull (1810–1880) as influential musicians and teachers:

Arnold taught me for about one and a half years, 1860–61, yet less in harmony than interpretation. He was, in fact, strongly interested in the violinist Svendsen, and went through all violin and piano sonatas by Beethoven and several of Mozart's with me. In addition, I was given the opportunity with him to play quartets—Mozart in particular—and as he was an incomparable interpreter (the most outstanding I have known), both in respect of practice and intellectually, I learned from him a great deal of what became the basis for my entire artistic future. The fact that my father started teaching me the violin when I entered my ninth year, and early instilled in me a taste for fine-tuning and rhythmic clarity, I dare not leave out. Ole Bull's playing, and notably his treatment of Norwegian melodies and dances, also had a strong, captivating and awakening effect on me, but the greatest and deepest impression I received, however, from the Beethovenian symphonies, which in those days appeared in the subscription concerts under Conradi's baton. 12

Little is known about any organised compositional training that he may have received during these years beyond what is mentioned in this letter.

Growing professional ambition gave rise to an urge to study abroad and come into more contact with continental art music, but Svendsen had no financial support for this as such. Nevertheless, on 24 June 1862 he left Christiania, apparently in complete secrecy, abandoning a safe post in the military band and a growing reputation as a musician in Christiania.

He lived hand to mouth while moving through Sweden, Denmark and northern Germany for about ten months, playing music in bars, serving with a theatre company

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^{12 &#}x27;Hos Arnold fik jeg Undervisning omtrent 1 ½ Aar 1860-61, dog mindre i Harmonilære end i Foredrag. Han interesserede sig nemlig stærkt for Violinspilleren Svendsen, og gjennemgik samtlige Violin- og Klaversonater af Beethoven og flere af Mozarts do med med mig. Tillige fik jeg Anledning hos ham til at spille Kvartetter—særlig Mozart—og da han var en uforlignelig Foredragsmester. (Den ypperligste jeg har kjendt) baade i praktisk og aandelig Henseende, lærte jeg hos ham en stor Del af det, som blev grundlæggende for hele min kunstneriske Fremtid. At min Fader begyndte at give mig Undervisning i Violinspil da jeg gik i mit 9de Aar, og tidlig indprentede mig Sans for ren Intonation og rytmisk Klarhed, tör jeg ikke forbigaa. Ole Bulls Spil, og navnlig hans Behandling af norske Melodier og Danse virkede ogsaa stærkt betagende og vækkende paa mig, men det störste og dybeste Indtryk fik jeg dog af de Beethovenske Symphonier som dengang kom frem i de daværende Abonementskonserter under Conradis Ledelse'. Johan Svendsen. to Catharinus Elling (National Library of Norway Brevsamling 126:10) (12 May 1901): 8.

and doing some teaching as well.¹³ Even in these demanding circumstances, he managed to compose some more dance music, a handful of songs, some string quartet arrangements and, most ambitiously, the *Caprice* JSV 29 for orchestra and violin obligato.

After those ten months of silence, Johan finally wrote to his mother from Hamburg:

A truly bad and naughty son you have in me, [who] as such without further notice disappears and does not write for an entire ten months. Therefore you are supposedly seriously irate with me. I hope that you in your loving heart will forgive me, and I promise in return to write somewhat more often.

Since my last letter from last year, I have visited many foreign places abroad, seen and heard many new things, and, in all, experienced much of interest.

During all of this I have, though, not for a moment forgotten about you. I hope all this time you have remained well and healthy, just like myself, and that you have not doubted my devotion for you, sincerely, beloved mother.

Concerning my future, I can report to you that it is possible that my greatest wish, to study in Leipzig, will come true. My God! How I would be happy if I could force [my way] into something excellent in my divine art.

Tonight I will hear one of the world's greatest artists. He is a young man named Joseph Joachim, and he plays so that people sit there just anxious that he should stop. There is something magnificent about such a man who with his violin manages to hypnotise people so.¹⁴

Those ten months had been economically and psychologically challenging, and in fact Svendsen had given up and gone to the Swedish-Norwegian counsellor in Lübeck, Carl Fr. Leche, to ask for viaticum to go home. But Leche recognised Svendsen's artistic potential and managed to get him a scholarship from the king. Thanks to Leche's efforts, Svendsen enlisted at the Leipzig Conservatory in December 1863, and four years later, he dedicated his First Symphony to the counsellor. Notably, Svendsen did not write to his mother until his 'greatest wish' was about to come true, and I find this to be indicative of a pattern in his personality at this point: Svendsen rarely wrote letters about plans or works in progress, preferring instead to report on completed

¹³ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 35.

¹⁴ 'En rigtigt styg og uskikkelig Søn har Du dog i mig, som saadan uden videre reiser sin Vei, og ikke skriver i hele 10 Maneder[.] Men derfor er Du jo ogsaa formodentlig dygtig vred paa mig; Jeg haaber at du i dit kjærlige Hjerte vil tilgive mig, og jeg lover til Gjengjeld, at skrive noget oftere.

Siden mit sidste Brev i forige Aar, har jeg besøgt mange fremmende Steder i Udlandet seet og hørt meget nyt, og i det heletaget oplevet meget Interesandt.

Under alt dette har jeg dog ikke et Øieblik, forglæmt Dig[.] Jeg vil haabe at Du i den hele Tid har været frisk og rask ligesom jeg selv, og at du heller ikke har tvivlet paa min Hengivenhed for dig Inderligt Elskede Moder.

Angaaende min Fremtid, kan jeg fortælle Dig, at det er muligt, at mit høieste Ønske, at komme til at studere i Leipzig, gaar i Opfyldelse. Min Gud! hvor jeg vilde være lykkelig dersom jeg kunde drive det til noget udmærket i min Gudommelige Kunst.

I Aften skal jeg høre en af Verdens største Kunstnere. Det er en ung Mand ved Navn Joseph Joachim, han spiller saa at Folk sidder gandske ængstelige for at han skal holde op. Det er noget storartet med en saadan en Mand der med sin Violin, saadan kan fortrylle Folk'. Johan Svendsen. to Marie Pernille Svendsen (National LIbrary of Norway Brevsamlingen 533:122) (23 April 1863): 3.

arrangements or works (there are also letters to Edvard Grieg about occasional writer's block caused by external factors such as financial difficulties). Few of his letters, as well, go into detail about his personal life, save those to a few trusted friends, such as Nina and Edvard Grieg.

Svendsen's ambition to be a solo violinist was disrupted by a neural disease in the little finger of his left hand, but it appears that he willingly shifted his focus towards composition in Leipzig. During his student years of 1863 to 1867, he composed two of his most successful works, both of which remain part of the Norwegian standard repertoire today—the String Octet in A major, op. 3 (1866) and the Symphony No. 1 in D major, op. 4 (1867). He also received much acclaim for his talents as a conductor in Leipzig.

The years from 1867 to 1872 he spent mostly in Paris and Leipzig. He composed the Violin Concerto in A major, op. 6, the Cello Concerto, op. 7 (both 1870), the two symphonic single-movement works *Sigurd Slembe*, op. 8 (1871) and *Carnival in Paris*, op. 9 (1872) and a number of arrangements. His productivity was moderate compared to some other composers, and in several letters to Grieg he complained about his rough circumstances in Paris, which prevented him from composing (he called it a 'dog's life' in February 1869).¹⁵

In 1871, he married the Jewish American singer Sarah Levett in New York. They spent the summer of 1872 in Bayreuth, where Svendsen played in Wagner's orchestra. Levett had a son from a previous marriage, and Wagner persuaded the Svendsen family to baptise Sarah and her son, and Richard and Cosima Wagner stood as godparents. Sarah took the Nordic name Bergljot. It was likely a profound adjustment for Sarah to leave her wealthy, metropolitan existence to become a composer's wife on Europe's outskirts.

In the autumn of 1872, the new family settled down in the Norwegian capital. Together with Grieg, Svendsen ran *Musikforeningen* (The Music Society), which held orchestral and chamber concerts. Svendsen composed twenty known works over the next five years in Christiania, most notably *Festival Polonaise*, op. 12 (1873), *Zorahayda*, op. 11 (1874/79), *Norwegian Artists' Carnival*, op. 14 (1874), Symphony No. 2, op. 15 (1876), *Romeo and Juliet*, op. 18 (1876/80), the four *Norwegian Rhapsodies* (1876–77)¹⁶

¹⁵ ———. to Edvard Grieg (Bergen Public Library 0215121) (2 April 1869): 7.

¹⁶ No. 4 was completed in Rome.

and arrangements for string orchestra based on Icelandic, Swedish and Norwegian folk melodies.

From the autumn of 1877 to the spring of 1880, the Svendsen family lived abroad, mostly in Paris but also with long stays in London, Leipzig and Rome. In several letters to Grieg, he complained about his low compositional activity during these years, and it appears that he completed only four works, most notably the songs op. 23 and 24.

From the spring of 1880 to the summer of 1883, Svendsen lived in Christiania again. Eight known works were completed during these years, including the enduringly popular *Romance*, op. 26, for violin and orchestra (1881) and two occasional cantatas.

In 1883, Svendsen accepted the post of conductor at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, where he would remain for the rest of his life. His new career as a fulltime conductor proved to be very successful. He was repeatedly invited to conduct abroad and remains a legend in Danish music history, where his reputation as conductor largely overshadows his reputation as a composer. Perhaps understandably: he completed only eleven known works over the last nearly thirty years of his life, most of them small and insignificant. Johan Svendsen's last decade or so was marked by illness, financial problems and alcoholism. Still, he remained a well-respected figure right up to his death, and his funeral was akin to a statesman's, both in Copenhagen and in Christiania.¹⁷

Svendsen's biographers Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe observe: 'In 1883, at the age of forty-three, Svendsen abruptly broke [...] his composer act, just as he stood at the height of his art'.¹8 Many others, as well, have asked *why* he virtually stopped composing when he got to Copenhagen. A reasonable explanation, which Svendsen himself indicated in a letter to the Norwegian composer and conductor Iver Holter,¹9 is that he was too busy conducting. Yet both Holter and Benestad/Schjelderup-Ebbe, among others, think it must have been something on a personal level. His creative 'breakdown', so to speak, coincides *too well* with the decision to take the post offered him in Copenhagen, they speculate.

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¹⁷ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 286-91.

¹⁸ 'I 1883, 43 år gammel, brøt [...] Svendsen sin komponistgjerning tvert av, nettopp da han stod på høyden av sin kunst'. Ibid., 298.

¹⁹ Johan Svendsen. to Iver Holter (National Library of Norway Brevsamlingen 150 Brev til Iver Holter:139) (21 April 1905).

Svendsen was never more than a moderately productive composer, indicated also by himself in 1871 in a letter to Grieg.²⁰ During his eighteen years as an active international composer, from op. 1 in 1865 to the move to Copenhagen in 1883, he composed less then three works per year on average, for a total of about fifty works. This includes every known and completed original composition, as well as arrangements that vary in length from short pieces to entire symphonies (all of which have been given JSV numbers). The more substantial works add up to twenty-nine opus numbers (given by himself or his publishers),²¹ in addition to some regularly performed arrangements for string orchestra.

The 'abrupt' breakdown proposed by Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, then, merits another look, because the list of completed works gives another impression: Svendsen's productivity, it appears, is in decline *before* 1880. If there is any critical year in this regard, it would appear to be 1877, when he went abroad for three years, not 1883. But this simply does not seem to be a question of a sudden breakdown. Up to six large-scale orchestral works, opp. 15 and 17–22, were all completed in 1876–77, his last two years in Christiania. Then follow, as mentioned, four minor works, plus a few revisions during his three years at the continent, and another eight works back in Christiania, but nothing like his output from 1876–77.

Thus one might argue that Svendsen's decision to move to Copenhagen in 1883 was at least partly due to an existing and extended period of low productivity, as opposed to a sudden breakdown in Christiania. And this seems perfectly reasonable until the mysterious circumstances of the Third Symphony are brought out. A famous anecdote in Norwegian and Danish music history says that Svendsen's wife, Bergljot, burned the manuscript for a completed third symphony in a fit of jealousy. Norwegian writer John Paulsen told this story in an unpublished manuscript,²² and Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe appear to accept its credibility. While Paulsen did not date this supposed incident, Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe place it during the winter or spring of 1882–83 and suggest that it may have played a part in Svendsen's compositional breakdown.²³

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²⁰ ———. to Edvard Grieg (Bergen Public Library 0215123) (14 July 1871).

²¹ Bjarte Engeset, "Opus Numbers in Johan Svendsen's Works."

²² Harald Beyer, "Aftnerne i Arbindsgade: Utklipp av et etterlat bind 'Erindringer' av John Paulsen," *Edda* (1943): 34.

²³ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 171.

I have discussed the credibility of this anecdote, along with other traces of a third symphony, in depth in a published article,²⁴ and I will return to this issue in chapter 14 of the present study. For now, I will say only that something might well have been thrown into the fire, but it was not likely the autograph score for a (nearly) completed symphony. Letters between the close friends Grieg and Svendsen suggest that no third symphony was ever completed, for one thing. Either way, I think Svendsen's complaint to Holter about his heavy workload, combined with the extended periods of low productivity that he suffered earlier in life, is as plausible a reason for leaving composition behind as any crisis that might have followed the destruction of a symphony. In addition, the present dissertation will suggest that his sketching methods and working habits also may have played a part in his creative decline. The working methods revealed in his sketches indicate a somewhat limited repertory of exploratory tools which might have lessened the possibility of stylistic development, for example. I will return to this discussion from chapter 4 onwards.

I would sum up Johan Svendsen's composer career using the following three periods:

- 1. Juvenilia (ca. 1854–1864): From *Anna Polka*, JSV 1, to *Zwei Könige Sassen auf Orkdal*, JSV 31 (the latter probably composed early in his Leipzig period). Apparently Svendsen received little or no systematic compositional education and was thus more or less an autodidact. Interestingly, about a third of his oeuvre (JSV registered works) stems from this period.
- 2. International composer (1865–1883): From the String Quartet, op. 1, to *From Mountain and Fjords*, op. 29, JSV 82 (or strictly speaking to *Persian Dance*, JSV 83, arr. *La Brise* by Saint-Säens)—that is, from Leipzig until he moved to Copenhagen. During this period, he was a professional composer with a significant international reputation, and many of these works were published and performed repeatedly during his lifetime.
- 3. Conductor career (1883–1911): From *Holberg Cantata*, op. 30, JSV 84, to *Prélude*, JSV 95. He composed only a few small pieces and some occasional works during this period.

Less than a dozen of his works, all from period 2, are performed regularly today, meaning that most of his compositional activity is unknown to the public. The existing Svendsen literature also focuses on the period 2.

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²⁴ Bjørn Morten Christophersen, "Johan Svendsen's Lost or Unfinished Symphony: Elaboration Sketches for Performance," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 37, no. 1 (2011).

1.2 Impressions by Contemporaries

Grieg's critique of the premiere of Symphony no. 1 in Christiania on 14 October 1867 describes a captivating experience:

On this day, Norwegian art has celebrated one of its triumphs. [. . .] What first and foremost strikes [one] as so refreshing in this symphony [. . .] is the perfect balance between the ideas and the technical [. . .] Svendsen makes significant claims to his audience, he guides it into the fantastic humours and romantic's magic land, but he does not leave to each and every person whether he wishes to come along on the flight or not—he abducts the audience, so to speak, with force, just because he knows how to hit the nail on the head with respect to the application of the technical means.²⁵

Morgenbladet's critique of the same concert on 16 October was less enthusiastic. The anonymous reviewer was generally sceptical of new trends and placed this symphony squarely within one: 'Concerning [inner form] it appears to us that as if this entire trend that he position himself in lets the particular details come too much into the foreground'.²⁶

The first movement of the symphony had already been performed in Leipzig during Svendsen's time as a student there, and several critics had been very enthusiastic. *Dresdner Telegraph* wrote on 14 May 1866:

But even more surprised we were by the full-blooded first Symphony movement [than by the Octet], in which both the clear form as well as the rich imagination awakened the liveliest interest, in such a way that few will doubt Mr. Johan Svendsen's great future, not least because he also seems born to conduct.²⁷

Leipziger Nachrichten had been just as enthusiastic the day before:

When we consider the passing development of our most influential masters—and compare it to Johan Svendsen's—we are convinced that Svendsen will reach the great heights and count among those who will adorn our time.²⁸

²⁵ 'Paa denne Dag har norsk kunst fejret en af sine Triumfer. [. . .] Hvad der først og fremst virker saa velgjørende i denne Symfoni [. . .], er den fuldkomne Ligevægt mellem Ideerne og det Tekniske.[. . .] Svendsen gjør store Fordringer til sit Publikum, han fører det med sig ind i den fantastiske Humors og Romantikkens Trylleland, men han overlader ikke til enhver især, om han har lyst til at være med på Flugten eller ei, han bortfører saa at sige med magt Publikum, blot derved at han forstaar at træffe Hovedet på Sømmet med hensyn til Anvendelsen av de tekniske Midler'. Cited from: Bjarte Engeset, "Forord," in *Johan Svendsen: Symfoni nr. 1 i D-dur op. 4*, ed. Bjarte Engeset and Jørn Fossheim (Oslo: Johan Svendsens Verker, Norsk musikkary, 2011).

²⁶ 'I Forhold hertil [indre form] forekommer det os, at han, ligesom hele den Retning, han har stillet seg til, lader Enkelthederne træde formeget i Forgrunden'. Cited from: Øivind Eckhoff, "Johan Svendsens Symfoni nr. 1 i D dur: et tidlig vitnesbyrd om vesentlige trekk ved hans egenart som komponist" (Dissertation, Universitetet i Oslo, 1965), 50-51.

²⁷ 'Fast noch mehr überraschte uns der beregte erste Symphonie-Satz, in welchem sowohl die klare Form, als auch der Reichthum an Erfindung das lebhafteste Interesse erregten, so dass wohl kaum, wenn nicht hindernde Umstände eintreten, an der grossen Zukunft des Herrn Johan Svendsen zu zweifeln sein dürfte, zumal derselbe auch zum Dirigenten geboren zu sein scheint'. Cited from: Bjarte Engeset, "Forord."

²⁸ 'So dass wir bei Betrachtung des Entwicklungsganges unserer bedutenden Meister—ohne eine specielle Parallele ziehen zu wollen—in Rücksicht auf Herrn Johan Svendsen zu der Ueberzeugung gelangt sind, es werde sich derselbe zu den Zierden unserer Zeit emporschwingen'. Cited from: ibid.

The violin concerto, which has more or less disappeared from the repertoire today, was also well received both in Norway and in the United States. *Bergens Tidende* wrote this on 18 (or possibly 20) February 1873:

What approaches us is no less than a complete break-up with the traditional trivial nature, not just in formal respects but also through emancipation in spirit and idea that the work reveals. [...] It is, in fact, nothing but these very same ideas that form the basis of the so-called 'Zukunftmusik'—ideas which, as known in the great cultural societies from ordinary mockery and bitter prosecution, lately have achieved uncountable excited followers [...], and which in Johan Svendsen has found one of its most talented apostles.²⁹

The *Baltimore Bulletin* wrote about the same work on 7 January 1876 and claimed it to be brilliant—as abundantly orchestrated and composed as a symphony.³⁰ Particularly in Norway, Svendsen's music was seen to represent new trends, but his compositional talent and achievements were internationally acclaimed as well.

Likewise, Svendsen the conductor was indisputably a rare breed. Musicians who played under him described the captivating force of his eyes. One even stated: 'No later conductors compare to him, [neither] Furtwängler nor anybody [else]. His plastic art was not to misunderstand'.³¹ Carl Nielsen declared him to be the most ingenious of Europe's conductors in 1900. While in Copenhagen, Svendsen was even offered the post of chief conductor at the Metropolitan Opera, which, according to his daughter, he refused so as not to let down the country that had helped him so much (Denmark).³²

In terms of personality, Grieg noted in a letter in 1885 that Svendsen was of

such a complex nature that he admittedly always will remain a puzzle to me. He has, to be sure, fallen out with nearly all musicians here, so we do not see him in our gatherings after the concerts. But, we often dine in the hotel, and he often stays at ours and tells Nina about his heartbreaks, while I am in my office.³³

This testimony seems to touch upon some of those aspects that made Svendsen continually 'trip himself up'. While Svendsen clearly managed to fascinate and captivate his audiences as both a composer and a conductor, and enjoyed widespread acclaim in

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²⁹ 'Hvad der her træder os imøde, er hverken mere eller mindre end et fulstædigt brud med den traditionelle skablonmæssige væsen, og det ikke alene i formel henseende, men også ret egentlig i medfør af den emancipation i ånd og tanke, hvoraf verket er fremgået. [. . .] Det er nemlig intet andet end disse selvsamme ideer, der ligger til grund for den såkaldte 'fremtidsmusik', ideer, der som bekjendt i de store kultursamfund fra alminnelig spot og bitter forfølgelse på det sidste er nået fremtil utallige begeistrede tilhængeres kunsteriske formål og bekjendelse, og som i Johan Svendsen har fundet en af sine talentfulde apostle'. Cited from: Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup–Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 88.

³¹ "Johan Svendsen: En mindeudsendelse," Danmarks Radio (DR)

³² Ibid.

³³ 'en så sammensat natur at han sagtens altid vil blive mig en gåde. Han er jo på kant med omtrent alle musiker her, så ham får vi da ikke se ved vore sammenkomster efter koncerterne. Men vi spiser ofte middag sammen i hotellet, og han sidder meget inde hos os og fortæller Nina om sine hjertesorger, når jeg er på mit arbejdsværelse'. ———, *Johan Svendsen*, 194.

particular for the latter, his unstable personal life would torment him throughout his career.

1.3 Artistic Beliefs

Though Edvard Grieg was an active correspondent, Svendsen seems to have started most of his letters with an apology for not having written sooner. Nor is his language as poetic as Grieg's, and concerning his artistic beliefs and goals, Svendsen wrote very little. He expressed some ambitions in the letter to his mother quoted above. In a few other surviving letters to Grieg, sent from Paris in the late 1860s, he touched upon something like an artistic belief. The following letter, written at the age of twenty-eight, is unusually wordy in that respect:

I gladly mention these two men [Wergeland and Bjørnson] because I regard them as the most prominent factors in our intellectual development, and because they, basically, have fought the same battle, namely genius against mediocrity, and finally because this distressing battle unfortunately too well characterises the circumstances back home.

I hardly need to tell you that if the people [...] were set in immediate contact with the art, and thus were not—which is truly the case in Norway—compelled to stay passive, all such disputes would end with the genuinely good's victory. The people—that is, not caught in quibbling theories but with its childish pure naivety—by instinct nearly always judge rightly [and] would without hesitation follow those who fight for the beautiful.

The best evidence for the truth of these words is the complete triumph that Wagner has celebrated against his numerous opponents in Germany. The judgment in all such cases is back home left to what they call the audience, and it is a wonder that this audience, which on the one hand lacks positive knowledge, on the other, according to a greater or lesser lack of the naivety which is necessary to feel the poetics of an artwork, allows itself to be led by these 'aestheticles' who, because they speak the cause of mediocrity, so easily make themselves understood. As long as one fights about principles, the battle will at least have a comic side to it, but when jealousy and personal hatred—how I have been despairing?³⁴

³⁴ 'Jeg nævner med Flid disse to Mænd [Wergeland and Bjørnson] fordi jeg betragter disse som de væsentligste Faktorer i vor aandelige Udviklingsproces, og fordi de i Grunden have kjæmpet samme Kamp, næmlig Geniets mod Middelmaadigheden, og endelig fordi denne sørgelige Kamp desværre at for godt karakteriserer Forholdene derhjemme.

Jeg behøver vel ikke at fortælle dig, at dersom Folket [. . .] blev sadt i en umiddelbar Raport med Kunsten, og saaledes ikke var—som det i Norge virkelig er Tilfældet—nødsaget til at forholde sig aldeles passivt, skulde alle saadanne Stridigheder ende med det virkelig Godes Seier.

Thi Folket som ikke er hildet i spidsfindige Theorier, men som med sin barnslig rene Naivitet instinktmæssig næsten altid dommer rigtigt, skulde uden Betænkning slutte sig til den som strid for det Skjønne

Det beste Bevis for Sandheden af det netop Sagte er den fuldstænde Triumf som Wagner har feiret ligeoverfor sine talrige Modstandere i Tydskland. Dommen i alle saadanne Sager er hjemme alsaa overladt til det man der kalder Publikum, og er det et Under at dette Publikum paa den ene Side manglende den nødvendige positive Viden, paa den anden Side ifølge en større eller mindre Mangel paa den Naivitet som er saa nødvendig for at kunne føle det poetiske ved et Kunsværk, lader sig lede af disse Æsthetikler som netop fordi de tale Middelmaadighedens Sag have saalet for at blive forstaaende. Det enda an saalænge der kjæmpes om Prinziper, Striden kan da i det Mindste have sin comiske Side, men naar Misundelse, personligt Had—

[—]dog hvorhen har jeg forvildet mig?' Johan Svendsen. to Edvard Grieg (2 April 1869).

This rather confusing outpouring of many thoughts and feelings seems to boil down to a struggle between conservatism and trendiness, further troubled by the jealousy among self-appointed experts who assert their status on the basis of 'quibbling theories'. One can also sense a Hegelian influence here in the quest for truth through art and beauty, thoughts that were widespread at the time. In other words, Svendsen presumably did not come up with these notions on his own, but it is noteworthy that he saw fit to repeat them. 'The people nearly always judge rightly', he says—art must be communicated to the masses, and they must take part in it, and in this way the battle against mediocrity and greediness might be joined. We hear the voice of the lower classes, which have felt poverty and exclusion from goods and pleasures. In the end, Svendsen saw art as a participant in a battle between truth-seeking and dishonest forces in society. Yet given that art's function was to lift the spirit of the people Svendsen had woefully little to say about its *content*.

A vision of art that should be understood by the masses seems to correspond with the music he actually wrote, which usually has an appealing melodic basis and is rarely disrupted by any particular contrapuntal complexity, for example. As the present dissertation will demonstrate, Svendsen sometimes *sketched* complex textures but usually simplified things later in the process. Of course, these sorts of judgments depend on the listener. The *Morgenbladet* critic found Svendsen's music confusing, while Grieg spoke of its 'magic land'. Furthermore, one should not forget Svendsen's background in music as entertainment rather than esoteric art form. Ultimately, he did succeed in combining classical clarity and safe and appealing features with less familiar or even new elements which were then perceived as either refreshing or offensive.

Regarding 'quibbling theories', it is also clear that he was not a theorist, despite the fact that he was himself partly a product of the educational system in Leipzig. In part IV, I will discuss the ways in which his craft and musicality responded to his conservatory courses. One of his pupils, Hjalmar Borgstrøm (1864–1925), also recalled: 'Svendsen disliked thorough investigations of theoretical matters. If I asked about the reason for some rule, he usually replied: It is in each and every musician's blood'.³⁵

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³⁵ 'Svendsen likte ikke nogen indgaaende granskning av teoretiske anliggender. Spurte jeg om grunden for en eller anden regel, svarte han som oftest: Det ligger enhver musiker i blodet'. Hjalmar Borgstrøm, in the article "Gamle Lindeman", *Verdens Gang* (1912), cited from: Erling E. Guldbrandsen, "Tankens talsmann - Et estetisk-biografisk blikk på Hjalmar Borgstrøm," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 25 (1999): 318.

Whether he really reflected extensively on thoughts such as these and even used them as guidelines in his own artistic career is hard to say. My impression is that he was a musician rather than a writer or a philosopher. He communicated through actual music, not through discussions about it, and his own reports about performances say little as to *why* he did or did not like them.

This chapter has presented Svendsen's career as rich and successful, yet impacted by his problematic personal life and economic roller coaster. It will serve as a backdrop for the following text studies, that is, analyses of scores and sketches.

Chapter 2: Mature Musical Idiom

In the present chapter, I will focus on Johan Svendsen's relatively stable *mature musical style* or *idiom*—that is, the works making up periods 2 and 3, as summarised in chapter 1. I will benefit from existing research in the field, which, not surprisingly, focuses on period 2. In chapter 3, I will discuss his stylistic development in period 1, and in part IV, I will introduce the possible impact that the Leipzig exercises had on the transition from his juvenilia to his mature musical idiom. In this way I hope to enrich our understanding of the relationships between Svendsen's artistic goals, technical skills, working methods, musical style and aesthetics.

2.1 Theoretical Discussions on Musical Style

Musical style is among the most discussed matters in the field of music aesthetics, by theorists as well as critics,³⁶ and a wide range of theories exists. Leonard B. Meyer states in *Style and Music* that 'it is the goal of style analysis to describe the patternings replicated in some group of works, to discover and formulate the rules and strategies that are the basis for such patternings, and to explain in the light of these constraints how the characteristics described are related to one another'.³⁷ He continues, 'Style analysis begins with classification—that is, with the recognition that in some repertory particular relationships and traits may be replicated on one or more levels of structure'.³⁸ Later, he elaborates and says:

Classification is essentially a descriptive discipline. It tells us what traits go together and with what frequencies they occur, but not why they do so. Style analysis is more ambitious. It seeks to formulate and test hypotheses explaining why the traits found to be characteristic of some repertory [...] fit together.³⁹

In other words, style analysis combines descriptive classification with aesthetic evaluation. I will add, however, that even if style analysis begins with classification, the analyst's choice of parameters is determined by his or her aesthetic preferences, knowledge of music history and so forth, meaning that a stylistic classification can never be *only* descriptive.

 $^{^{36}}$ When I describe myself as a composer, the next question is commonly 'What kind of style do you write?', not 'What do you want to express in your music?'

³⁷ Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music: Theory, History, and Ideology* (Philadelphia: University of Pensylvania Press, 1989), 38.

³⁸ Ibid., 39.

³⁹ Ibid., 43.

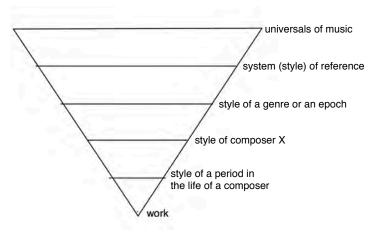
Some musicologists, such as David Cope, have tried to programme musical styles on computers in order to have the computer compose new music in those styles. 40 Such experiments can to some extent help to isolate aesthetic evaluation from descriptive classification, but the complexity and richness of nineteenth-century orchestral music has yet to be incorporated into such experiments, to my knowledge. Definitions of musical style such as Meyer's are usually too broad for computer programming:

Style is a replication or patterning, whether in human behavior or in artefacts produced by human behavior, that results from a series of choices made within some set of constraints.⁴¹

It might be, in fact, that any workable definition of musical style will be too dependent on the musical culture and analytic purposes in question to be universally applicable.

Musical style is also commonly described as a hierarchy of shared musical features. In *Music and Discourse*, Jean-Jacques Nattiez visualises stylistic levels in an upside-down pyramid.





Asbjørn Eriksen adapts this model to study the stylistic influence on certain works from other works, as well as other composers, regions, genres and so on.⁴³ While Nattiez's diagram expresses a concept of constraints in a hierarchy spanning from a culture to a specific work within that culture, it does not allow for the fact that various styles on the same 'level' are simultaneously at work in a particular piece of music or in a particular composer's oeuvre. Eriksen's adaptation exemplifies this challenge.

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⁴⁰ David Cope, Computers and Musical Style (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 1991).

⁴¹ Leonard B. Meyer, Style and Music, 3.

⁴² Drawn from Asbjørn Ø. Eriksen, "Sergej Rachmaninovs tre symfonier: En studie i struktur, plot og intertekstualitet" (University of Oslo, 2008), 415.

^{43 ———, &}quot;Edvard Griegs symfoni. En problematisering av påvirkningskildene," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 35 (2009): 41.

Meyer's theory focuses on the relationship between classical eighteenth-century and romantic nineteenth-century music, which make it particularly useful in the present case, because Svendsen's music features a number of 'classical' as well as 'romantic' characteristics. In addition, compositional *choice* is a recurrent theme in Meyer's book, which will be a central to my arguments in parts II and V. What follows is a summary of Meyer's hierarchical terminology:

'Laws', according to Meyer,

are transcultural constraints—universals, if you like. Such constraints may be physical or physiological. But for the present purpose the most important ones are psychological. Specifically, they are the principles governing the perception and cognition of musical patterns.⁴⁵

Here are some examples of laws: 'Proximity between stimuli or events tends to produce connection, disjunction usually creates segregation; once begun, a regular process generally implies continuation to a point of relative stability; a return to patterns previously presented tends to enhance closure'. Furthermore, Meyer divides laws according to *primary (syntactic)* and *secondary (statistical)* parameters. He does not go into a discussion of the cognitive processes that determine such laws, and this is outside the scope of the present thesis as well.

'Rules', according to Meyer,

are intracultural, not universal. They constitute the highest, most encompassing level of stylistic constraints. Differences in rules are what distinguish large periods such as Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque from on another, and it is the commonality of rules that links Classic and Romantic music together. Rules specify the permissible material means of musical style, for example, its repertory of possible pitches, durational division, amplitudes, timbres, and modes of attack. Rules also establish the relational possibilities of probabilities among such means. For instance [...] the laws of perception and cognition govern which parameters can be primary ones. But whether a parameter actually becomes primary depends on the existence of syntactic constraints, and these arise on the level of rules. The most familiar examples of such rules are surely those of counterpoint and harmony—rules having to do with voice leading and dissonance treatment, chord formation and harmonic progression.⁴⁷

The notion of *rule* as commonly applied in compositional textbooks overlaps with Meyer's definition but is not entirely coherent with it. For example, the 'repertory of possible pitches' is almost self-evident and thus occupies little space in textbooks, whereas the requirements of proper voice-leading correspond to what Meyer would classify as *strategies* or even *dialect* and *idiom*.

⁴⁴ Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music*, 13ff.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 17.

'Strategies' are 'compositional choices made within the possibilities established by the rules of the style'. 48 Meyer continues: 'For any specific style there is a finite number of rules, but there is an indefinite number of possible strategies for realizing or instantiating such rules. And for any set of rules there are probably innumerable strategies that have never been instantiated'.49 He then adds a comment of special significance for the present dissertation: 'For this reason it seems doubtful that styles are ever literally exhausted, as they are sometimes said to be'. 50 A possible reason why Svendsen's compositional activity declined around the age of forty, after all, is that he *felt* his stylistic possibilities were exhausted, and I will examine the connection between Svendsen's working methods and musical style in this dissertation. As mentioned, I will first demonstrate the profound change in his musical style from period 1 to period 2. In part IV, in turn, I will shed light on how this took place in the context of an accompanying change of compositional *strategies* that partly derived from his studies in Leipzig. I will connect the Leipzig change to a possible change in his working method, in addition to the likely impact of his proximity to other composers. It will become clear, in the end that he struggled to develop new strategies—or, more specifically, new working methods—towards the end of period 2, which eventually contributed to his compositional drought.51

In my opinion, Meyer's conceptions of rules and strategies overlap. He states, 'most changes in the history of Western music have involved the devising of new strategies for the realization of existing rules, rather than the invention of new rules'.⁵² But it might also be the case that what seems like a strategic choice from today's perspective was considered a rule at the time of composition. Regarding the proper resolution of the seventh in dominant chords, for example, it might seem like a change in strategy to liberate this resolution from stepwise downwards to allow for stepwise upwards and, later, for resolution by leap. But from the point of view of the earlier period, or of one particular composer as opposed to another, stepwise resolution downwards may have been considered a rule, and upwards motion a violation. Thus it

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⁴⁸ Ibid., 20.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Meyer's concept helps to explain why a composer like Rakhmaninov could compose 'romantic' music with such success as late as the first half of the twentieth century. He simply found new strategies within a relatively strict set of rules.

⁵² Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music*, 20.

appears that the *principle* of rules versus strategies is informative, but the *definition* might be too broad or variable. This complexity relates to Meyer's discussion of compositional choices as part of the presentation of his theory.

The hierarchy of laws, rules and strategies is roughly as follows: whereas laws consider the psychological effect of music, rules and strategies are the *means* or tools with which composers work to obtain this effect. Thus, two works with very different styles can have similar psychological effects, and 'any' unexpected strategy or new rule might alter the effect on the level of laws. The study of musical aesthetics often engages with the balance between these aspects.

Meyer then presents another set of concepts that works within the hierarchy of rules and strategies: 'Dialects are substyles that are differentiated because a number of composers—usually [. . .] contemporaries and geographical neighbors—employ (choose) the same or similar rules and strategies'.⁵³ In addition, Meyer defines *idiom* as follows:

Within any dialect, individual composers tend to employ some constraints rather than others; indeed, they may themselves have devised new constraints. Those that a composer repeatedly selects from the larger repertory of the dialect define his or her individual idiom. Thus, though Bach and Handel use essentially the same dialect, they tend to choose somewhat different strategic constraints and hence have somewhat different idioms.⁵⁴

Intraopus style is described as follows:

While dialect has to do with what is common to works by different composers, and idiom has to do with what is common to different works by the same composer, intraopus style is concerned with what is replicated within a single work. 55

Missing in Meyer's theory is what Eriksen calls *genre style* (genrestil),⁵⁶ which has bearing on the present case as well. As I will demonstrate, there are certain strategic differences between Svendsen's symphonies and symphonic poems, for example.

2.2 Svendsen's Mature Idiom

Critics, musicians and researchers have commented on Svendsen's musical style since his day, but only a few have produced systematic studies, including, notably, Øivind Echoff's dissertation on Svendsen's Symphony No. 1 (1965). Echoff's *classifications* are very informative and well founded, though the aesthetic conclusions he draws from them are less useful today, I think, because they are rather judiciary. Another significant

⁵³ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 24.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

 $^{^{56}}$ Asbjørn Ø. Eriksen, "Sergej Rachmaninovs tre symfonier: En studie i struktur, plot og intertekstualitet," 440.

contribution is an article by Asbjørn Eriksen on Svendsen's harmony (1999), and the biography by Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe is, of course, of interest, though its genre of popular science makes its analyses more superficial.

Analysis of composer styles (idioms) tends to focus, first and foremost, on striking features rather than their borderlines. Meyer, however, criticises such analysis of fingerprints or markers.⁵⁷ Of course, the metaphor of a fingerprint might be unfortunate, because fingerprints do not change as composers' musical idioms do, but the conceit of a stylistic fingerprint seems to successfully evoke a (conscious or unconscious) compositional strategy. A better metaphor than fingerprint might be musical signature, however. In part II, I will relate Meyer's conceptions of rules and strategies to the philosopher Ernst Cassirer's notion of Bedingungen der Möglichkeit [prerequisites of the possible]. For example, there are many compositional devices of which Svendsen was aware but did not use. Why he did not use them is a complicated matter that touches upon personal taste, the genres in which he expressed himself, and his compositional habits and craft, which I will examine closely in parts IV and V. It is probably misleading to view the fact that he never completed an opera or never incorporated fugal technique in his works merely to conscious compositional strategy if he (even as an experienced and skilful artist) was technically unable to do so with satisfaction. Even though he knew the principles and technical means of composing fugues or operas (he became a famous opera conductor), his working habits might have prevented him from doing so. Thus I suggest that the choice of genre and technique is not merely a matter of the composer's artistic and aesthetic goals and wishes but also a matter of his or her capabilities, even in the case of an internationally acclaimed composer such as Johan Svendsen. Stylistic constraints are also determined by working methods and technical skills.

To save space, the following concise presentation is not illustrated with music examples. For that, the reader should consult Eckhoff and Eriksen's works directly, or go to the scores to which I refer.

Genres: Svendsen wrote both absolute and programmatic music. In other words, he did not choose sides in the debate between Hanslick and the New German School (he studied in Leipzig but he had a keen interest in French music, and he went to the festival

⁵⁷ Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music*, 61-62.

of new music in Dessau and made friends with Wagner). But then, why should he? This was a German debate, and Svendsen was a Norwegian composer with a fascination for the various art trends. As his long letter to Grieg quoted in chapter 1 demonstrates, the function of art, for him, was primarily to be communicative.

His contributions are first and foremost in orchestral music, including symphonies, solo concertos, single-movement programmatic works, dances and marches. He wrote few but significant chamber works, a small number of little-known songs and virtually no piano music. Throughout his career, he made arrangements of compositions by star composers such as Schumann, Wagner and Liszt, and he arranged folk music as well. A few cantatas and a single ballet are occasional works that were performed only once or a few times. If he had continued composing after he took the post as opera conductor, perhaps he would have contributed to this genre as well. (According to Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, he did plan an opera in 1884.)

As will be demonstrated later, different strategies in orchestration, texture and thematic development, among other things, constitute Svendsen's genre styles.

Influence: Svendsen himself highlighted several times that Beethoven and Wagner influenced him. In addition, the names of Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Gade and Liszt appear repeatedly among his arrangements in addition to folk music. We do not know why he arranged these composers repeatedly, but presumably his knowledge of their styles affected his own, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Eckhoff adds Haydn, Schubert and Berlioz to the list of composers who influenced Svendsen.⁵⁸

Form: Meyer distinguishes between what he calls 'classical' or 'syntactic scripts', on the one hand, and 'romantic' or 'statistic plans', on the other. Syntactic scripts are based on the *functions* of formal sections and the importance of tonal relationships. Statistic plans tend to decrease the presence of authentic cadences (which usually imposes closure) and place the climactic very late in the work. In addition thematic transformation and motivic unity are often used to achieve formal coherence in romantic plans. Svendsen's music, and especially his 'absolute music', displays a clear inclination towards a syntactic script, such as in the First Symphony. The Second Symphony, however, appears to be *somewhat* more plan-based than the first. For

⁵⁸ Øivind Eckhoff, "Johan Svendsens Symfoni nr. 1 i D dur," 275.

⁵⁹ Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music*, 303ff.

example, in both outer movements of the first, there is coherence between the syntactic function of the recapitulation and the statistic culmination—that is, the recapitulation appears to be a goal that has been prepared by a combination of dominant tension *and* increasing volume. In the second, however, the recapitulation in both outer movements contains the dominant tension (obviously) but not a dynamic culmination—that is, most listeners probably would not notice the transition until it had happened. In addition, whereas the slow movement in the First Symphony has a clear sonata-form script, the equivalent movement in the Second Symphony is based on a plan of growth towards a final culmination.

Romeo and Juliet, interestingly, places itself midway between script and plan. As I will demonstrate in chapter 12, the revised version dissolves a sense of script even more than the first version. Likewise, the whole tension of script versus plan might help explaining the formal problems that Svendsen experienced in works such as *Caprice* (the last work in period 1) and *Zorahayda* (from period 2), to which I will return later. Having said this, it is generally agreed that Svendsen managed to work within the classic form models with great flexibility and individuality and, in general, fashions an intentional rather than happenstance balance between script and plan thinking in each work.

Periodicity: Svendsen's music is generally characterised by its clear periodicity, for the most structured in four-bar phrases.⁶⁰ As will be discussed in chapter 3, the dances and marches that dominate his juvenilia had a measurable influence on his art music in this respect. His clearly defined phrase structure, most notably exemplified in the First Symphony, for example, works in the direction of a classical script. It makes the music more *rhetorical*, which, as Meyer states, is a classical feature rather than a romantic one⁶¹—the latter, often inspired by impressions from nature, strives instead towards the *organic*.

Rhythm: Eckhoff describes Svendsen's rhythmic designs as 'resilient and pronounced but [...] rarely complicated or ambiguous'.⁶² Dotted rhythms, polyrhythms of three against two, tied notes (from weak to strong beats) and syncopations are

 $^{^{60}}$ Øivind Eckhoff, "Johan Svendsens Symfoni nr. 1 i D dur," 275b.

⁶¹ Leonard B. Meyer, Style and Music, 191.

⁶² Øivind Eckhoff, "Noen særdrag ved Johan Svendsens instrumentalstil," in *Festskrift til Olav Gurvin, 1893–1968*, ed. Finn Benestad og Philip Krømer (Drammen; Oslo: Lyche, 1969), 57.

common.⁶³ The latter two, I would add, generally apply to the melodic voices—metrical displacement of the complete texture happens rarely (most notably in Symphony No. 2, first movement, which contains a number of 'Eroicaian metric dissonances' in 3/4 metre.

Melodic ingredients: Svendsen's melodies are, as Eckhoff says, 'usually clearly anchored in one key'.⁶⁴ Furthermore, diatonic stepwise motion dominates. Arpeggiated triads are common in quick tempos, and a typical turn is the arpeggiation of the tonic as 5-3-1 at phrase endings.⁶⁵ Chromaticism in the melodic foreground appears mostly during transitions or development sections, so that the overall relationship between melodic chromaticism/diatonicism and formal sections strengthens the work's formal *functionality*, and thus its sense of a syntactic script. As discussed below, chromatic voice-leading is very common but primarily in the accompanying voices.⁶⁶

There are also a number of folkloristic melodic features in many of Svendsen's passages. Even his own themes evoke Norwegian folk music from time to time, as in the Trio of *Festive Polonaise*, the Intermezzo from Symphony no. 2 and opening theme of *Norwegian Artists' Carnival*. The so-called 'Grieg motive' (8-7-5) is also quite frequently used.

Thematic structures: Eckhoff emphasises the importance of dominant tension in Svendsen's thematic constructions, which is most likely a Beethovenian influence. He also argues convincingly for a very close inter-movemental thematic relationship in the First Symphony,⁶⁷ which, according to Meyer, would pave the way for a statistic plan.

Outer voices: Eckhoff identifies one specific relationship between the outer voices which occurs relatively often—namely, diatonic motion in parallel tenths.⁶⁸

Tonality and tonal relationships: Svendsen's music is heavily dominated by works in the major keys, which correlates better with eighteenth-century repertoire than with his own era. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the minor keys were almost as equally exposed as the major keys, but not in Svendsen's music.

The tonal relationships between the movements in the two symphonies are traditional: T-D-S-T and T-S-D-T, respectively. The two solo concertos, the string quartet

^{63 ———, &}quot;Johan Svendsens Symfoni nr. 1 i D dur," 260.

⁶⁴ ———, "Noen særdrag ved Johan Svendsens instrumentalstil," 56.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ ———, "Johan Svendsens Symfoni nr. 1 i D dur," 235.

^{68 ———, &}quot;Noen særdrag ved Johan Svendsens instrumentalstil," 61.

and the string quintet have similar conservative patterns. Svendsen's only use of a remote mediant relationship is in the String Octet in A major (which has its slow movement in C major). Beethoven often used this feature, and it was very popular in the nineteenth century in general. Despite Svendsen's tendency towards eighteenth-century strategies, however, he did expand the tonal repertory *within* movements. In three of the four outer movements of the symphonies, the secondary theme is in the dominant minor (not major). In addition, the relationship between the phrase structures of the main and secondary themes does not follow the norm in several symphony sonata-allegros, where the main theme is a long, self-contained theme (Symphony no. 1, first movement, and Symphony no. 2, first and fourth movements), whereas the secondary theme is a short motive that develops quickly. The secondary theme, then, hardly complies with the notion of a 'lyric theme', as one might expect. In the relationship between these themes, it would appear, Svendsen found a new strategy: the secondary theme represents 'instability' as opposed to the common script.

Harmony: From Eckhoff's lengthy discussions of Svendsen's harmony, I will only mention a few remarks: '[He] likes strong cadences', especially II-V-I,⁶⁹ Eckhoff observes, drawing attention to another strategy that emphasises syntactic scripts. The tonality is rarely ambiguous, which is apparently counter to Meyer's point that nineteenth-century composers tend to disguise their harmonic formulas. Long suspensions are often used on seventh chords.⁷⁰

Asbjørn Eriksen highlights a set of three features in his article 'Johan Svendsens harmonikk' that 'partly illustrates the range of inventiveness in the composer's harmony: (1) Chromatic lines (especially descending) in lower voices[,] (2) reharmonisations of the same melodic segment and (3) modal progressions'.⁷¹ Concerning the first, Eriksen distinguishes among Svendsen's chromatics according to their *affinity of function* (chord progressions based on the cycle of fifths) or *affinity of substance* (chord progressions based on joint notes and half-step motion), respectively.⁷² In the former case, chordal functions are recognisably related to a tonal centre; in the latter, the *linearity* of the voice-leading is the driving force. The distinction

^{69 ———, &}quot;Johan Svendsens Symfoni nr. 1 i D dur," 265.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 272

⁷¹ Asbjørn Ø. Eriksen, "Johan Svendsens harmonikk," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 25 (1999): 258.

⁷² (These terms were first introduced by Danish theorists Teresa Waskowska Larsen and Jan Maegaard.) Ibid., 259.

between these two principles is rarely apparent at a local level, from one chord to the next, but while somewhat more expanded area of harmonic chord successions are considered.

Eriksen concludes his article as follows:

Svendsen studied at the Leipzig Conservatory for three and a half years, but his harmony bears little evidence of academic teaching. He seems to have an instinct for the right choice of chord and the most appropriate progression, and his harmony has an attractive sensuality which may remind us of the late Schubert. Svendsen was hardly an iconoclast of harmony in his own time, and the most progressive features of Grieg's harmony—such as the multi-pitched chord complexes, the parallel harmony, dissonances stretched into planes of timbre, and the 'pandiatonic' use of dissonance in *Slåtter*, op. 72—lay outside his range. Nevertheless, concerning many other harmonic aspects, Svendsen is the equal of his great countryman. Svendsen possesses a significant harmonic vocabulary, but the music is so elegantly and smoothly composed that its sophistication may pass unnoticed.⁷³

The quote above, as well as Eckhoff's statements on the matter, argues for an interpretation of Svendsen's harmony as smooth and colouristic but not particularly innovative in a European nineteenth-century context. Any comparison with Grieg's harmony, however, should not in fact extend beyond works from around 1880. The few works from Svendsen's third period, I would venture to say, derive from his experience and routines rather than any lingering experimental drive. In the next chapter, I will investigate his juvenilia to better understand the development of his harmonic language and how it relates to his Leipzig studies.

In jubilant endings, a variety of cadential progressions occur, and the final cadence is plagal⁷⁴ (especially VI-IV-I) as often as it is authentic (V-I). Within the stereotypical static progressions that traditionally occur between I and V, Svendsen often replaces the dominant with other chords, such as VII^4_3/v (e.g., $Cdim-C)^{75}$ or VI^{76} in his endings. In this way, he follows a romantic strategy which, according to Meyer, is to favour plagal cadences in such endings in particular, and thus avoids the common and

⁷³ 'Svendsen studerte i 3 ½ år på Leipzig-konservatoriet, men hans harmonikk bærer lite preg av akademisk læring. Han synes å ha et instinkt for det rette akkordvalg og den mest passende progresjon, og hans harmonikk har en tiltrekkende sensualitet som kan minne om den sene Schubert. Svendsen var knapt noen harmonikkens ikonoklast i sin samtid, og de mest fremadskuende trekkene i Griegs harmonikk—som f.eks. de mangetonige akkordkompleksene, parallellakkordikken, dissonanser trukket ut som klangflater og den "pandiatoniske" dissonanstettheten i slåttene op. 72—lå utenfor hans rekkevidde. Med hensyn til mange andre harmoniske aspekter er Svendsen imidlertid helt på høyde med sin store landsmann. Svendsen rår over et stort harmonisk vokabular, men musikken er så elegant og smidig utformet at man ikke alltid legger merke til det harmoniske raffinementet'. Ibid., 271f.

⁷⁴ String Octet (1st and 4th movements), String Quintet, *Coronation March, Norwegian Artist's Carnival*, Polonaise, Op. 28

⁷⁵ See Norwegian Rhapsody nos. 3 and 4 and *Norsk Springdans*

⁷⁶ Symphony no. 2, Finale and Polonaise, Op. 28 (bVI)

⁷⁷ Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music*, 285ff.

expected progressions (such as the authentic cadence). Svendsen's repertoire of alternative cadential patterns is, in fact, quite extensive, and while the jubilant textures are clichés, the harmonic progressions are fresh, representing an eighteenth-century rule embedded within a nineteenth-century strategy.

Counterpoint: Regarding Svendsen's polyphony, Eckhoff writes:

Svendsen [had] very rare talent as a contrapuntist. [. . .] However, his polyphony is not particularly linear; it always shines through that it is the sense of timbre which forms the basis for his imitations and contrapuntal combinations of themes. The voices willingly comply with the dictation of timbre and harmony, and the intervals of the imitations are constantly modified in this regard. And the 'polyphonic' sections reveal as clear a periodicity, and the four-bar phrases are as clearly marked, as [is the case] in the homophonic sections.—Noteworthy is the fact that Svendsen's counterpoint only expresses itself in precisely the two aforementioned ways: as imitations, sometimes longer strettos, and as combinations of melodies (two themes, or one theme and one or several free counter-melodies). A floating, streaming polyphony with its developmental techniques is not Svendsen's interest. In contrast to Mendelssohn and Schumann, he never employ a true fugato in his outer movements or in the one-movement compositions. Presumably, this indicates a lesser interest in baroque music than the two aforementioned masters.⁷⁸

In other words, Svendsen finesses his polyphony in his textures, though the variation in polyphonic technique is limited. I will engage Eckhoff's description of Svendsen's 'rare contrapuntal talents' in more detail later, along with his statement that a 'sense of timbre forms the basis' for his polyphony. His polyphony is also a matter of craft, as I will demonstrate in chapter 9 in particular.

Orchestration: This is the area where Svendsen has won the most praise, both by contemporaries and by musicians and scholars since his time. Edvard Grieg's review of the premiere of Symphony no. 1 on 14 October 1867 (partly quoted in chapter 1) is a good summary:

Svendsen's orchestration belongs to the most perfect existing in this area, which is this successful perception of the ideas, in which he knows how to attract not only the imaginative listener but even in this respect the complete amateur as well. It is natural to compare his orchestral art with the first master of orchestration in the Nordic countries, Niels W. Gade, and it is interesting to observe how his principles regarding treatment of the instruments go in the complete opposite direction. Gade blends the various timbres, so that they come together in one great character. Svendsen, on the other hand, distinguishes the various groups of instruments on purpose, as they

⁷⁸ 'Svendsen [hadde] helt sjeldne evner som kontrapunktiker. [. . .] Hans polyfoni er imidlertid ikke

innfører han aldri et virkelig fugato i sine yttersatser, eller i de ensatsige komposisjonene. Det kan formodentlig tas som et tegn på at han var mindre interessert i barokkmusikk enn de to nevnte mestre'. Øivind Eckhoff, "Johan Svendsens Symfoni nr. 1 i D dur," 276-77.

utpreget lineær; det skinner alltid i igjennom at det er klangfølelsen som ligger til grunn for hans imitasjoner og kontrapunktiske forening av temaer. Stemmene føyer seg villig inn under klangens og harmoniforbindelsenes krav, stadig blir intervallene i imitasjonene modifisert ut fra dette hensyn. Og de "polyfone" partiene er like tydelig periodisert, inndelingen i firetaktige setninger er like markert der som i de homofone avsnitt.—Bemerkelsesverdig er det også at Svendsens kontrapunktikk bare ytrer seg på de to nettopp nevnte måtene: som imitasjoner, eventuelt lengre trangføringer og som kombinasjon av melodier (to temaer, eller ett tema og en eller flere friere motstemmer). Den flytende, strømmende polyfoni med fortspinnungsteknikk er ikke Svendsens sak. I motsetning til Mendelssohn og Schumann

mutually respond. Hence the characteristic soft colour in Gade and the sharp contrasts in Svendsen. 79

Grieg's comparison of Gade and Svendsen recalls one aspect that distinguishes the so-called *German* and *French* schools of orchestration—namely *blend* versus *contrast* in timbre, respectively.⁸⁰ Another difference between the two schools in question is textural⁸¹ complexity (polyphony) versus simplicity (homophony), respectively. Furthermore, while the German school appears rather conservative in the use of new instruments and techniques, the French is progressive in this regard. The most important reason for these differing trends is the symphonic inclination in Germany as opposed to the operatic/dramatic inclination in France and Italy.⁸²

Svendsen's orchestration, interestingly, positions itself between these two opposites. As Grieg noted, Svendsen favoured clarity and contrast, as in the French school, likely under the influence of Berlioz. Svendsen's scores quite often expose compound and colouristic string textures with the extensive use of divisi and combinations of several playing techniques. Notable examples are *Carnival in Paris*, op. 9 (1872), and *Zorahayda*, op. 11 (1874/79). Divisi on its own is common in all of his works, and especially octave divisi in the violins and violas, so that these voicings become interlocked ('forked').

Likewise, Svendsen's woodwinds often contrast the strings. In tutti sections, he always places the woodwinds *above* the brass, in accordance with Rimsky-Korsakov's notes regarding the most effective and brilliant tutti.⁸³ (According to Adam Carse, this

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⁷⁹ 'Svendsens Instrumentation hører til det meste fuldendte, der i denne Retning existerer, det er denne vellykkede Sandseliggjørelse av Ideerne, hvorved han har forstaaet ikke alene at drage den fantasifulde Tilhører, men endog den i denne Forstand aldeles Ubemidlede med sig. Det ligger nær at sammenligne hans orkestrale kunst med Nordens første Mester i Instrumentation, Niels W. Gade, og det er interessant at iagttage, hvorledes hans Principer med Hensyn til Behandlingen af Instrumenter gaa i stikk modsatt Retning. Gade søger muligt at blande de forskjellige Klangvarver, saaat de smelte sammen til en stor Karakter. Svendsen adskiller derimot med Hensigt forskjellige Grupper af Instrumenter, som gjensidigt besvare hinanden Deraf den gjennemgaaende bløde Farve hos Gade, og de skarpe Kontraster hos Svendsen'. Ibid., 48-49.

⁸⁰ Adam Carse, The History of Orchestration (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), 300.

⁸¹ I use Rolf Inge Godøy's definition of *texture* in this dissertation. Godøy approaches orchestral analysis using the three interdependent concepts of *harmony, texture* and *timbre*. Thus, texture is different from but not detached from harmony. Rolf Inge Godøy, "Skisse til en instrumentasjonsanalytisk systematikk," *Unpublished* (1993). As Godøy remarks, both texture and timbre have been undermined in traditional music theory. Texture is, like harmony, 'observable' in the score and has been more or less implied (though not necessarily spelled out) in the notion of the *Tonsatz*. Timbre, apparently, has had a looser connection to the *Tonsatz*, partly because a conventional *Tonsatz* in the eighteenth century could be performed using various instrumentations.

⁸² Thomas Erma Møller, "Fransk og tysk orkestrering på 1800-tallet," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 37 (2011).

⁸³ Nicolay Rimsky-Korsakov, Principles of Orchestration (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), 92.

'Russian orchestration' is inherited from the French school.⁸⁴) This is not as often the case in German symphonic music, where clarinets and oboes are often to be found in the same register as the brass, even after the introduction of valve horns. Svendsen's woodwinds, like Beethoven's, often participate in a conversation made up of short phrases.

But Svendsen's brass writing is almost as conservative as Brahms's. While he always demands valve instruments, the trumpets are regularly scored almost as though they were natural instruments. Triadic figures and octave doublings are very common, and special effects in the brass section are extremely rare—the stop horn, for example, is used *only once*, in *Carnival in Paris* (b. 368-377/0-18).

In his two symphonies and two concertos, the instrumentation is literally the same as Schumann's: (2222 4230 timp strings). The piccolo flute and additional ('Turkish') percussion are included in *some* other works, while the English horn, Eb and bass clarinets and contrabassoon never occur.

The orchestration in general is very well crafted, always in balance and usually very idiomatic. A flexible and inventive repertoire of doublings and other instrumental combinations supply great variety in its colour.

To summarise, Svendsen's orchestration draws upon the contrasts and clarity of the French school and the moderate use of special effects of the German school. He seems to be careful not to overuse the colouristic string textures he inherits from Berlioz. The well-known recapitulation in the first movement of Symphony no. 2 and the pizzicato arpeggios in the end of the Scherzo of Symphony no. 1 are particularly inventive special effects in that genre.

2.3 Cultivated Compositional Strategies

In the following, I will present a few recurring formal-textural situations in Svendsen's music—that is, special textural strategies, harmonic progressions or thematic treatments that appear at formally equivalent moments in several works. Returning to Meyer, syntactic scripts are strengthened by *texture* in addition to tonality and thematic recurrence. In Svendsen's case, it appears that he reused and further developed certain successful strategies from his early works in his later compositions. Such strategies are

⁸⁴ Adam Carse, The History of Orchestration, 302.

not meant as *inter-opus* references, though he was probably perfectly aware of the reuse while he was composing. Instead, earlier works are models for new ones.

Clear opening statement: Svendsen has a tendency to open his works with a clear statement—even works that begin in a quiet, subtle or 'seeking' mood display a sense of clarity in the opening bars. Three different textural situations, in general, dominate in bar 1:

- 1. No introduction: A theme (usually the main theme) is presented in full length beginning in bar 1. Examples: Symphony nos. 1 and 2, String Quartet, Violin Concerto, Cello Concerto, Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2.
- 2. Orchestral unison: The first sound is a pure orchestral unison. Examples: Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1, *Carnival in Paris*, the first version of *Norwegian Artists' Carnival* (the revision, which is played today, opens with imitation)
- 3. A combination of 1 and 2—that is, a theme is played in unison (octaves). Examples: String Octet, String Quintet, *Sigurd Slembe, Romeo and Juliet* and *Zorahayda*. The latter work has perhaps Svendsen's most complex and ambiguous opening, with three textural elements present already by bar 3. The finales of both symphonies and the octet open with a thematic unison in forte.

Openings like Beethoven's First Symphony (characterised by tonal ambiguity) or Seventh Symphony (with the two contrasting elements of tutti chords and solo woodwinds) or Schumann's Second Symphony (with two prominent textural layers simultaneously) are atypical of Svendsen's music.

Slow introductions: The first movement in eighteenth-century symphonies tends to open with a slow introduction. Svendsen alters this strategy in most of his cyclic four-movement works by placing the slow introduction in the finale instead. The Octet's finale opens with a slow introduction featuring the main theme. This allows the head motive to intensify gradually as the tension builds towards the Allegro. In the finale for Symphony no. 1, written the following year, Svendsen develops this strategy further. In this case, the introduction foreshadows the secondary theme first and then builds tension using the motives for the main theme. In the finale of Symphony no. 2, nine years later, he merely repeats this strategy. He also explores several variants on the strategy in other works. The Quintet's first movement follow the same plan as the Octet's finale. The introductions for the two single-movement works Sigurd Slembe and Romeo and Juliet follow a strategy that is similar to the symphony finales—that is, the secondary melody

forms the basis for the introduction.⁸⁵ However, in the latter two cases, and especially in *Romeo and Juliet*, the introductions are more compound in nature and function rather as independent formal sections than anticipatory introductions.

Hymns with decorative obligatos: In the slow (third) movement of the Octet, there is a long passage featuring third-species counterpoint⁸⁶ (b. 85–136/E to K-5). Its character might be described as a hymn-like melody accompanied by a decorative obligato. In Svendsen's next work, Symphony no. 1, the procedure is repeated in the slow movement (b. 140–160/G+2 and from b.90/D+5 [1:3]). In both of these works, the texture in question is connected to the transition from development section to recapitulation. A similar strategy is used in the finale of the symphony (b. 271–302/G). Here, the decorative part is a triadic figure based on the main theme rather than a proper melodic line, but the effect is similar, namely two different 'speeds' placed in counterpoint—a solemn fundament with playful decoration. Then, in the slow movement of Symphony no. 2, the strategy returns (b. 99-106/F). In both solo concertos, similar textural situations of slow against fast occur relatively frequently, because the solo part often has a decorative textural function. But a solemn character is not as present there as it is in the examples here. Interestingly, the technique seems more prominent in Svendsen's absolute music than in his programmatic works. The combination of solemnity and decoration that Svendsen seems to seek might be inherited (though probably not directly) from the opening of the *Credo* from Bach's Mass in B minor. There, a seven-part fugue reminiscent of Palestrina is supported by a 'walking bass' in quarter notes (representing der Uhr der Zeit⁸⁷). That is to say, the texture is 'inverted' yet still remains third-species counterpoint.

Harmonic deadlocks: The smooth harmonic progressions dominating much nineteenth-century music are reinforced by their metrical stability as well as their steady development. Yet when the harmonic progression halts on a chord with a dominant function, it creates a sense of expectation. If this chord is not sustained but rather repeated, a discrepancy between metrical and harmonic pace results. I call this effect a harmonic deadlock.

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⁸⁵ The notated tempi of these introductions are 'Allegro moderato' and 'Moderato ma non troppo', respectively, but the dominant long note values give the impression of slow tempi.

⁸⁶ The relationship between the note values in two voices is 1:4—for example, quarter notes in one voice against sixteenth notes in another.

⁸⁷ Walter Blankenburg, Einführung in Bachs h-moll-Messe (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), 63.

Svendsen utilises this technique frequently and in various ways. Sometimes, the same timbre is repeated (usually four times), even if the chord in question might also be alternating in a dialogue between different registers or orchestral groups. A possible influential source for this is Beethoven's Symphony no. 5, first movement, at the end of the development section, see example 2.1 (a).88

Example 2.1 (a): Beethoven: Symphony no. 5, 1st mvt., b. 215-228.



Example 2.1 (b): Romeo and Juliet, b. 256-259.



In Svendsen's earliest works, harmonic deadlocks appear at a few points—for example, in the String Octet's second movement (b. 199–206/G+9) and in the String Quintet's third movement (b. 170–177 and 190–197). The effect also occurs in *Sigurd Slembe* (b. 155–162 and 343–350) and briefly in Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2 (b. 207–312). However, it is most extensively utilised in the finale of Symphony no. 2 (b. 163–167/E, 191–210/F, 255–266/H, 295–302/K-8, 323–330, 455–458 and 482–485). Likewise, it is a prominent effect in *Romeo and Juliet* (b. 218–227/G, 240–244/H-4, 256–259/I-8, 370–381 and 392–399). In the latter two works, the deadlock chords most often occur in a dialogue between two orchestral timbres, which again alternates (in four- or eight-bar periods) with yet another orchestral texture—in other words, a situation that is quite similar to the Beethoven example above.

Closely related to the deadlock chords is the frequent use of sustained sounds (especially on dominant chords), often presented in tutti ff. In these cases, the metre

⁸⁸ Beethoven develops the idea from b. 198. The passages at b. 215–227 and 233–239 are of special interest to my discussion.

becomes less prominent, and the effect is rather a 'stationary sound block' than a deadlock.

Tempo augmentation: I will, briefly, also mention an effect that arises around the variety of perceived tempi in some Svendsen works. In several of his allegros, there are longer passages made up almost entirely of longer note values, which makes the tempo seem to be halved or quartered. Hence, the main tempo and principal musical character becomes vague for a time, especially if the allegro is conducted with rubato. This effect is well utilised in a short but emotionally charged passage in the second version of *Romeo and Juliet* (from bar 382).⁸⁹

2.4 Intraopus Styles

Thus far, I have focused on characteristics of Svendsen's strategies that are repeated in many works and participate in constituting his stylistic idiom. One might say that his palette is not as extensive as those of his peers. But one should also remember that the bulk of the works that constitute this idiom were written over the course of two decades or less.

It is also true that different techniques and characteristics prevail in different works, which strengthens the genre and intraopus styles. Svendsen, in his mature period, judges the ability of his compositional craft with great success, I think. As mentioned, special effects are more present in programmatic works than in symphonies. For example, Berliozian string textures are most prominent in *Carnival in Paris* and relatively little used in the symphonies. Eckhoff notes that *Romeo and Juliet*, on the other hand, is 'crammed with Tristan chords'.90 In this work, striking imitations between the soprano and tenor registers (for example, violins and cellos) are presented as thought to represent the interaction of the characters in Shakespeare's drama—thus polyphonic textures are more pervasive than usual. The orchestration in *Romeo and Juliet* is also much more German and blended than elsewhere. These features seems to drive the intraopus style towards what Meyer would call a *simulation*91 of certain aspects of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*.

⁸⁹ A similar change of tempo occurs in the secondary theme section in many early Haydn symphonies, before he learned to keep elements from the main theme section 'present' in the more 'lyrical' passages. However, I doubt Svendsen was familiar with Haydn's earliest symphonies.

⁹⁰ Øivind Eckhoff, "Johan Svendsens Symfoni nr. 1 i D dur," 275.

 $^{^{91}}$ Taken from Asbjørn Ø. Eriksen, "Sergej Rachmaninovs tre symfonier: En studie i struktur, plot og intertekstualitet," 417.

Zorahayda is Svendsen's only programmatic work pervaded by slow tempi. It is divided into several clearly separated sections and thus stands out from his other works. The fact that thematic transformational technique is not apparent here might, in line with Meyer, help to explain why Svendsen himself was dissatisfied with it (see chapter 12). The work does not align with either a strong syntactic script or a statistic plan schemata.

The difference in character between the two symphonies is described as follows by Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe:

The technical mastery was evident in the D major symphony [no. 1] already, and the style had not changed particularly throughout the years. The difference between the two works appears especially in the thematic structure. In the first symphony, and admittedly also in the chamber musical works from the Leipzig years, the themes had a clear periodicity which could appear to be somewhat short of breath, and with his youthful vigour, they had an insistent, almost aggressive character. This relationship is changed in the second symphony. This becomes evident already from the first bar—a well-balanced, calmly shaped melodious main theme, monumental in character in spite of the allegro tempo. 92

This seems to agree with my sense that Svendsen's compositional apparatus, and thus his stylistic characteristics, is already fully developed in his final year as a conservatory student (1866–67), while his strategies are so well distributed from one work to the next that they mostly appear to be unique and characteristic. In line with Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe's statement, and my discussions above, I would say that the Second Symphony goes *somewhat* more in the direction of romantic plan thinking than the First.

Then, *Norwegian Rhapsodies*, especially nos. 1 and 3, have a potpourri-like structure inherited from Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsodies* and Svendsen's own waltz cycles from period 1. Thus their structures are very different from other Svendsen works.

The above presentation of a Svendsen idiom seems to characterise him as a 'classic-romantic' composer. The form, phrase structure and tonal plots of his music generally look towards eighteenth-century idioms, whereas the harmony (including his modality and chromaticism), orchestration and choice of genre generally align with the midnineteenth century. A trained listener who was unfamiliar with Svendsen's music would

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⁹² 'Det tekniske mesterskap var tydelig allerede i D-dur-symfonien, og tonespråket hadde ikke endret seg synderlig gjennom årene. Forskjellen mellom de to verkene kommer tydeligst frem i den tematiske utforming. I den første symfonien, ja, også i de kammermusikalske verkene fra studietiden, hadde temaene en markant periodisering som kanskje kunne virke noe kortpustet, og med sin ungdommelige friskhet hadde de en pågående, nesten aggresiv karakter. I den andre symfonien er dette forholdet endret. Allerede i første takt kommer det nye frem—et vel avveid, rolig utformet, sangbart hovedtema, monumentalt i karakteren til tross for allegro-tempoet'. Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup–Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 133.

perhaps place his symphonies, and especially his string quartet, a couple of decades earlier than they are, whereas this would less likely be the case for *Zorahayda* and *Carnival in Paris*, for example.

Several national dialects announce themselves in his music as well. The orchestration nods to the French school as much as the German school, and folkloristic melodic elements appear in a number of works. What I find particularly compelling, then, is Svendsen's ability to *combine* various trends (geographic and historical) smoothly and what might be called *organically*, which, according to Meyer, is a typical nineteenth-century quality.⁹³

⁹³ Leonard B. Meyer, Style and Music, 190-91.

Chapter 3: Juvenilia: Svendsen's Pre-Leipzig Compositional Practice

In this chapter, I will discuss the development of Svendsen's style and craft before he enrolled at the Leipzig Conservatory in December 1863, in order to shed light on the impact of his student years on his career, artistic goals, compositional techniques and sketching methods. Just as the study of sketches can offer a glimpse into a work's genesis, a chronological review of Svendsen's juvenilia might reveal insights into how his abilities developed, and how the seeds of his mature musical style were planted even before the age of twenty-three. His quite intensive compositional activity throughout his youth has received little attention prior to the launch of the JSV project, and there is little extant analysis of these works at the present time.

What follows are some analytical reflections on each surviving work from Svendsen's youth in Christiania, then on works written while he was en route to Leipzig. I want to include the reader in my observations of a step-by-step development of this composer's style and craft, rather than expose one or two examples of insufficient technique. Towards the end of the chapter, I will summarise my observations and link them to my stylistic analysis of his mature work from chapter 2 in terms of form, periodicity, rhythm, thematic structures, harmony, polyphony, orchestration and potential cultivated compositional strategies. Please note that not all of these aspects will be relevant to all of the works—periodicity, for example, is practically predestined in marches and dances, whereas certain stylistic features do not appear at all until late in this period. (The JSV project, and particularly Bjarte Engeset, has established the chronological basis for the following survey.)

3.1 Christiania (1854-62)

Anna Polka, JSV 1 (1854), is seemingly Svendsen's earliest surviving composition. He most likely composed it in 1854, perhaps for piano solo or with violin. The earliest dating, however, is 21 February 1859 in the parts for the orchestral version. At about the height of Svendsen's career as composer, in 1883, Carl Warmuth published versions of *Anna Polka* for violin and piano, and for piano two hands and four hands. In a letter to Warmuth dated 6 August 1883, Svendsen stated that the true year of its composition was 1854,94 and that he orchestrated it in 1859.95 In this letter, Svendsen also expressed

 $^{^{94}}$ Johan Svendsen. to Carl Warmuth jr. (National Library of Norway Brevsamlingen 126:65) (6 August 1883).

his wish to inspect the arrangements, here done by August Horn, before publication. In other words, these published versions reflect the fourteen-year-old Svendsen only to an extent. Though the melody and harmony are the same in the orchestral version (1859)⁹⁶ as in the published scores (1883)⁹⁷—that is, no substantial revisions have been made—certain things have been touched up a bit, as I will show. In general, however, it appears that the melodic features and plain functional harmony reflect the style and genre of the work as much as the youth or experience of the composer. Simplicity does not automatically imply immaturity—*Caroline Waltz*, JSV 9 for piano, written six years later, for example, is every bit as simple as JSV 1.

However, certain details in the doublings and inversions of chords are different in the 1859 orchestration and 1883 arrangements of JSV 1, demonstrating that the published version has been touched up to eliminate a number of parallels fifths and octaves and unconventional doublings concocted by an eighteen-year-old Svendsen.

Example 3.1: *Anna Polka,* JSV 1, Trio, first four bars⁹⁸ (condensed score compared with piano arrangement, 1883).



One example is the second bar of the Trio section (ex. 3.1). The chord in question is a II (in D major). The earlier orchestral version presents it in root position, which created parallel octaves between the bass and the first horn and a parallel fifth between the bass and the oboe and within the Alberti bass in the cello. Presumably, the cello's Alberti

⁹⁶ Johan Svendsen. Chatarina-Walzer in A af Johan S. Svendsen. Op. 5 (Royal Library of Denmark MA ms 3496) (1858 [1862]). (12r–14v)

⁹⁵ Bjarte Engeset, "JSV Numbers," 2.

⁹⁷ ———, *Anna-Polka. Til Sæters. Vals.*, 3 vols., vol. Piano, tohændig. Piano, firehændig. Violin og Piano (Christiania: Carl Warmuth, 1883), Published Scores.

^{98 ———.} Chatarina-Walzer in A af Johan S. Svendsen. Op. 5 (1858 [1862]). (13r, b. 8–11)

figure reflects a previous piano arrangement. The published versions present the chord as a II⁶ (with the G in the bass) which solves these problems.

Another example of such an emendation can be observed in bar 18, on the last eighth note. When the melody includes the leading tone (G#)—third of the dominant—it is carefully omitted in the accompaniment in all of the published versions but not the orchestral autograph score (ex. 3.2).

Example 3.2: Anna Polka, b. 1899 (condensed score compared with piano arrangement, 1883).



Despite these details, the 1859 orchestration is still both skilful and transparent. The parts are idiomatic and their roles are clear. Insightful (and already characteristic) features of the orchestration such as the sustained winds in the trio, certain melody doublings, and a playful use of the upper woodwinds at once reveal Svendsen's talent and attention to detail.

Til Sæters (To the Mountain Farm), JSV 2 (1856), is a long waltz cycle containing five waltzes whose extensive introduction and coda feature various folkloristic

elements.¹⁰⁰ The source situation is similar to that of JSV 1: several arrangements were published together with those for *Anna Polka* in 1883, and Svendsen discusses it in the letter mentioned above. The earliest date appearing in the orchestral material is 1859.¹⁰¹ In other words, neither the published scores nor the (unpublished) orchestral arrangement¹⁰² reflect the fifteen-year-old Svendsen entirely.

Nevertheless, JSV 2 appears to be more ambitious and complex than its predecessor. The opening bars, for example, flirt with contrapuntal techniques, especially in a series of imitations, more commonly found in art music. The violins simulate fiddle techniques in the *halling* section (b. 57), using open-stringed double stops. The harmony is very similar to JSV 1 but contains slightly more chromaticism, as in the alteration of certain chords (b. 73–79) and in the chromatic descending bass line

⁹⁹ Ibid. (14r, b. 1)

¹⁰⁰ For more, see Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 26.

¹⁰¹ Bjarte Engeset, "JSV Numbers," 2.

¹⁰² The surviving orchestral material is incomplete. Johan Svendsen. [Danser og marsjer]. (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 5160) (1859-1860).

(from b. 303). While these are indeed mainstream techniques in the middle of the nineteenth century, they read as special in this work, otherwise pervaded by a diatonic harmonic landscape. It is difficult to say whether the most complex aspects here originate in 1856 or in the 1859 orchestration.

Klingenberg Salon Polka, JSV 3 (1858),¹⁰³ is almost as short as JSV 1 and appears to be the earliest surviving orchestration by Svendsen (as indicated, JSV 1 and 2 were orchestrated the following year). The successful orchestration is not muddied or overloaded to 'secure enough sound', and the loudest instruments, in particular, are effectively and carefully used to support the overall dynamic contrasts. The work includes several imaginative orchestral colours, including the melodic doubling of bassoon, violas and cellos in the coda, and of two bassoons with an interlocked trombone in the trio.¹⁰⁴ Svendsen had played in the military band for about four years, and many other ensembles in Christiania as well, when he composed this polka.¹⁰⁵ Reasonably, then, his experience as ensemble musician influenced his skills and imagination as orchestrator. The melodic material, too, seems even more playful and inventive than its predecessors, with its extensive use of appoggiaturas (also present to some extent in *Anna Polka*) and large leaps.

The surviving material for *Bolero*, JSV 4, which was apparently written at the same time as JSV 3, is unfortunately incomplete.

Chatarina Waltz, JSV 5 (1858),¹⁰⁶ is also a waltz cycle, yet it is some 140 bars shorter than *Til Sæters*. Stylistically, it resembles the preceding compositions, though it reveals some progress towards a richer harmonic language. It contains more chromatic elements, though they tend to emerge haphazardly rather than incorporate into the harmony with consistency, as though they were passing fancies. Standing out in this way, they come across as both innovative and disruptive, as though the young Svendsen was beginning to push against the future of his idiom. For example, in bars 104–107 (ex. 3.3) the V in Bb major undergoes alterations in the chromatic melodic line F-F#-G-A-Bb. Concerning, orchestration in example 3.3, the passage involves a crescendo. The more experienced Svendsen, would likely add some sustained winds, for example, to aid this effect. But in this case, the entire orchestra enters suddenly at the *ff*.

¹⁰³ ———. Chatarina-Walzer in A af Johan S. Svendsen. Op. 5 (1858 [1862]). (15r–18r)

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. (16r)

¹⁰⁵ Bjarte Engeset, "Preface to Klingenberg Salon Polka," *Johan Svendsens Verker* (2010).

¹⁰⁶ Johan Svendsen. Chatarina-Walzer in A af Johan S. Svendsen. Op. 5 (1858 [1862]). (1r-11r)

Example 3.3: Chatarina Waltz, b. 103-108.107



Bars 116–119 represent a transition from a waltz in Bb flat major to one in E major, forcing Svendsen to modulate a tritone, which he managed in the following progression of descending fifths.

Example 3.4: Chatarina Waltz, b. 114-121.108



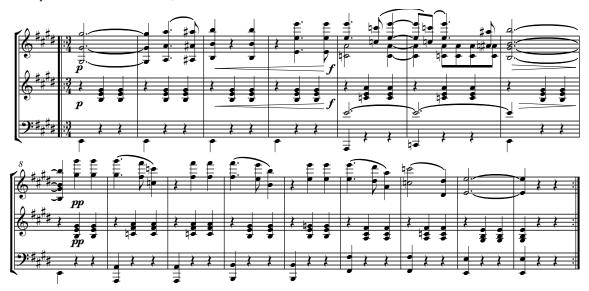
Obviously, the technique itself comes to the foreground here, in that the modulation is not incorporated silently into the musical discourse (as he would manage to do as a mature composer) but instead proclaims itself as the solution to a problem rather than a graceful sequence of music.

The following passages, however, are much more successful in their own, revealing extensive chordal alterations and suspensions in the melody (ex. 3.5).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. (5v, b. 7–9)

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. (6r, b. 7-6v, b. 2)

Example 3.5 Chatarina Waltz, b. 120-136.109



Waltz, JSV 6, written sometime in the 1850s, is in fact only a violin melody.

Three Etudes, JSV 7 (1859),¹¹⁰ is incorporated into Svendsen's collection of Twenty-five arrangements for String Quartet (JSV 17) of pieces by various composers. But the JSV project believes that these etudes were composed (not just arranged) by Svendsen himself. They represent a break from the neighbouring dances and introduced very different challenges in terms of form and texture, because they are not based on self-contained melodies with accompaniment structured in clearly defined eight-bar periods. The title, Etudes, apparently points to their many scale passages and arpeggios, but due to the new genre of his, these pieces might have functioned as compositional etudes as well. All three open in a minor key and close in the parallel major (C, G and D, respectively).¹¹¹

The opening theme of Etude no. 1 appears to be an augmented version of the opening theme of Beethoven's Piano Concerto no. 3, in the same key, although I suspect this is coincidental. There is very little characteristic melodic material otherwise, and harmonically, it is even simpler than the dances discussed above. Any composition teacher would have a number of problems with this work, as example 3.6 shows:

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. (6r, b. 11–7r, b. 1)

^{110 ———. [}Twenty-five Arrangements for String Quartet] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 6162:519:1-4) (1859). (Instrumental parts)

¹¹¹ The term *parallel key* has different meanings in Norwegian and English. In English, it refers to the major and minor scales with the same tonic. In Norwegian, the word *parallelltoneart* refers to the two scales with the same key signature ('relative keys' in English).

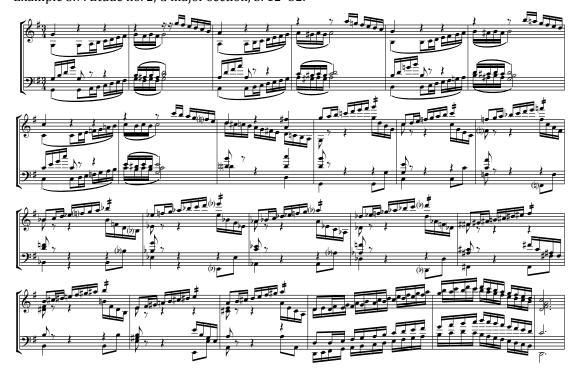
Example 3.6: Etude no. 1, b. 1–17.



Here one finds doubled leading tones, consecutive octaves and a consecutive fifth by contrary motion.

Etude no. 2 in G minor is modelled on the same scheme, yet it is somewhat more advanced. It opens with a melody and accompaniment passage, followed by a more extensive section in G major based on scale and triadic movement with little thematic identity. The G minor opening contains a few errors, reminiscent of those in Etude no. 1. In the ensuing major section, Svendsen devised a few compositional techniques that would become useful in his transitional and development passages in later works—that is, not dependent upon or arising from self-contained melodies:

Example 3.7: Etude no. 2, G major section, b. 12-32.



The first eight bars in example 3.7 consist of a sequence of ascending seconds. Note that Svendsen cleverly avoids an implied diminished triad in root position in the sixth bar of

the example. He follows this passage with a modulating sequence that descends through the entire circle of fifths, though consecutive octaves between the outer voices throughout, and the fact that the voice-leading does not follow the sequential pattern (in the viola), indicate his inexperience at this stage. Though it is predictable and aesthetically immature as a composition, Etude no. 2 does allow performers to work through all of the major scales. It is, in effect, a productive exercise in string quartet composition and the attending musical dialogue that this genre demands.

Etude no. 3 in D minor flirts with contrapuntal imitation in the first three bars and is actually a short exercise in first-species counterpoint, though Svendsen was likely not aware of this.

Example 3.8: Etude no. 3, b. 1–7.



After this, a development reminiscent of Etude nos. 1 and 2 unfolds. The D major section features an imaginative texture made up of triadic gestures set in contrary motion. It is not only a harbinger of the compound string textures that feature in many of his mature works: I have inserted some brackets in example 3.9 that clarify the very different lengths of the arpeggiated gestures in each part, which are so different that they blur the metric consistency. In fact, Svendsen plays around with a complexity that fully surpasses his mature works.

Example 3.9: Etude no. 3, last D major section, b. 1-8



While etudes can be intended as either proper concert music or technical studies, these three examples appear to be intended for performance, based on their lengths, modulation from minor to major, diversity of string technique, and positioning among the twenty-five arrangements in JSV 17. In any case, one finds Svendsen coping with compositional challenges that are very different from the dances, except in the case of some of the extended intros based on short motives rather than self-contained melodies. They are decidedly immature—while the eighteen-year-old Svendsen was to some extent aware of the rules of common-practice harmony, he appears ill informed regarding motivic development and form.

It is striking that the etudes are, relatively speaking, so much poorer than the dances. Why did he write a superior *Tonsatz* as a dance composer? Perhaps his familiarity with the genre of dances had made him internalise its patterns to greater extent. That is, his voice-leading might have been better in the dances because he wrote what he was used to hearing and seeing. The etudes would not have had the same resonance for him, though the harmonic language was the same. Possibly Svendsen was even aware of this, which might, in turn, have held him back from composing large-scale art music, though the next work foreshadows it to some extent.

Farewell (Fantasy for Violin), JSV 8 (1859),¹¹² exists in two versions, for violin with piano and with string quartet, respectively. This fantasy might have been on Svendsen's mind in 1881 as he composed his most-performed work, *Romance*, op. 26, for violin and orchestra, because there are some striking similarities. The overall tonal plan is the same for both works, and the accompaniment in the middle section is similar as well. While these are arguably unremarkable musical features, Svendsen's oeuvre is small enough that they might still signify a connection between the two works. Having said this, the later *Romance* is much more stringent in terms of melodic material, whereas *Farewell* points in many directions at once, with less clarity or consistency.

Farewell was dedicated to Svendsen's violinist friend Gudbrand Bøhn, who might also have performed it. The violin part is much more virtuoso than that of *Romance*, with elements that mimic improvisatory figures. As in the previous works, its treatment of voice-leading, doubling, and the like is somewhat loose and inconsistent, but the harmony has a more chromatic character than his previous works. Secondary

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¹¹² Johan Svendsen, *Farvel, JSV 8*, JSV, Norwegian Musical Heritage ed. (Oslo: Norsk musikkarv, 1859/2015), Musical score.

dominants, modulating sequences and other harmonic alterations are more frequent as well:

Example 3.10: Farewell, version for violin and string quartet, b. 1–16.



Example 3.11 shows a typical sequence pattern and reveals problems with doubling and voice-leading:

Example 3.11: Farewell, version for violin and string quartet, b. 40-43.



The version with piano is actually significantly better in these respects—for example, the problem of consecutive octaves between solo and bass (outer voices) in the example is fixed here:

Example 3.12: Farewell, version for violin and piano, b. 40-43.



The dating of the autographs suggests that the quartet version was composed first,¹¹³ and my observations support this. The work is composed before Svendsen began lessons with Carl Arnold. Perhaps the conductor of his military band, Paolo Sperati, had

¹¹³ Ibid.

a look? Or perhaps he heard its problems himself, and the piano part was meant to address concerns, though it has a few of its own shortcomings as well.

Caroline Waltz, JSV 9 (1860),¹¹⁴ in G major for piano is very simple in terms of its harmony and its demands upon the pianist. Importantly, it must not be confused with the next work with the same title.

Caroline Waltz, JSV 10 (1860),¹¹⁵ in B flat major for orchestra, on the other hand, represents something new in Svendsen's dance music production. The harmonic palette suggested in his earlier dances is more pervasive here, including secondary dominants and other chordal alterations. Evidently, at close to twenty years old, he had enriched his harmonic sensibility by now, having composed *Farewell* and perhaps a few other pieces that are now lost, as well as arranged several works by other composers.

He also appears to be more conscious about form and overall unity. JSV 10 is also a waltz cycle, but the same melodic material is recapitulated several times. The introduction is based on motives from the first waltz in Bb major, and thus anticipates it. The melody then appears later in F major, starting in bar 248. Likewise, the B major waltz from b. 132 appears again starting in b. 325. The introduction is also based on a distinct yet developing dominant harmony that builds our expectations and signals a sort of harmonic *plan* arranged around a few central ideas, such as the alternation between V⁷ and II^{7(b5)}. The modulations between the waltzes are also much smoother than in the earlier *Chatarina Waltz*, as demonstrated in example 3.13.



Example 3.13: Caroline Waltz, JSV 10, b. 148–163.116 (Only strings)

¹¹⁴ ———. Caroline-Valz (National Library of Norway Mus ms a 2901) (1860).

^{115 ———.} Caroline Valz i B. (National Library of Norway Mus ms 1899) (1860).

¹¹⁶ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 14, b.7–15, b. 10)

Here, Svendsen favours chromatic third-related chords¹¹⁷ with one common tone which allow him to smoothly modulate from B major to E flat major via G major. As in earlier works, chromatic appoggiaturas and neighbouring tones again reveal themselves to be highlighted melodic features.

The orchestration, voice-leading and doublings are handled well throughout, but irregularities in his technique persist:

Example 3.14: Caroline Waltz, b. 1-4.118



Example 3.14 above reveals an early inclination toward colourful orchestration. The combination of strings and offbeat winds in bar 2 shows Svendsen's orchestral creativity. The mature Svendsen, of course, would have called for a clarinet rather than an oboe as the 'third flute' in this register and with these dynamics.

From bar 180, the cellos abandon the double basses to double the melody an octave below the violins, whereas the mature Svendsen would have called for the second bassoon to double the basses an octave above.¹¹⁹

Antonia Waltz, JSV 13 (1861),¹²⁰ Svendsen's next surviving composition, was written a year after *Caroline Waltz,* JSV 10, and shares many of its characteristics, including harmonic palette and orchestration. Faulty voice-leading and doublings occur

¹¹⁷ Robert Gauldin, *Harmonic Practice in Tonal Music*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), 614.

 $^{^{118}\,\}mbox{Johan}$ Svendsen. Caroline Valz i B. (1860). (J.S. pag. 1, b. 1–4)

The first and second variations of the famous 'Ode theme' in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony come to mind here. In traditional editions and performances, the double basses play the elaborative melodic bass part alone, as the cellos have already taken up the theme and a countermelody in the third variation. According to the new Bärenreiter Edition, Beethoven's intention was to have the second bassoon play *col basso*. Hence, the bass line becomes more distinct, and the first bassoon is no longer alone but rather elaborates the bass in parallel thirds with the second bassoon. Ludwig van Beethoven, *Symphony No. 9 in D minor*, Bärenreiter Urtext ed. (Bärenreiter, 1999), Musical score, 208-11.

¹²⁰ Johan Svendsen. Antonia Waltz (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 1900) (1861). (J.S. pag. 1–29).

here as well (b. 120, for example, includes a doubling of the leading tone and a parallel octave).

The 9th of November March, JSV 14 (1861),¹²¹ was composed about a month after Antonia Waltz. Stylistically, this march belongs indisputably to the middle of the nineteenth century, apparently with a Wagnerian flavour. Interestingly, Svendsen arranged two marches by Wagner for string quartet shortly before he composed JSV 14: the march from act 2 of Tannhäuser (dated 7 February 1861)¹²² and the wedding march from Lohengrin (dated 13 May 1861).¹²³ He had also arranged works by Schumann, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Meyerbeer and other recent composers by this point.

The harmony of JSV 14 is imbued with chromatic alteration and chromatically third related chords with one common tone are frequent. Happily, Svendsen manages to balance these qualities so that his harmony does not become overburdened by his new technical capacities. In addition, the orchestral texture is particularly rich throughout. Example 3.15 shows a cadence in which two of the chords are bVI, whereas an even younger Svendsen would likely have used an ordinary dominant or subdominant:

Example 3.15: The 9th of November March, b. 33-38.124



The orchestral score for these bars also exposes a somewhat lack of balance. The aforementioned bVI chords in b. 35 are scored as complete C major chords in the strings, and the bassoon also has the fifth, G, but this note is omitted from the winds, and the third, E, is overemphasised in the brass.¹²⁵ In addition, the leading tone A# in the

¹²¹ ———. Caroline Valz i B. (1860). (J.S. pag. 36–46).

 $^{^{122}}$ ——. Sixty-Two Arrangements for String Quartet (Royal Library of Denmark MA ms 1991 mu 7706.2203.) (1860-63).

¹²³ Ibid., 56.

¹²⁴ ———. Caroline Valz i B. (1860). (J.S. pag. 39, b. 8–13).

 $^{^{125}}$ Of course, the third is traditionally 'over-orchestrated' in this chord progression, because it acts as the pivot tone between the two chords, but in such cases the fifth is also omitted (hence there is only *one* altered note—that is, the root of the bVI chord). The problem here is the omission of the fifth in the brass, but not in the strings and bassoons.

secondary dominant is 'over-orchestrated' in the first bar in example 3.15—perhaps a typical offence for young orchestrators to over-emphasise the characteristic note?

Example 3.16 illustrates how Svendsen utilized chromatic harmony by *affinity of substance* in this march (bracketed). But the bass part is somewhat inconsistent and without direction. After Leipzig Svendsen managed to incorporate longer chromatic lines in similar harmonic situations.

Example 3.16: The 9th of November March, b. 39-46.126



The Trio starting in bar 86 with some nice and fluent chord progressions, but still demonstrates that Svendsen here remains unconcerned about the problem of consecutive octaves (ex. 3.17, b. 4-9). One does not find such issues in his mature work.¹²⁷

Example 3.17: The 9th of November March, Trio, b. 86ff. 128



Svendsen ends this march with a musical texture that would become one of his favourite cultivated strategies, as brought forth in chapter 2—namely, a solemn melody accompanied by a decorative figured part in the upper register. One might wonder whether he got the idea directly from the *Tannhäuser* march, where the elaborative part, arguably is in the bass part.

¹²⁶ Johan Svendsen. Caroline Valz i B. (1860). (J.S. pag. 40, b. 1-8)

¹²⁷ The difference between consecutive octaves and octave doubling can be confusing, but the kind of parallellism between outer voices, or between outer voices in the accompaniment, as present here, is awkward.

¹²⁸ Johan Svendsen. Caroline Valz i B. (1860). (J.S. pag. 43)

Example 3.18: The 9th of November March, Trio, b. 109ff. 129



Elise Waltz, JSV 15, dated February 1862,¹³⁰ is another waltz cycle that follows the lines of *Caroline Waltz* and *Antonia Waltz*. The 'Wagnerian' flavour of the march is not particularly present here. There are a few new elements such as hemiolic rhythms, especially in the melody.

The introduction features the exact same static chordal progression as the *Caroline Waltz* (V⁷ and II^{7(b5)}), which is often displayed in his mature works as well. Issues with orchestral voicing remain prominent, and the ending is particularly long and pompous, with the final chord lasting from b. 358 to b. 371. The chord progression of VII7°/V–I (I^{dim}–I) drives the passage leading up to this ending, and one will find the same progression in several jubilant endings among his mature works as well, as mentioned in chapter 2, where I described this as one of his cultivated compositional strategies. Likely, then, its first appearance in his oeuvre is JSV 15.

Alberthine Waltz, JSV 16, dated 20 March 1862,¹³¹ and Blomsterpiken Waltz (The Flower Maiden Waltz), JSV 18, dated 17 May 1862¹³², feature many of the same elements as their predecessors. Colourful orchestral ideas pop up now and then, and the harmony has settled within a very rich palette. Still, miscalculations in the orchestration, insufficient voice-leadings, and doublings and notational errors in the rendering of accidentals and so forth occur regularly.

At this time, apart from his own compositional work, Svendsen had also completed close to fifty arrangements for string quartet (JSV 17 and, partly, JSV 30), many of them large-scale works by very different composers. He was a hard-working composer and musician. Yet it appears that his style, ideas and technical skills did not develop much during that last year in Christiania. As far as I can tell, he had not yet

¹²⁹ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 44, b. 5ff)

^{130 ———.} Elise-Walzer (i D) (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 1898) (1862). (J.S. pag. 1–22).

¹³¹ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 23-44).

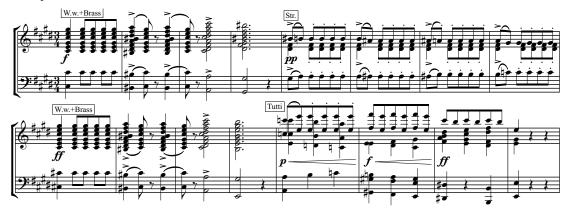
¹³² Ibid. (J.S. pag. 45-70).

embarked on any large-scale art music projects himself (a string quartet, orchestral overture or symphony, for example), though his quartet arrangements demonstrate his intimate knowledge of such works, and as shown in chapter 1, he had rehearsed Mozart's quartets and Beethoven's violin sonatas with Carl Arnold as well. Perhaps he planned or even tried to compose a string quartet, for example, but stayed stuck in more pedestrian genres as his desire to go abroad grew steadily harder to ignore. But his surviving compositions count mostly dances and arrangements throughout many years in a young man's life. I think it is a connection between the artistic and technical stagnation that can be observed in the last year in Christiania (although he was still a productive composer) and the need he felt to go abroad (see chapter 1).

3.2 En Route (1862-63)

Svendsen continued to compose dances during the autumn of 1862, after he departed Christiania. *Adéle Waltz*, JSV 19, is dated 4 September, in Gothenburg.¹³³ It has several features that resonate with the later works discussed in chapter 2. From bar 61 there is a so-called omnibus progression¹³⁴ that is especially highlighted by orchestral contrasts. The second time the strings enter, they join the winds rather than repeating this omnibus progression, which shows maturity and energy in the compositional process, I think.

Example 3.19: *Adéle Waltz*, b. 57-68.135



At bar 248 a longer passage begins that could have been a part of a development section, or at least a transitional passage, in that it does not depend upon a self-contained melody. Instead, it emerges from imitation through a modulatory section, a technique

¹³³ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 71–92).

¹³⁴ The progression is also referred to as 'Teufelsmühle' and was first described in Georg Joseph Vogler, *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst* (Mannheim: Kuhrfürstlichen Hofbuchdruckerei, 1776).

¹³⁵ Johan Svendsen. Elise-Walzer (i D) (1862). (J.S. pag. 76, b. 2–13).

that was very common in his later works, and especially his exploration sketches of the 1870s. The most prominent motive in example 3.20 derives from earlier material, and the passage culminates in a climactic harmonic deadlock in bar 278–284 that is similar to those found in his later large-scale works. Hence, this waltz, and especially its ending, approach a symphonic character.

Example 3.20: Adéle Waltz, b. 251ff. 136



The work further shows clear improvement in certain technical details of his working process. When he places a chord in first invention, he carefully omits the third in the inner and upper voices. Likewise, if the third is prominent in the melody, he frequently leaves it out of the inner parts. In addition, the voicing of second violins and violas (inner parts) seems generally more consistent. Often the highest and lowest voice in these two parts double at the octave, as they tend to in his later works. Despite some lingering idiosyncrasy and outright mistakes (note the consecutive octaves in violins and basses in ex. 3.20), his dance music has definitely turned a corner as his travels begin.

Julie Galop, JSV 20,¹³⁷ dated two weeks after JSV 19, follows along the same lines but lacks much in the way of development sections a features a somewhat more straightforward harmonic palette. It is shorter than the other, rather more expansive cycles of dances, totalling just 197 bars.

Johanne Galop, JSV 21,¹³⁸ dated over a month after JSV 20, is likewise relatively advanced in several respects. From bar 82, for example, there is an interesting textural accompaniment in the strings, which demonstrates his inventiveness towards orchestration in his juvenilia. Motive development is frequent, and the harmony is quite advanced. JSV 21, then, presents an experienced dance composer with energy, I think. Does the difference in complexity in these two galops reflect the time span of

¹³⁶ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 86, b. 4-15).

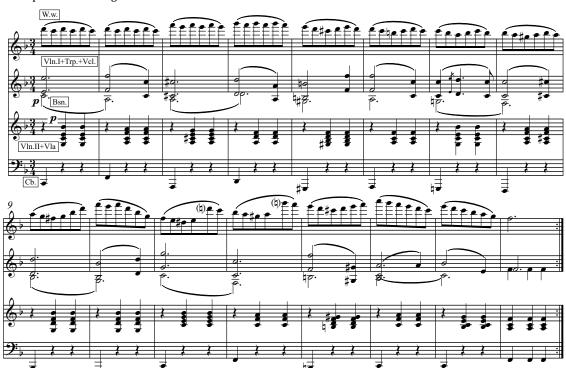
¹³⁷ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 93–104).

¹³⁸ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 105-114).

composition suggested by the datings? If he composed them consecutively, he spent more than twice as much time on JSV 21.

Hedvig Waltz, JSV 22, dated 9 December 1862,¹³⁹ in Hamburg, is Svendsen's last waltz cycle and among his most advanced and longest efforts in the genre. Like the *Adéle Waltz*, this work points towards symphonic music in certain passages. Starting in bar 152 (ex. 3.21), we hear an embellished counter-melody in the upper register (repeated from b. 320), and at bar 237, a long transformational section, similar to that in *Adéle Waltz* but harmonically more static, begins (see ex. 3.22).

There are, still some odd choices in the orchestration: In example 3.21, for example, a single bassoon has a somewhat awkward countermelody, and the double basses play the bass alone. Likely, the mature Svendsen would have made a more solid choice.



Example 3.21 *Hedvig Waltz*: b. 152-167.140

¹³⁹ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 115–135).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 124, b. 16–125, b. 15).

Example 3.22: Hedvig Waltz b. 237ff.141



Etude, JSV 23, dated Christmas Day 1862,¹⁴² is a work for string quartet and no. 58 in the *Sixty-Two Arrangements*, JSV 30. Like *Three Etudes*, discussed in section 3.1 and written nearly four years earlier, this work is most likely composed by Svendsen himself. It is possibly inspired by the 'Vorspiel' for Schumann's *Kleine Fuge*, which is in the same key and has a similar motivic pattern, which Svendsen arranged as no. 46 in the same collection and dated 1 August 1862.¹⁴³ The quality of JSV 23 is well above that of the three earlier etudes, though its tonal development might seem a bit peculiar, even accidental, as it barrels through various foreign keys. The perpetuum mobile of sixteenth notes in the first violin appears to be quite demanding for the prospective performer (though the tempo is unspecified and might be slow and/or flexible). On the detailed level, it holds a high level in terms of voice-leading and chordal balance, but the melodic development in the lower parts in particular seems somewhat offhanded.

Svendsen also wrote a few songs in Lübeck which hold stable good technical quality. They are modest in terms of harmony and vocal and pianistic challenges.

Kamp fører til Seier (Struggle Leads to Victory), JSV 28, is dated 13 July 1863¹⁴⁴ (one of the two existing autograph scores). The autograph is dated some months after Consul Leche in Lübeck had taken Svendsen under his wing, during the thrilling time that finally produced a scholarship for Svendsen awarded by King Carl XV himself in October. Svendsen wrote 'Motto Kamp fører til Seier' on the front page to the right of his

¹⁴¹ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 131).

¹⁴² ———. Sixty-Two Arrangements for String Quartet (1860-63). (J.S. pag. 106-107)

¹⁴³ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 97-98).

^{144 ———.} March for Orchester: Kamp fører til Seier (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 1897) (1863).

title, *Marsch for Orchester*. I think the motto refers to his exhilaration at the time. The JSV project uses this motto as the work's title.

Whether the march was composed programmatically to resonate with this motto is difficult to say, though the first section in E major is clearly quite dramatic, progressive and almost symphonic in character—that is, it captures a sense of *struggle* that none of Svendsen's preceding compositions can claim. JSV 28 relies more upon shorter motives and thematic and harmonic development than the self-contained melodies that tend to fill standard eight-bar periods. The trio in C major, however, is (as one would expect) much more tonally stable than the rest of the work and repeats its self-contained melody several times (as we move towards victory?).

JSV 28 was probably first performed posthumously in 1920 under the title *Bryllupsmarsche (Wedding March)*. Apparently, Svendsen initially planned to use the march—and his *Polonaise, Op. 28*—as incidental music for a 1908 play titled *Atila*. The programme note for the first performance of the march in 1920 states, '[Its] whole character and brilliance show that the master, still in old age, managed to paint with his old colours'. ¹⁴⁵ In other words, what Svendsen composed a few months *before* he enrolled in Leipzig already sounded like the older and more experienced composer. He evidently also appreciated the juvenilia march himself in 1908.

(a) The Ninth of November b. 1-4

(b) Johanne Gallop b. 22-29

(c) Struggle Leads to Victory b. 1-8

Example 3.23: Comparison between *The Ninth of November, Johanne Gallop* and *Struggle Leads to Victory*.

The march shares several striking similarities with *The 9th of November March,* JSV 14, written exactly two years earlier. The overall tonal plan is the same (E major–C

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¹⁴⁵ "[...] hvis hele Karakter og Glans viser, at Mesteren i sin Alderdom endnu en Gang har evnet at male med sine gamle Farver." Bjarte Engeset, "Johan Svendsen: Kamp fører til Seier, JSV 28," JSV Project, Norwegian Musical Heritage, http://www.musikkarven.no/komponister/svendsen/verker/html-preview_28.htm.

major). The harmony is rich and chromatic, and the orchestral texture is more complex than in most of the waltzes. In addition, the opening theme recalls the earlier work quite specifically and it is also evocative of a section from *Johanne Galop*, also in E major, discussed above, as example 3.23 demonstrates.

Example 3.24 shows an excerpt of the process-oriented first section:



Example 3.24: Struggle Leads to Victory, b. 9-50, condensed score (strings only). 146

The dotted rhythms in 4/4 are not particularly typical for Svendsen—in fact, the closest parallel is to be found in the sketches for an unfinished symphony in the same key (Book 06; see chapter 15).

The passage from bar 43 (ex. 3.24) features extensive use of imitation in E minor, a musical process that demanded a more advanced compositional technique than most

¹⁴⁶ Johan Svendsen. March for Orchester: Kamp fører til Seier (1863). (J.S. pag. 1, b. 9–5, b. 5).

of Svendsen's earlier works. No sketches of JSV 28 have survived, but Svendsen's compositional process here seems somewhat closer to the exploration sketches one finds in the symphonic sketches ten years later. In those works, he often composed shorter fragmentary passages, based on imitation, for example, and then stitched them together in the drafts. He might have developed this kind of technique gradually, perhaps from composing the extended introductions of many of his waltzes, and the developing passages in *Adéle* and *Johanne* waltz and this march.

Compositions based on eight-bar-phrased, self-contained melodies, on the other hand, might have later informed his folk tune arrangements and rhapsodies in the 1870s, which largely avoid the imitation-derived explorations. Such music is easier to compose, I think, because the melody is often written first and then guides composition of the accompaniment. The trio of the JSV 28 (ex. 3.25) march was likely composed in that way.

Example 3.25: Struggle Leads to Victory, Trio.147



This march is the last of Svendsen's juvenilia in the genres of dances and marches. By this point, he had composed close to twenty such works for orchestra, many of which are very long cycles, in addition to arranging some dances for orchestra by other composers. Nearly ten years had passed between *Anna Polka*, JSV 1, and *Kamp fører til Seier*, JSV 28, stretching from his early teens to his early twenties, when he had become an ambitious and already quite experienced young composer.

Seemingly, he received very little instruction in composition or music theory before Leipzig (see chapter 1) and can be regarded as more or less an autodidact during this time. The roughly seventy quartet arrangements now categorised as JSV 17 and 30 (nine of which overlap the two collections) was likely written for practical performance needs, but they certainly gave him significant compositional training as well. While these early years were among his most active and productive as a composer and an arranger,

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. (J.S. pag. 10).

they have largely remained underestimated by musicians and scholars until the JSV project launched, and apparently by the composer himself as well. He drew a clear line of demarcation when he gave his opus number 1 to the String Quartet in A minor, and he likewise failed to acknowledge the better part of his juvenilia in his own lists of his work later in life.

I will devote the remainder of this chapter to the most ambitious work he attempted before Leipzig, namely the Caprice.

3.3 Caprice for Orchestra and Violin Obligato (1863)

Approaching Caprice, JSV 29, alternately from the point of view of Svendsen's mature period or his juvenilia, respectively, generates very different impressions. It is dated two weeks after JSV 28,¹⁴⁸ and it was premiered at the Leipzig Conservatory in 1864. At that time, Svendsen wrote to his father:

As you probably know, I have composed the above mentioned [Caprice] while still in Lübeck, and hence the piece does not have a determined form, as I at that time had not studied form theory. That is precisely what gives the composition its particular characteristics, which makes the dry theorists shake their heads with disbelieving smiles, as they cannot understand that imagination can dress up different forms than those given us by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. It is about time that the composers learn to know that one cannot always keep the old forms while making out new ideas. The Caprice had great success with the large audience. 149

In Leipzig, as it would turn out, Svendsen was poured into the dry theorists' mould. As Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe observe, the Caprice was performed only one more time, in Christiania in 1867. Grieg and Kjerulf had the same opinion of it as the dry theorists, and even Svendsen failed to include it in his own lists of work. 150

However, what is really the problem with the form? According to the Grove *Dictionary of Music,* 'The term [capriccio] has been used in a bewildering variety of ways. Works entitled "capriccio" embrace a wide range of procedures and forms'. 151 Nineteenth-century caprices tended to be lively in their rhythms, as Svendsen's 6/8 Allegretto section is, and Schumann described it as 'a genre of music which is different

¹⁴⁸ ———. Caprice for Orchester med Obligat Violin (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7877) (1863). 149 '[...] Som Du formodentlig ved har jeg componeret ovennævnte [Caprice] allerede under mit Ophold i Lübeck, og som følger deraf eier Stykket ingen bestemt Form, da jeg dengang endnu ikke havde studeret Formlæren. netop denne Omstændighed har gjort at Compositionen har faaet et eiendommeligt Præg, som faar de tørre Theoretikere til at ryste paa Hovedet med et vantro Smil, de kan nemmelig ikke begribe at Fantasien kan iklædes en anden Form end den Haydn Mozart og Beethoven har givet os. Det er paa Tiden at Componisterne lærer at indse at man ikke altid kan fastholde de gamle Former, naar man vil fremstille nye Ideer. Men for at komme tilbage til Sagen, Capricen gjorde stormende Lykke for det talrige Publikum.' ——. to Gulbrand Svendsen (National Library of Norway Brevsamlingen 533:46) (12 December 1864).

¹⁵⁰ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup–Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 45.

¹⁵¹ Grove Dictionary of Music. 2013.12.16, s.v. "Capriccio."

from the "low-comedy" burlesque in that it blends the sentimental with the witty. Often there is something etude-like about it'. One would think that this genre would give Svendsen some latitude regarding form, then, but its critical reception would indicate otherwise.

The other genre that the *Caprice* leans on is the concertino (Konzertstück) although Svendsen modestly called it 'for orchestra and violin obligato'. Referring to *Grove* again, a concertino can range from a shorter, lighter concerto in several movements to a one-movement work that might be divided into several sections of different tempi and characters.¹⁵³ The following table indicates the form of Svendsen's work:

Table 3.1: *Caprice*, Structure

Bar	Tempo or instruct.	Key	Metre	Orch.	Theme	Comment
1-64	Allegretto	B minor	6/8	Tutti	1–19: A. B minor 20–40: B. D major 41–64: A var. B minor	Exposition 1: Orchestra
65-152				Solo	65–100: B. B minor 100–129: C. D major 130–152 corresp. to 41–64	Exposition 2: Solo
153-192				Solo	153-188 corresp. to 65-100 189-192 trans> B major	Recapitulation
193-264	Einlage	B major ¹⁵⁴		Tutti	Theme D	Chorale
265-303	Moderato	E minor	4/4	Solo	Theme E	
304-354	Andante amoroso	B major ¹⁵⁵	3/4	Solo	Theme F	
355-410	Tempo 1 ^{mo}	B major	6/8	Solo		Finale
411-463	Coda Stretto	B major				

Caprice opens in the minor and ends in the parallel major—in other words, a very common tonal plot in the nineteenth century. The first section, bars 1–192, resembles a typical first movement of a solo concerto, including the hint of a double exposition that presents the thematic material first in the orchestra alone and then with the soloist. Yet it is far from a full-blown sonata allegro. Its themes and keys appear in an unconventional order, and the solo violin never actually takes up the opening theme at

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid., s.v. "Concertino."

¹⁵⁴ Key signature: B minor

¹⁵⁵ Key signature: B major

all. Bars 153–188 have the effect of a recapitulation. Because there is no development section, the sonatina form might also come to mind here.

After this 'first movement', most listeners would probably expect a slow section, but what follows next is instead a hymn or chorale-like passage (b. 193–264) at the same tempo and in the same metre. The key signature remains B minor, though in actuality this section is already in the parallel key of B major. Svendsen inserts certain rhythmic features of the preceding 'sonata allegro' to serve as a link between these two sections together. While the solemn character of the hymn and the modulation to B major seems to signal a finale, this impression is premature—the work is only halfway done.

The idea of combining a solemn hymn with the lively rhythms of one's introductory section is particularly interesting. As discussed in chapter 2, many of Svendsen's later works demonstrate his fondness for combining slow, solemn statements with brighter, more elaborate counter-melodies. I have already pointed out a couple of similar examples in chapter 3.1 and 3.2 above (not including any hymns, but the textural combination of two distinct paces). In *Caprice*, however, the music moves back and fourth between a slow and a fast rhythmic design.

After the hymn, the music does move into a slower section (bars 265–303) in the subdominant minor key, with a new metre and a moderate tempo. When the *Caprice* turns back to the key of B, the tempo slows even further, and yet another theme (in 3/4) is introduced. From bar 355, what follows is clearly a finale in B major.

Even though a caprice in the nineteenth century could take any form the composer liked, this particular work's unusual ordering and combination of key and tempi is probably one reason why it was dismissed. Halfdan Kjerulf commented that it 'started better than it ended', 156 perhaps in reference to the wealth of material in the first half, which appears to have been hard for the young composer to sustain in the second half. Certainly the *Caprice* is a turning point in Svendsen's production. It is the last orchestral work in his juvenilia and his first foray into large-scale orchestral art music. The fact that he performed it again after his student years indicates that he valued it as well, at least until it received such a cool reception back home.

¹⁵⁶ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 45.

In what follows, I will compare its opening with the opening of the First Symphony, which was composed during his Leipzig studies. The beginning of the *Caprice* is somewhat *Sturm und Drang* while also recalling a typical Baroque allegro. In the first twenty or so bars alone, one has the sense that several other composers were looking over Svendsen's shoulder. Snippets of two to four bars each are stitched together, as we can see from example 3.26:

Example 3.26: Caprice, b. 1-19, condensed score. 157



The opening theme is made up of the three different gestures, presented respectively in bars 1, 2 and 3. These first three bars display considerable rhythmic variety, a sensibility that is mirrored in the contrasting orchestration as well, and especially its clear distinction between winds and strings. The winds are also subdivided into low and high registers. Despite the variety, however, one rhythmic figure appears at a time—though

 $^{^{157}}$ Johan Svendsen, *Caprice*, JSV, Norwegian Musical Heritage ed. (Oslo: Norsk musikkarv, 1863/2015), Musical score.

the opening might sound hectic and even agonised, it makes a very clear statement nevertheless.

Then, in bar 9, a transition produces a virtual surfeit of harmonic devices. In the space of ten bars of duple metre, there are as many as three different harmonic devices. Bars 10–12, for example, consist of a conventional sequence of roots in descending fifths:

Example 3.27: *Caprice*, b. 9–12. Harmonic framework.



In the second half of the nineteenth century, this would have been heard as a Baroque cliché.

The progression in bars 13–14 (which is repeated in bar 15–16) is based on a diatonic melody and a chromatic descending bass, a harmonic device commonly found in Svendsen's music (see chapter 2). Bars 17–18 present one segment of the omnibus progression (*Teufelsmühle*) mentioned above:

Example 3.28: *Caprice*, b. 17–18. Harmonic framework.



I pointed out a few equally brief examples of this technique in certain of Svendsen's earlier works.

Compared to the corresponding passage in the opening

of Symphony no. 1, they exemplify how Svendsen solved similar technical challenges with the benefit of more experience. The first eight bars of the symphony present its main theme in a clearly stated, homophonic tutti as a four bar idea which is then varied for another four bars. Nevertheless, the similarity to the opening of the *Caprice* is striking. Then, in bar 9, the transition begins:

Example 3.29: Symphony no. 1, first movement, b. 9-22.158



¹⁵⁸ ———, *Symfoni nr. 1 i D-dur, op 4.*, JSV Norwegian Musical Heritage ed. (Oslo: Norsk musikkarv, 1867/2014), Musical Score.

The phrase in bars 9 to 12 is rhythmically and texturally almost identical to those of bars 1–4 and 5–8, so the work's sense of periodicity and thematic coherence are very solid. The harmonic progression, as well as the melody and bass lines, is then repeated a sixth higher in bars 13–16. A few adjustments are made to prevent the tonality from wandering too far from the home key.

In bars 17–20, a sequence develops in a fashion contrary to the conventional one used in *Caprice*, in that it is made up of roots in ascending thirds and descending fourths. Hence, it is not typical of functional harmony but rather belongs to Eriksen's third category—that is, modality see chapter 2.2). There are also three chromatic third-relation chords with one common tone in this passage: in bar 17, in the corresponding progression in bar 18, and then between bars 20 and 21. If the second chord in each of bars 17, 18 and 19 had been a major second higher, the sequence would have been a conventional series of descending fifths. This sequence, however, is something fresher. Notably, Svendsen also does not emphasise the chromatic third-relation chords in this passage, whereas he did in his juvenilia. Here it is rather incorporated in to harmonic palette.

To sum up, I must stress that there is nothing *wrong* with the passage in *Caprice*. It is well written. Still, I believe he would have composed it differently with more experience. To use the analogy of chess, an international master sees different and more 'effective' moves than the experienced amateur in the same position.

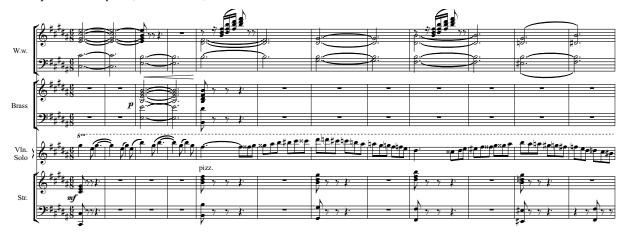
The comparison between the two passages exemplifies an *economy* of musical techniques that Svendsen mastered better in his mature works. In the passage in question from Symphony no. 1, for example, he used but *two* different harmonic devices, one of them also repeated a sixth higher, to better effect than the *three* that he stuffed into the equivalent bars of the *Caprice*. In addition, the *Caprice* opening is much more rhythmically diverse. In all, there is a lot of information there, without a lot of pacing or strategy behind it.

It appears likely that the bars in question were sketched in *separate modules* or phrases of two to four bars and then stitched together. My analysis of the sketches for *Prélude* in chapter 13 supports this possibility here.

I have briefly commented on Svendsen's inventive and colourful use of the orchestra, and there is another example of this in bars 395–406 (during the joyous finale section). Several chords accompany the violin in its high register, each consisting of an

attack in the strings and sustain in the winds, which are artfully arranged to take advantage of their variety of timbres.

Example 3.30: Caprice, b. 395–406, condensed score.



Not present in the orchestration of *Caprice*, however, is the particular kind of compound string texture that Svendsen used in certain passages in his later works, such as the recapitulation in the first movement of Symphony no. 2 (from b. 318/N+5) and extensively throughout *Carnival in Paris*. These techniques are most certainly inspired by Berlioz, with whom Svendsen was apparently not familiar before Leipzig.

Conclusions

While there are many other examples of colourful orchestral ideas, sometimes well formed, sometimes more unbalanced and vague, it is now time to move on. Are the works I have introduced here typical of Svendsen's style discussed in chapter 2? He was evidently a productive and curious composer during his youth. Let me test his juvenilia in terms of the topics discussed in chapter 2 regarding his mature style.

A significant shift was about to take place early in his Leipzig studies in terms of genre. With the exception of *Caprice*, Svendsen had mainly composed popular music to that point, as we have seen, but from Leipzig forward he would never compose another waltz (except for 'The Flowers' Dance', in his single ballet *The Spring Is Coming*, op. 33, from 1892)¹⁵⁹ and less than ten works in total that might be labelled dances (polonaises) or marches. Of course, dance rhythms occur often in his later work—for example, the folk dances in the Norwegian rhapsodies, which were obviously influenced

¹⁵⁹ ———. Foraaret kommer, op. 33 (Royal Library of Denmark C II, 121k Fol., C II, 121k Fol. :Ms. 1892.) (1892).

by Liszt's Hungarian rhapsodies, two of which Svendsen orchestrated, but likely derived from experience from his own juvenilia as well.

Though one must always be wary of too rigorous a distinction between popular and art music, Svendsen's tendency toward the former in his early years is evident. Nevertheless, we can see that he had been *preparing* to compose symphonic music, as well as cyclic chamber works, since at least 1858, through his orchestral dances and, lest we forget, arrangements of many symphonic movements as well. As mentioned in chapter 2, Svendsen appears to have been influenced by Beethoven, Wagner, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer and Gade, and these composers are represented in his juvenilia arrangements as well. Liszt and Berlioz, however, do not occur until after Leipzig.

The question of form is, of course, closely connected to genre, and this must have increasingly occupied his mind from the age of twenty or twenty-one onward. Although Svendsen had arranged sonata allegros, for example, his sense of the relationship between form and tonal development seems to have remained somewhat vague, as revealed in my analysis of *Caprice*. No doubt his composition studies under Carl Reinecke in Leipzig would give him new insight into the repertoire he already knew. One might wonder whether he gave the most advanced forms too much respect before Leipzig, or whether all of his early compositions were simply meant to be occasional and played for amusement and dance (so there was simply no need for a concerto, for example).

As I suggested in chapter 2, it is quite clear that the large quantity of dance compositions written during the crucial years of Svendsen's teens and very early twenties anticipated the markedly regular periodicity of his art music. Perhaps this interest in formal coherence throughout his career not only relates to his taste but also to the compositional habits he established in his juvenilia. As no sketches survive from this period, I cannot actually ascertain much about those habits, but this possibility might help to explain the look of the exploration sketches, to be discussed from chapter 6 onwards, nevertheless. Imitation and sequencing can, theoretically, go on forever and thus disrupt even the most stubborn devotion to four-bar periodicity. Perhaps he concentrated on such problems in his sketches because he sought to unburden himself of a commitment to periodicity that otherwise still characterised his thinking?

Øyvind Eckhoff's description of Svendsen's rhythmic designs as 'resilient and pronounced but [...] rarely complicated or ambiguous' (see chapter 2.2) seems clearly applicable to the juvenilia discussed above, and a similar coherence or simple strength is evident in Svendsen's diatonic and tonally unambiguous melodies. Eckhoff pointed out that chromatic elements in Svendsen's melodies were most common in transitional and development passages, of which Svendsen had not composed many before Leipzig, as we have seen. However, chromatic embellishing tones, such as neighbouring tones and appoggiaturas, *are* very common in his early dances—and quite characteristic for this genre, I might add. Melodic endings of 5-3-1, which Eckhoff pointed out as well, are rare in juvenilia, however. Dominant tension in thematic (melodic) structures is not particularly apparent until the period of the *Caroline Waltz* (1860) onwards.

Like the straightforward rhythms and devotion to periodicity, the strong dominance of major keys in Svendsen's mature works appears to emerge directly from his juvenilia, as does his career-long affection for strong cadences. Returning to Eriksen's characterisation of Svendsen's harmony, I have shown that chromatic voice-leading in harmonic progressions according to affinity of function becomes increasingly typical of Svendsen's style from the age of twenty, that is while he was still primarily an autodidact in composition. Affinity of substance also occurs more and more frequently, and I have already noted some examples of the omnibus progression. There is a significant difference, however. Whereas the chromatic passages in Svendsen's juvenilia generally emerge from quite localised voice-leading—that is, they are coherent for only a couple of bars—he combined longer coherent chromatic lines via chordal finessing from the string octet onwards. In other words, his contrapuntal skills experience a breakthrough in Leipzig. The reharmonisation of the same melodic segment (Eriksen cat. 2) occurs in early works as well, but relatively rarely.

As we have seen, the colourful use of chromatic third-related chords also becomes quite common during the last couple of years before Leipzig, but modality is virtually non-existent. Occasionally, though, one might find an 'un-functional' chord progression, but they always seem rather accidental to me. Thus, modality seems to have entered his harmonic palette in Leipzig, for one reason or another. As I will demonstrate in chapter 9, his music theory teachers did apparently not emphasise modality in their teaching.

The idea of exchanging the V in jubilant endings with other chords appears to have emerged in his youth as well. I have shown that his voice-leading and doublings are increasingly more in line with common practice rules but there persist errors even as late as *Caprice*. From opus 1, such errors are eliminated for good.

Svendsen's contrapuntal technique was evidently limited before Leipzig, though an interest in and capacity for combining several melodic elements emerges from the 9th of November March (1861) onwards, and imitation characterises some longer passages in the Adéle Waltz (1862) and onwards as well. Also, as I have demonstrated, elaborate counter-melodies occur in some of his juvenilia. It is difficult to identify much interest in strict counterpoint throughout his career, although strict canons appear in both symphonies. While fugal technique is practically non-existent in his completed works, it does appear in a few sketches. As will be revealed in chapter 9, his fugal exercises do not demonstrate skills at the advanced level of Edvard Grieg, for example.

Concerning orchestration, I have documented some of his creative and colourful ideas from his nineteenth year in particular, including the *Klingenberg Salon Polka*. Effective contrasts among orchestral groups are common early on, and 'over-orchestration' is rarely a problem. There is relatively frequent imbalance to his orchestration, however, both among textural elements and at the detailed level of chord disposition, throughout his juvenilia. It is hard to see any influence of Berlioz's or Wagner's orchestration in these early works.

Svendsen's cultivated compositional strategies, discussed in chapter 2, generally emerge in his subsequent student period, and his mature output, save perhaps for the elaborate counter-melodies discussed above.

To sum up, Svendsen appears to have chosen his path in many respects before Leipzig. His music continued to be mainly extroverted afterwards. The most radical change is in genre, as he shifts from dance music to symphonic music. On the more technical side, I would say that the bulk of his toolbox was already in place before Leipzig, and then he added some new tools during those years. But the perfection of his craft and clearer focus on selection of ideas still had a significant impact on his musical idiom. An increasingly consciousness for the thousands of details in a score and the ability to choose with greater care result in a more clearly stated musical output, I think.

Given that wrongly spelled notes are frequent in his scores before Leipzig and virtually non-existent afterwards, he evidently grew more sensitive, even watchful, as

well. The enhanced sharpness relates to both more advanced skills and a more conscious selection and cultivation of his ideas, guided by his analyses of the repertoire and so forth. This, in turn, had a great influence on his musical style. In other words, he developed his methods and skills, which eventually generated more possibilities and fine-tuned his choices towards enhanced precision. During the Leipzig years, his musical style transformed from something *general* to something *unmistakably Svendsen*, I think, even though the most important seeds had been planted and was growing. In short, a concise style manifested itself in these years. Had he studied in Leipzig at an earlier age, we might have seen a more radical change of path; had he not studied there at all, he might have remained solidly within the crowd, even in Norway.

Based on what has been demonstrated in this chapter, one might decide that he lost a fascinating peculiarity as he studied in Leipzig, but this would be naive, I think. Most of the peculiarities found in his early compositions (such as unusual tonal development or chord progressions) are likely accidental, whereas the music he arranged for string quartet shows what he meant to emulate. Had he not followed the professional crowd in Leipzig, he would not have transcended it to become one of the most influential Nordic composers of the nineteenth century.

In the following two chapters, I will prepare the ground for a study of his private working documents, and thus pave the way for 'descending' from the public musical objects to the private compositional panorama.

PART II THE STUDY OF SKETCHES

Overview

Musical sketches have fascinated composers, musicians and music lovers probably for as long as they have existed. The relationships between deficient musical notation, a composer's intentions and musical works are obviously complicated, and even as systematic scholarly work on these private composer documents took shape in the second half of the nineteenth century, its aims and objectives remained subject to debate, as they still are today. Leo Treitler writes:

The principal objective of modern studies of musical sketches has been to gain access to compositional process in general and particular cases, and to a lesser and more controversial extent, to use sketches explicitly as clues for the analysis of the corresponding works.¹⁶⁰

Nevertheless, the popularity of the field has grown rapidly since the 1960s, thanks to an abiding faith in the significance of sketches in relation to a composer's biography and work chronology. In addition, as Treitler says, it has long been central to understanding the compositional process. But *how* sketches should be addressed, and in particular the relevance of sketches to musical analysis, are controversial areas. To what extent can sketches illuminate our understanding of musical works? Are sketches valuable for musicians as well? That is, can the content in the private musical documents that precede a score impact that score's performance?

Part II of this dissertation is divided into two chapters that approach sketch studies from different angles. Chapter 4 has a philosophical approach to understanding sketching as part of the compositional process, as a contribution to our understanding of *the work* and as a valuable source of insight in and of itself. While sketches presumably shed light on the relationship between the possibilities in a process and the finality of a score, the act of sketching does not necessarily have that goal as such. There is an essential difference, then, between engaging with sketches teleologically, from the point of view of the final score, and engaging with them as 'witnesses' to a creative musical mind.

I will discuss how the *act of writing* affects the creative process, and how compositional craft, as well as sketching techniques, influences a composer's ideas, his style and the shaping of his musical material. In other words, I will address sketching as an *action* incorporated into the creative process rather than a passive tool necessary to

¹⁶⁰ Leo Treitler, *Reflections on Musical Meaning and its Representations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 163.

realising fixed ideas. Questions regarding the ways in which the *manner* or *habit* of sketching and the *shape* or *appearance* of the notation influence the finality of a work and the artistic ideas it manifests will be some of the core issues of part V, where I go into the genesis of certain selected works by Johan Svendsen. Hence, chapter 4 will lay the philosophical groundwork for those investigations. Lastly, the fundamental questions raised in this chapter will also be fruitful, if only as a backdrop, for the philological and technical survey of the source material in part III.

I must emphasise that a study of the compositional process *in general* resides outside the frames of this thesis, as it would potentially demand a theoretical basis in aesthetics, cognitive studies and many other fields. The material encompassed by my work is made up of the sources presented in part III, and what I have to say about Svendsen's compositional process is mostly drawn from studies of these sources and my discussions from part I. Nevertheless, I will also touch upon such challenging aspects as *inspiration, musical imagination* and the composer's choices.

Since the focus of this dissertation is the nineteenth-century and mainly orchestral composer Johan Svendsen, my discussion will be limited to the notational system and habits that were at hand in his lifetime. In other words, questions concerning modern graphic notation and computer programs obviously also reside outside the present study, though certain of its observations and conclusions in principle also apply there.

Chapter 5, then, will approach sketch studies from a philological, terminological and technical point of view. How should we systemise sketches, and how can they illuminate work chronology and a composer's biography? This chapter will be the necessary basis for the source studies in part III, which, again, lay the groundwork for parts IV and V.

The influence of Beethoven sketch studies upon my discussion is perhaps inevitable. Their significance in the field as a whole is anticipated by the impact his music has had on later generations, including Johan Svendsen. Monographs and articles on Beethoven's sketches were first published during the decades when Svendsen was most active as a composer, and though I doubt he knew this research well, he may have heard of it. Beethoven sketch studies have been very important to my work as well. There are risks involved in them, however, because his sketches are largely expressions

of his methods and aesthetics and what they reveal does not necessarily transfer to other composers.

Furthermore, I will make use of relevant studies and composer statements, as well as the insights of philosophers and musicologists, from the eighteenth century to the present to illustrate how similar problems have been addressed and approached from various angles over this long period of time.

The argument and structure of part II as a whole, then, will pursue a holistic approach to examining the actual source material in detail.

Chapter 4: The Act of Sketching

4.1 Approaching the Compositional Process

Fascinated and moved—again and again—by a piece of music, a scholar will naturally ask how it came into existence in the first place. Composers, too, benefit from knowledge of other composers' working methods. For almost a century and a half, then, sketch studies have been a rather popular if extremely time-consuming approach to decoding or demystifying the compositional process. Gustav Nottebohm (1817-1882) was a pioneer when he produced his thorough and systematic studies and transcriptions of Beethoven sketches in the 1860s and 1870s. He was one of very few at that time to turn pointedly to the working methods of this most admired and elevated musical genius. Nottebohm saw how some of the greatest works of art in the musical canon had developed from loose ideas into large structures, or, put differently, how large-scale plans were gradually filled with, and shaped by, musical content. And most importantly, he decoded the 'hieroglyphics, which no human being will decipher. [...] the secrets of Isis and Osiris', as Beethoven's contemporary, the violinist Karl Holz, put it.¹⁶¹ (These 'hieroglyphics' were auctioned mostly as souvenirs after Beethoven's death.) For a century, scholars approached the creative process mostly as teleological—that is, as an evolution towards a final masterpiece. As will be discussed below, this assumption was closely connected to the idea that a true work of art is autonomous, a reflection of the growth of a specimen in nature itself, and could not have been other than it came to be. 162 The following written conversation between Beethoven and Louis Schlosser (in 1822 or 1823) would most certainly support such a view. Beethoven says:

I carry my thoughts about with me for a long time, often for a very long time, before writing them down. I can rely on my memory for this and can be sure that once I have grasped a theme, I shall not forget it even years later. I change many things, discard others, and try again and again until I am satisfied; then, in my head, I begin to elaborate the work in its breadth, its narrowness, its height, its depth, and because I am aware of what I want to do, the underlying idea never deserts me. It rises, it grows, I hear and see the image in front of me from every angle, as if it had been cast (like a sculpture), and only the labor of writing it down remains, a labor that need not take long, but varies according to the time at my disposal, since I very often work on several things at the same time. Yet I can always be sure that I shall not confuse one with another. You may ask me where I obtain my ideas. I cannot answer this with any certainty: they come unbidden, spontaneously or unspontaneously. I may grasp them with my hands in the open air, while walking in the woods, in the stillness of night, at early morning. Stimulated by those moods that

¹⁶¹ William Kinderman, *Artaria 195: Beethoven's Sketchbook for the Missa Solemnis and the Piano Sonata in E Major, op 109*, 3 vols., vol. 3: Transcription (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), vii..

¹⁶² This perhaps resonates with the abiding misunderstanding of evolution in nature that says that the 'results' we see today, including our own species, are the *goal* of natural evolution.

poets turn into words, I turn my ideas into tones which resound, roar, and rage until at last they stand before me in the form of notes. 163

This is a colourful story of what it feels like to compose music. Statements like 'I know what I want' and the idea 'rises' and 'grows', grasped with 'my hands in the open air, while walking in the woods', in tandem with 'the labor of writing it down', begin to construct what is generally referred to as a Romantic notion of the composer. Even if we ignore the lyric extremes, there remains the question of to what degree Beethoven himself was fully aware of what happened during the process. Still, what this quote first and foremost illustrates is that composition is a highly complex process that depends on many factors. As I will show, some of this quote might also be made to demonstrate another position altogether in relation to the creative process and the act of writing's part in it.

It is certainly an undeniable temptation to plumb the depths of the composer's mind and discern his creative process in his sketches. But is this possible? Even Nottebohm was pessimistic:

Without betraying the secret of genius, Beethoven's sketches provide some idea of his method. They illustrate the fragmentary conception and slow growth of a composition—a manner of composing that seems somewhat enigmatic to us. The enigma lies first and last in Beethoven's struggle with his demon, the wrestling with his own genius. The demon has dwelt in these sketchbooks. But the demon has vanished, the spirit that dictated a work does not appear in the sketches. 164

Interestingly, it is by no means clear that Nottebohm was actually interested in any dissection of Beethoven's genius, which should not, he implies, be 'betrayed'. He continues:

The sketches do not reveal the law by which Beethoven was governed while creating. They can provide no conception of the idea that emerges only in the work of art itself, they reveal to us not the entire creative process, but only single isolated incidents from it. What we term the organic development of a work of art is far removed from the sketches. 165

'Law' and 'organicism' are notions that drive later generations of sketch scholars as well.

An oft-quoted statement from composer Reginald Smith Brindle's book *Musical Composition* speaks for itself: 'To compose is one of the most wonderful experiences God has given us, and the journey into our imagination is something other mortals may never experience'. ¹⁶⁶ As a composer myself, I must admit that this is a very inspiring

¹⁶³ Iosiah Fisk, Composers on Music (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 56.

¹⁶⁴ Cited from Douglas Johnson, "Beethoven Scholars and Beethoven's Sketches," *19th-Century Music* 2, no. 1 (1978): 5. (Nottebohm: Zweite Beethoveniana)

¹⁶⁵ (Ibid.)

¹⁶⁶ Reginald Smith Brindle, Musical Composition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), viii.

statement. 'A journey into the imagination' is indeed what it ought to feel like to compose music—that is, to be *creative*.

The 'enigma' that Nottebohm refused to face head on, then, is still worshipped by many composers, musicians and music lovers. Yet it is much less attractive to a researcher, and even Smith Brindle admits there is a 'great gap' in teaching (and therefore understanding) 'the areas of subjective choice, aesthetic discrimination, intuition, and invention'. 167 Igor Stravinsky put it as follows in his *Poetics of Music*:

The study of the creative process is an extremely delicate one. In truth, it is impossible to observe the inner workings of this process from the outside. It is futile to try and follow its successive phases in someone else's work. It is likewise very difficult to observe one's self. Yet it is only by enlisting the aid of introspection that I may have any chance at all of guiding you in this essentially fluctuating matter.¹⁶⁸

Nottebohm, Smith Brindle and Stravinsky evidently had their doubts as to understanding the mental process behind the sketches. Smith Brindle speaks of a 'journey' and Nottebohm of a 'law'. While the former expresses the composer's point of view from the creative process, the latter expresses the researcher's perspective on the sketches from the other side of the final work's completion. In either case, there is something—Stravinsky's 'inner workings', maybe—which cannot be directly observed in the sketches but must be addressed one way or another if one is to make any sense of them at all.

For sketch scholars, the problem is that even when we have a composer's complete sketches, we do not have access to his creative mind. Ulrich Konrad points out in an article on Mozart's sketches that it is the creative or compositional *methods* we study, rather than the creative *process*, 169 simply because creativity is comprised of mental processes and various actions or activities that cannot be observed on sheets of paper. I would go a step further and insist that, in fact, it is but the *sketching method* as opposed to the *compositional methods* that we might discern in the sketches, because the latter encompasses the realisation of ideas on musical instruments, as well as many other things not strictly the purview of the music itself. Or, as Nottebohm resignedly

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harward University Press, 1970), 49f.

¹⁶⁹ Ulrich Konrad, "Compositional methods," in *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, ed. Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008; reprint, 2008), 101.

concludes: '[Beethoven's sketchbooks] allow up to a certain degree a glimpse into Beethoven's workshop'.¹⁷⁰

When it comes to the study of the creative process 'as a whole', in addition, the interdisciplinary research of recent years has come at it from many different angles, some of which Juha Ojala summarises in Space in Musical Semiosis: An Abductive Theory of the Musical Composition Process: (1) composers' descriptions and interviews, (2) the psychology of music and psychology of creativity, (3) cognitive musicology, (4) musical semiotics, (5) ethnomusicology, (6) and historical musicology and case studies on composition.¹⁷¹ While angles 1 and 6 generally cover most traditional approaches (sketch studies combined with anecdotes), angles 2 through 5 have by now begun to open our eyes to the complexity of the mental processes and cultural and aesthetic conditions that sketch scholars must no longer take for granted. Such research is exemplified by articles such as 'Empirical and Historical Musicologies of Compositional Processes: Towards a Cross-fertilisation', by Nicolas Donin. Donin seeks to couple the tradition of historical sketch studies with cognitive studies-based interviews with composers who take part in his research and reconstruction of their working conditions. A great benefit of Donin's research is the participation of living composers, but it is also the case that some of his principles could apply to a study of a composer like Svendsen's compositional process as well. Still, a similar type of study can evidently not be carved out. Like most nineteenth-century composers, he was not very communicative in his letters about his experience with the act of composing.

Thus far, I have connected sketching primarily to *working method*, which focuses more on *technique* than on creativity in composition. In order to address the imaginative journey behind the act of sketching, then, I will now turn to a brief discussion of two central if elusive aspects of the compositional process—namely *inspiration* and *imagination*. Then I will discuss how sketching becomes an active part of the creative process and works iteratively on the products of the composer's musical imagination. One of the core subjects of this dissertation is the *transformation* between performed,

¹⁷⁰ Douglas. Johnson, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks: History, Reconstruction, Inventory*, ed. Jospeh Kerman, California Studies in 19th Century Music (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 7.

¹⁷¹ Juha Ojala, *Space in Musical Semiosis: An Abductive Theory of the Musical Composition Process:* (Finland: International Semiotics Institute at Imatra Semiotic Society of Finland, 2009), 157-59.

¹⁷² Nicolas Donin, "Empirical and Historical Musicologies of Compositional Processes: Towards a Crossfertilisation," in *The Art of Musical Composition*, ed. Dave Collins (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012).

sketched and imagined sound, and how this can be witnessed in sketches such as those that survive to speak to Svendsen's compositional process.

4.2 Inspiration and Imagination

From Western antiquity onwards, the idea of *art* has been seen to depend on three main components: *enthousiasmos* (Greek) or *inspiratio* (Latin), *fysis* or *ingenium* (that is equivalent with talent) and *techne* or *ars*.¹⁷³ (Today, one would usually interpret *fysis/ingenium* as a combination of heredity and environment.) It is also worth mentioning that the modern concepts of *art* and *technique* have the same origins. Art was up to the Renaissance generally understood as a craft that served a specific purpose. During the Renaissance, however, art came to be understood as something *more*—what was *expressed*—and craft was the means necessary to achieve one's artistic goals and intentions. The artist's ideas and imagination and intentions became as provocative as the artefacts he created.

A dictionary definition of *inspire* is as follows: 'fill [someone] with the urge or ability to do or feel something, especially to do something creative'. The word originates with *inspirare* in Latin, meaning 'breathe or blow into'.¹⁷⁴ Initially, it implied the belief that something divine or supernatural blew a *truth* or *idea* into the one to be inspired. Inspiration, then, was about *receiving* (from outside) artistic ideas, for example, and it is true that most artists need stimuli (either from outside or from their own process of working) to feel inspired, and those who isolate themselves completely for a long time will likely feel less inspired. The source for inspiration could be something clearly identifiable or much less so.

While the psychological processes involved in inspiration can be studied and explained along general lines, it remains today (as it was for Nottebohm, Smith Brindle and Stravinsky) challenging to chart its workings in a particular compositional process. Even more difficult, if not impossible, is the task of tracing a specific source of inspiration in the surviving sketches alone. But can we at least judge the presence or absence of inspiration in respective sketches?

The eighteenth-century philosopher Johann Georg Sulzer asked 'Whence comes this extraordinary effect of the soul, and how can it have such a happy effect?' in his

¹⁷³ Ove Kristian Sundberg, *Igor Stravinsky og hans musikkforståelse* (Norway: Solum Forlag, 1992), 84...

¹⁷⁴ Oxford English Dictionary. 2015, s.v. "Inspire."

General Theory of the Fine Arts (1771-74).175 Sulzer made no attempt to answer the 'whence', but regarding 'how', he continued: 'Such heightened effects reveal themselves either in the craving or imaginative forces of the soul, both with equal success'.¹⁷⁶ Thus, he recognised inspiration as either helping the artist to work more intensively, effectively or rigorously to achieve his or her goals or making him or her capable of more clearly imagining (or picturing to himself or herself)—that is, of forming 'new ideas [...] or concepts of external objects not present to the senses'. 177 In the first case, Sulzer notes, 'if the object is unclear such that the imaginative powers cannot develop freely, if one's impression of its effects are more vivid than one's knowledge of its essence [...], then [...] attention is turned to one's sensations, and the entire power of the soul unites in the most animated feeling'. 178 What does he mean by this? It is probably related to (but not synonymous with) what Igor Stravinsky describes as a search for 'satisfaction that he [the composer] fully knows he will not find without first striving for it'. 179 This heightened craving effect identified by Sulzer is present in the Beethoven quote above as well ('I change many things, discard others, and try again and again until I am satisfied; then, in my head, I begin to elaborate the work in its breadth, its narrowness, its height, its depth, and because I am aware of what I want to do, the underlying idea never deserts me'.) And for Stravinsky, the most inspiring impulse is the *act of working* itself:

People seem to think that one has to await the inspiration to create. That is a misunderstanding. Naturally, I do not deny the inspiration—quite the contrary. It is a driving force working within any human activity, and to which artists have no exclusive right. But this force blossoms only when initiated by an exertion, and this exertion is the labour [. . .] To work provokes the inspiration, if it was not present in the first place. 180

¹⁷⁵ Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightement: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 32.

¹⁷⁶ (Ibid.).

¹⁷⁷ Oxford Dictionary. 2015, s.v. "Imagination."

¹⁷⁸ Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightement*, 33..

¹⁷⁹ Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*, 55-56...

¹⁸⁰ 'Mange mennesker tror at man for å skape må avvente inspirasjonen. Det er en misforståelse. Det faller meg naturligvis ikke inn å fornekte inspirasjonen, tvertimot. Den er en drivkraft som forekommer innenfor hvilken som helst menneskelig virksomhet, og som kunsterne på ingen måte har enerett på. Men denne kraft utfolder seg først når den blir satt i gang av en anspennelse og denne anspennelse er arbeidet. [...] [A]rbeidet fremkaller inspirasjonen, hvis den ikke har vært tilstede fra første stund' (MLH s. 167). Ove Kristian Sundberg, *Igor Stravinsky og hans musikkforståelse*, 90.

Beethoven would have agreed with this, but what about Svendsen? Did he sketch to evoke artistic ideas and projects, or did he sketch after having 'received' some inspiration? Perhaps the sketches themselves will answer this question.

It would appear that the second effect of inspiration demanded the most attention from nineteenth-century thinkers. The following statement by Sulzer, then, would probably be applauded in the century that succeeded his: 'If [...] the object that has made the strongest impression can be viewed in a pure form [...], then [...] one's power of imagination is agitated along with one's senses and becomes firmly attached to the object'. 181 This also agrees with this extract from the Beethoven quote: 'I hear and see the image in front of me from every angle, as if it had been cast (like a sculpture), and only the labor of writing it down remains'. Interestingly, both Sulzer and Beethoven propose a direct link between the inspired *object* and the final composition, which is what Lydia Goehr calls the 'Idealist view' of the conception of musical works (see section 4.6). The process of translation through musical notation—in sketches and in the score—and the distortion of ideas it brings with it are dismissed. This is among the main problems of studying sketches as part of a compositional process. What initiated the sketching? How does the act of writing influence these initial ideas? What is their effect on the process after they have been written? How can these processes be interpreted in retrospect, from a researcher's perspective? In short, what can be said about the composer's thoughts and intentions behind his or her sketches?

First of all, I propose that inspired thoughts are connected to our short-term memory—that is, they must be what Bob Snyder in *Music and Memory* calls 'rehearsed',¹⁸² or kept active in order to later lodge in the long-term memory. To feel inspired for an extended period of time, one must continue to elaborate on one's initial thoughts, and through this process they will develop and even change. Still, there can remain a strong connection between an initial inspired idea and the final artwork it generates even in the case of a large-scale work that takes years to create. In other words, to *hold on to* an idea is to keep it *active* rather than *fixed*.

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¹⁸¹ Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightement*, 33.

¹⁸² Bob Snyder, *Music and Memory: An Introduction* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2000), 52.

Imagination—'the faculty or action of forming new ideas, or images or concepts of external objects not present to the senses'183—is obviously crucial and always part of a compositional process. Musical imagination—the ability to *picture to oneself* a range of sounds or musical structures that are not aurally present—is a complex cognitive process that every human being possesses but that requires both training and exercise. Composers benefit uniquely from an ability to imagine complex sound structures and overarching thematic continuity, which is linked to the musical memory. Many anecdotes have it that famous composers imagine enormous compositions in a single moment of inspiration, then merely write them down in those 'exact forms'. I will come back to this below.

The ability to imagine and remember musical structures must be honed and is largely connected to one's music-stylistic preferences. To explain this, I will begin with a reference to a famous experiment concerning the memorisation of the positions of pieces on a chessboard that W. G. Chase and H. A. Simon performed in 1973:184 They asked both beginners and international chess masters to recall the positions of pieces after a brief period of observation (normally five seconds). If the positions were taken from an actual chess game, the international masters were generally able to recall all of them, whereas the beginners remembered only four or so. But if the pieces were randomly positioned, the international masters did no better than the beginners. These results repeated themselves whether the masters knew the game in advance or saw the positions for the first time, because, of course, they were familiar with numerous similar positions (as well as the rules and limitations of the game). This experiment involved a fixed moment in the course of a game. But I will add that the international masters would not only be able to recall the exact positions of the pieces but also describe, relatively accurately, how the game had developed to that point (depending on how far into the game) and also predict the most likely lines of development from there. But, of course, they would not know each and every move in detail.

In relation to music, a well-trained composer working within a well-established stylistic idiom is very likely capable of anticipating the main structural lines of a completed piece based on a relatively short imagined musical structure. That is, one

¹⁸³ Oxford Dictionary. 2015, s.v. "Imagination."

¹⁸⁴ K. Anders Ericsson, "Superior Memory of Experts and Long-Term Working Memory (LTWM): An updated and extracted version of Ericsson (in press)," https://psy.fsu.edu/faculty/ericsson/ericsson.mem.exp.html.

does not have to play through the whole piece in one's imagination in order to grasp its prospective final shape. The cognitive process that makes this possible is what Snyder calls 'learned grouping' or 'schema-driven grouping effects'. Grouping is essentially 'the natural tendency of the human nervous system to segment acoustical information from the outside world into units, whose components seem related, forming some kind of wholes'. While 'primitive grouping factors are primarily determined by the structure of the human nervous system itself, and the ways it has evolved to understand the world around us', learned grouping is based on individual learning and musical culture and draws upon long-term memory categories and familiar schema. Although musical imagination also includes the ability to picture to oneself something *new*, as opposed to only remembering something heard, the two processes are evidently linked, learned and culturally conditioned. The *new* that one imagines will always be related to something already heard—that is, it will be a new combination of already perceived components.

Freya Bailes and Laura Bishop refer to a "Geneplore Model" of creative thinking and imagery' that was initially suggested by Ronald A. Finke: '(1) the generative phase, in which mental representations are created; and (2) the exploratory phase, in which interpretations of the representation are explored'.¹88 They claim that 'composers frequently describe the generative and exploratory function of imagery'.¹89 Mozart described this relationship between the generative and exploratory functions of the imagination, and their interaction with learned patterns, quite precisely and insightfully in the following quotation, which captures the combination of the 'trial and error' and 'rehearsing' which all composers experience:

Those ideas that please me I retain in memory, and am accustomed, as I have been told, to hum them to myself. If I continue in this way, it soon occurs to me how I may turn this or that bit to account, so as to make a good dish of it, that is to say, agreeable to the rules of counterpoint, to the sound of the various instruments, etc. All this fires my soul, provided that I am not disturbed. My subject begins to grow, and I continue to expand and brighten it until the thing is truly almost complete in my mind, no matter what its length, so that I'm able to survey it at a single glance like a beautiful picture or a lovely person. Nor do I hear in my imagination the parts successively, as will later happen, but all at once. And what a feast it is! All this inventing, this creation, takes place inside me like a beautiful, vivid dream. Yet the best of all is hearing the whole thing at once. 190

¹⁸⁵ Bob Snyder, *Music and Memory*, 31.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 32.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 33.

¹⁸⁸ Freya and Bishop Bailes, Laura, "Musical Imagery in the Creative Process," in *The Art of Musical Composition*, ed. Dave Collins (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 58.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Cited from Christoph Schlüren, "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Symphony in G minor, K 550," Bärenreiter, http://www.musikmph.de/musical_scores/vorworte/968.html.

These processes are clearly reflected in the chess experiment above as well.

As I will demonstrate, the Geneplore Model is easily discernible in Svendsen's sketches. Because sketches are usually exploratory as much as they are mnemonic, it is easiest to find traces of Finke's second phase, at least in Svendsen's case. Interestingly, Bailes and Bishop develop a much more complex system of four orders of musical imaging, alternately governed by spontaneity, goal-directed conscious manipulation of given material, renunciation of familiar patterns or some combination of these. ¹⁹¹ To establish and test such a model, one must rely on a number of sources aligned with the given creative process, such as, ideally, observation of and interviews with the composer, in addition to studies of his working documents. In the present case, the only witnesses to Svendsen's creative process are his musical sketches, which make the fourpoint model difficult to cope with. Nevertheless, it is worth keeping in mind that sketches, and the imagination they represent, can be goal-oriented (in order to comply with a genre), pattern driven or spontaneous.

A popular exercise among sketch scholars is to use sketches to prove or disprove anecdotes regarding the compositional process. In what follows, then, I will allow a few composers to speak for themselves concerning the effects of inspiration and musical imagery on their work, in order to illuminate some of the challenges of connecting these matters to sketches.

According to Richard Wagner, the prelude to *Das Rheingold* came to him in a vision on 5 September 1853:

I suddenly got the feeling that I was sinking into a strong current of water. Its rushing soon developed into a musical sound as the chord of E flat major, surging incessantly in broken chords; these presented themselves as melodic figurations of increasing motion, but the pure chord of E flat major never altered . . . With the sensation that the waves were now flowing high above me I woke with a violent start from my half-sleep. I recognized immediately that the orchestral prelude to Das Rheingold had come to me. 192

Wagner then insists that the prelude 'came upon' him in this vision in 'exactly the form that had been gestating within him but he had been unable to perceive before'. In other words, his subconscious had been working on the prelude for a while, but his conscious mind had not noticed. According to Barry Millington, this story 'suited Wagner's intended image as a natural genius whose creative ideas issued spontaneously

¹⁹² Barry Millington, *Wagner*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Master Musicians (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 198.

¹⁹¹ Freya and Bishop Bailes, Laura, "Musical Imagery in the Creative Process," 59-60.

¹⁹³ Curt von Westernhagen, The Forging of the 'Ring' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 17...

out of the subconscious'.¹⁹⁴ 'No Beethovenian hammering of motifs', Millington continues. In accordance with both a Romantic and a Platonic conception of art, Wagner makes no mention here of the importance of the labour itself (though he does so elsewhere.) Apparently, Millington disregards Wagner. But evidently, Wagner's *account* of the vision is not equivalent to the vision *itself*, and in addition, Wagner probably exaggerated the state of completion of the prelude. Regardless, it is worth exploring what this story actually means and how it might anticipate the final score in question, because composers *do* have visions and inspired moments that guide them in their work, though the path may be hard to follow.

Curt von Westernhagen discusses Wagner's account in relation to his observations in the sketches in his book *The Forging of the 'Ring'*. For example, he makes it probable that the 'Nature motive' (the rising E flat major chord in the horns) predates Wagner's vision. He demonstrates that Wagner began the (or a) continuity draft two months later than he experienced his vision and he locates some noticeable differences between the eighth- and sixteenth-note motives in the sketches and in the final score. All of this suggests that the prelude did not actually 'come upon' Wagner in its 'exact form' note by note, nor was it likely just a matter of writing it down. But, as mentioned, Wagner admits that his mind had been puzzling with this for a while. In terms of the musical material itself, Westernhagen credits the vision specifically for the idea of the sixteenth notes representing the rushing water above Wagner's head. But more importantly he claims that 'what "came upon" Wagner [. . .] was the outcome of that rising tension, not a careful motivic development, but an irresistible natural event'. 195 It would appear, then, that Wagner was visited by a number of musical germinal ideas (see chapter 5.3).¹⁹⁶ Alternatively, he may have had in mind certain motives, rhythms or tonal aspects, for example, ¹⁹⁷ for the prelude prior to his vision; furthermore, he clearly elaborated upon them further some time later.

Yet it remains quite possible that the powerful inspired moment he describes brought it all together in a clear compositional plan regarding what his ideas should

¹⁹⁴ Barry Millington, Wagner, 198.

¹⁹⁵ Curt von Westernhagen, *The Forging of the 'Ring'*, 17.

 $^{^{196}}$ Stan Bennett, "Musical Creation: Interwievs with Eight Composers," Journal of Research in Music Education, Vol. 24, no. 1 (1976): 3.

¹⁹⁷ The term *germinal idea* is also used by William Kinderman in his survey on Beethoven's sketchbook *Artaria 195* William Kinderman, *Artaria 195: Beethoven's Sketchbook for the Missa Solemnis and the Piano Sonata in E Major, op 109*, 3 vols., vol. 1: Commentary (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 26.

represent and how the prelude should be put together. In terms of musical material, it might even have been simply the extremely original idea of composing a complete orchestral prelude on *one single sustained chord*, building towards a climax with the aid of increasing loudness and gradually faster rhythms and thereby disassociating the tension from the harmonic development. After the moment of inspiration itself passed, Wagner strove to sustain it through musical notes (recall the Beethoven quote above, where his 'ideas were turned into tones which resound, roar, and rage until at last they stood before him in the form of notes'). The *idea*, then, is not the musical notes in detail but the direction they should take. Westernhagen's analysis demonstrates that the compositional process of the prelude took much longer than Wagner implies, but it does not negate the impact of an inspired moment of strong imagery on one of the most original orchestral preludes of the nineteenth century. The sketches themselves bear no sign of a vision as such, but they do reveal something about how this initial musical image was elaborated (Finke's phase 2).

The musical components in the *Rheingold* prelude were well established before his vision. It would not have been difficult to translate them from imagery to notation. The original inventions, the extremely long single chord and the determination of the constantly intensified rhythms could have been perceived in many ways. The water represented as arpeggiated chords, that is, harmonically stability combined with repetitive rhythmic and melodic gestures is a unification of standstill and movement, or motion *within* a stable body of sound. The 6/8 metre is the usual for watery music, like in the barcarole. (Triadic horn motives are not used to represent water as such but nature in general.) These are culturally conditioned representations in Western art music ('Scene am Bach' from Beethoven's *Pastorale Symphony* in 12/8): The Heraclitean ocean or the river is always *there*, yet, still in continuous motion. The motion is within a river that does not take another path or move itself. It is the same river every day, but the water running through it is different. The fact that the prelude is based on consistent sixteen-bar periods follows the ordinary structure in these matters. Thus, as mentioned, all the components were learned, yet put together in a simple, yet highly original plot.

The Swedish composer Hugo Alfvén (1872–1960) lyrically describes in his four-volume autobiography how the initial inspiration for his Second Symphony came to him on the deck of a Swedish archipelago boat:

Sunshine. Blue sky with only a few cirrus clouds. Moderate breeze. A solid mast with swelling sails. A sleeping rush of waves breaking against the Koster boat's bow. Small green islets and grey-brown rocks with glittering froth on the windward side. A glimpse of the open sea through the strait.

I lie comfortably outstretched on the foredeck and dream with open-mild eyes, taking pleasure in the boat's soft swaying and listening to the rushing waves. It merges into an increasingly clearer melody. Unconsciously I dig for my sketchbook in my jacket. [...] I write down what the waves sing to me and doze off again. But soon we have passed the strait and glide out to the open sea. The wind has not increased, but the sea is more restless, [and] the boat struggles a bit. Its motion has become more staccato. A new tone has taken the rushing waves and awakens my attention—a new rhythm, more syncopated. This provokes a new melody, in strong contrast to the preceding. Up with the sketchbook again, and soon is this new tune written down, but this time I even suggest the syncopated rhythm in the harmonic background.

Six years later, the first of these sketches was developed into the main theme and the second into the lyric theme in the first movement of my second symphony. 198

Alfvén thus links his themes both to each other and to the notions of water and a voyage. He also says that the second and third movements were inspired by later trips on the same boat and are, in his view, naturally bound together.¹⁹⁹

Example 4.1 (a): Hugo Alfvén: Symphony no. 2, First movement, opening.



Example 4.1 (b): Hugo Alfvén: Symphony no. 2, First movement, secondary theme.



The first theme of the symphony is, as in the Wagner example, an arpeggio motive, but it

¹⁹⁸ 'Sol. Blå himmel med enstaka cirrusskyar. Laber bris. En grov mast med svällande segel. En sövande brus av vågor, som bryts mot kosterbåtens stav. Rundtom små grönskande holmar och gråbruna skär med glittrande skum på lovartsidan. I gatten skymtar det öppna havet.

Jag ligger makligt utsträckt på fördäcket och drömmer med halvslutna ögon, njuter av båtens mjuka gungning och lyssnar til vågbruset. Det samlar sig till en melodi, det tar allt fastare form. Omedvetet gräver jag i fickan efter min skizzbok [. . .]. Där skriver jag ned vad bjöljorna sjunger for mig och dåsar till på nytt. Men snart har vi passerat gatten och glider nu ut på det vida havet. Vinden har inte ökat, men sjön har blivit oroligare, båten har börjat arbeta en aning. Dess rörelser har blivit mera stackatterade. Det har kommit en ny ton i bruset, som väcker min uppmärksamhet, en ny rytm, mera synkoperad. Dette framtrollar en melodi, som starkt komntrasterar mot den foregåande. Skizzboken åker upp på nytt, och snart är även den sången upptecknad, men denna gang antyder jag dessuten den synkoperade rytmen i det harmoniserade underlaget.

Sex år senare utformades den första av dessa uppteckningar till första temaet och den andra till sångtemat i första satsen i min andra symfoni'. Hugo Alfvén, *Första satsen: Ungdomsminnen* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1946), 174-75.

¹⁹⁹ Interestingly, the final two movements reveal a rather academic approach to a prelude and a fugue with chorale.

is not in 6/8 metre and it progresses harmonically. One could say that while Wagner sank into the waves, Alfvén travelled on top of them.

Alfvén acknowledges this as the *inspirational seed* from which a symphony grew, not the symphony itself. While Wagner reported a eureka moment, Alfvén's inspiration led him to further exploration with no clear destination in sight.

In the two examples above, the composers themselves connected specific moments of inspiration and imagination to identifiable musical objects. In most cases, however, one does not have these connections. Svendsen, for example, left none.

Sketching, then, is often about transforming or translating musical imagery into musical notation. Bailes and Bishop write:

[...] shifting from imagined sound to physical production, and vice versa, is inevitably a process of translation. A qualitative mismatch between the musical imagery and its performance is likely, whether a result of the inability to evoke a veridical sound in mind or the inability to match a desired sound through production.²⁰⁰

Here, these scholars highlight the dimensions of imagined and realised sound. But in Western art music there is a third, particularly crucial dimension: *notated sound*. Both imagined and realised sound must be translated into notation in the compositional process. Compositional training is a prerequisite to this third dimension, but it is also a necessary evil of sorts, because one rehearses patterns as part of this training. For Western art composers, these patterns are both auditory and visual, or heard and notated. My point here, and throughout this study, is that imagined, sketched and performed kinds of sound work within different temporalities. While one can imagine sound in performance tempo, one is not limited to this. Notating music is time consuming, no matter what shorthand techniques one develops, and it would be impossible to sketch orchestral textural details in performance time, for example.

The question persists as to whether sketch scholars have any access to how the music has been imagined through sketch studies, and I will return to this in part V. In what follows, I will ask instead how the habit of sketching, and the visual shape of the sketches, re-acts on the imagination. Nottebohm took the pessimistic position that sketches are unable to reveal anything about the artistic idea for a work ('the spirit that dictated a work does not appear in the sketches'). Sulzer named the creative process of a particular work its *invention*.²⁰¹ Between intention and the final work, then, comes

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²⁰⁰ Freya and Bishop Bailes, Laura, "Musical Imagery in the Creative Process," 57.

²⁰¹ Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightement*, 55ff.

invention: 'in the most general sense, something is an "invention" so long as it satisfies the intensions of its creator'. What both Nottebohm and Sulzer seem to have overlooked, however, is that the act of invention (the process of composing) circles back on the intention in turn, or, to paraphrase Nottebohm, that the demon in the sketchbooks in fact *is* present in the final work.

4.3 The Re-Acting Technique

I will now discuss how technique, craft, working methods and habits might impact artistic intentions and imagined sound, and even become their fundamental drivers—that is, how various techniques and habits *re-act* on artistic ideas, and how creativity arises in this exchange.

In *A Handbook to Twentieth-Century Musical Sketches*, Giselher Schubert and Friedemann Sallis state:

The scientific basis for the study of sketches first emerged during the early twentieth century and is intimately bound up with an important paradigm shift in aesthetics. While some scholars took Friedrich Nietzsche's position—that the completeness of a work of art cannot be accounted for in the information contained in the composer's working documents—others fixed their attention on the multitude of potentialities always present in the creative process and of which only a small portion emerge in the finished work.²⁰³

'Potentialities' is a core issue that appears to contradict with Nottebohm and Sulzer. Or does it? Juha Ojala emphasises the notions of *habit* and *action* in the compositional process:

[I]t can be assumed that when we speak of the composition process, there is a subject or subjects active in the series of actions, as well as in defining the goals. That is, the subjects, endowed with habits of feeling, thinking and action, are active participants in the process.²⁰⁴

I think that some of these actions and habits can be observed in and interpreted based on sketches. 'Spiritus ubi vult spirat' ('The wind blows where it will') is Stravinsky's quotation from John 3.8 in *Poetics of Music*, and he emphasises the word *will*.²⁰⁵ But I would add that the habits and tools of the composer act to ensure that it does not, in fact, blow *only* where it will. The overarching framework, as well, is the cultural context and aesthetics of the composer in question lead the direction of the wind.

Furthermore, the confusion between *process* and *method* that Konrad mentioned persists among scholars even late into the twentieth century, and probably today, as a

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²⁰² (Ibid.)

²⁰³ Giseller Schubert and Friedemann Sallis, "Sketches and Sketching," in *A Handbook to Twentieth-Century Musical Sketches*, ed. Patricia Hall and Friedemann Sallis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 6

²⁰⁴ Juha Ojala, *Space in Musical Semiosis*, 157.

²⁰⁵ Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*, 48.

consequence of the belief in an *inevitable final version* of the work of art. Schubert and Sallis state that: 'to the extent that a given work is perceived as an aesthetic object of some value, the idea that it exists as a distinct and wholly separate entity became widespread during the early twentieth century'.²⁰⁶ This is related to the 'Idealist view' of the work concept, mentioned above and discussed further below. Erling Guldbrandsen writes,

The debate on Beethoven has, probably more than with any other composer, formed the basis for the conception of the work as an organism. Indeed, a comprehensive sketch research has been carved out around him in particular, aimed at a teleological study of the work's goal-oriented development towards the inevitable final result [. . .] The view on the closed work—where no structure could have been different—and the view on the compositional process's finality have thus mutually confirmed each other, with Beethoven as the paradigmatic example of what it means to be *composer*.²⁰⁷

In other words, scholars have sought to track the *logical* processes that were involved, step by step, locating that 'law' that Nottebohm felt but could not see. What is often referred to as the Romantic perception of a work's autonomy is hereby mixed with positivism in musicology. This overlap is especially prominent in studies of the type of music on which Guldbrandsen focuses—namely serial compositions. As he points out, however, scholars of serial music have generally stuck to early phases in the compositional process, which are mostly about generating raw material. This phase is characterised by systematic work, strictness and technical exercises and tends to use up a lot of paper. However, one has largely overlooked the phases that follow. That is, after the tone rows and so forth have been established and the composer can begin to *use* the material.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, I think, similar problems apply to many studies in nineteenth-century sketches as well. As I will demonstrate in parts III and V, certain repetitious and mechanical sketching habits dominate Svendsen's early compositional phases as well—what I will call exploration sketches.

According to Guldbrandsen, even composers themselves, such as Boulez, believed the compositional process to be a rational one—or at least this is what he expressed in

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²⁰⁶ Giseller Schubert and Friedemann Sallis, "Sketches and Sketching," 6.

²⁰⁷ 'Mer enn ved noen annen komponist, er det vel diskursen rundt Beethoven som har dannet grunnlaget for synet på verket som en organisme. Som kjent har det nettopp i hans tilfelle foregått en omfattende skisseforskning, der man i teleologiske termer har ment å kunne følge verkenes målrettede framvekst mot det éne, uungåelige sluttresultat. [. . .] Synet på det lukkede verk—der ingen strukturer kunne vært annerledes—og synet på komposisjonsprosessens finalitet har slik bekreftet hverandre gjensidig, med Beethoven-skikkelsen som paradigmatisk eksempel på hva det vil si å være *komponist*'. Erling E. Guldbrandsen, "Tradisjon og tradisjonsbrudd: En studie i Pierre Boulez: Pli selon pli – portrait de Mallarmé" (Doctor Philos, University of Oslo, 1997), 391.

public.²⁰⁹ The problem seems to be that researchers have assumed a fixed intention at the beginning and a final inviolable work at the end, along the lines of Sulzer's intention—invention—work concept, where the intentions are answered through the process of invention, which produces the inevitable work. But by now it should be clear that the work concept is much more complicated, and intentions are *not* fixed objects. Westernhagen and Millington confronted the question as they problematised Wagner's vision in their comparison between the sketches and the score. But *how* they did so reveals that, two centuries after Sulzer, they were still tied up with it. Millington at least interprets the vision too literary and do not clarify the difference between Wagner's experience and how he accounted for it. I think, one to some extent, will always be attached to the notion of fixed objects, because one wants moorings in any scholarly investigation. That is, from a scholarly perspective, the *Eroica* we can hear today is regarded as the same symphony that was heard in 1804, even though the performance material, the sound and the context of reception are entirely different.

I will follow the concepts of potentialities on the one hand and working habits on the other aided by philosophy on *technique* and *technology*. Many philosophers have considered the question of technique, in both engineering and art—as mentioned, art (*Kunst*) originates from techne.

The German philosopher Ernst Cassirer's critique of his colleague Friedrich Dessauer in 1930 reflects what I have discussed above. Cassirer says:

When searching for the basis and right of the technique, the question is increasingly clearer and increasingly more consciously pointed towards the 'idea' that it embodies—of its spiritual essence that it fulfils. 'The land of origins of the technique'—is expressed in one of the recent philosophical works on technique—lies in the 'idea'.²¹⁰

Dessauer's notion of the *idea* relates to a Platonic conception and seems to evoke Nottebohm and Sulzer as well. The problem, according to Cassirer, is that he evaluates technique from the point of view of the product's finality—that is, from what is brought forth:

The world of the technique remains silent as long as one solely asks and evaluates it under these [the technical works' area] perspectives—it opens and abandons its secrets only when one [...]

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 148.

²¹⁰ 'Wo man nach [der Technik] Grund und Recht forscht, da stellt man diese Frage immer deutlicher und immer bewusster in der Richtung auf die "Idee", die sie verkörpert—auf die geistige Wesensbestimmung, die sich in ihr erfüllt. "Das Ursrpungsland der Technik"—so wird es in einem der neuesten Werke zur Philosophie der Technik geradezu ausgesprochen—liegt in der "Idee". Ernst Cassirer, "Form und Technik (1930)," in *Symbol, Technik, Sprache: Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1927-1933*, ed. Ernst Wolfgang Orth and John Michael Kros (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1985), 43.

goes back from forma formata [what has been realised] to forma formans [the principle of the realisation]. 211

Cassirer's observations from 1930 resonate with Treitler's thoughts on sketch studies from 2011:

There is an implicit scarcely avoidable reversal of such interpretive practice when the finished work, always a backdrop in the study of the sketches, becomes a guide for their interpretation, just as the outcome of a historical development is a backdrop and a guide for the study of the history under a teleological conception [. . .] given the devotion to a musical canon and to the work concept, then has been less attention to sketches not associated with finished work and scarcely any interest at all in musical sketches for their aesthetic qualities or the glimpse they afford of the mind at work, in contrast to the interest in sketches of visual artists. These orientations to the reciprocal relationships between musical sketches and finished works can be manifestations of a complicated ideology about the compositional process featuring the composer as original genius and the musical work as organic and teleological creation.²¹²

As Treitler notes, it is very difficult to free oneself from a teleological or *forma formata* perspective in sketch studies. In a study of a specific composer's sketches such as the present one, I would add that some awareness of the bulk of the composer's completed works is a necessary premise for one's orientation with regard to any unorganised source material.

Cassirer says one has to ask for "Bedingungen der Möglichkeit' des technischen Wirken und der technischen Gestaltung". Bedingungen der Möglichkeit' (the prerequisites of the possible) are highly determined by the composer's craft and habits—the technical means he possesses as well as the manner in which he produces his music, or how he sketches and improvises (in addition to the social/cultural/historical surroundings in which one works in). Bedingungen der Möglichkeit' also draws attention to the sketch material's 'potentialities' (as was brought forth by Schubert and Sallis), as well as the composer's actual possible choices at a given time.

Cassirer's philosophy from 1930 accords with more recent sketch studies. As Janet Levy states in *Beethoven's Compositional Choices*, one 'cannot assume that the goals of a completed work are necessarily the same as the goals of the sketches for it'.²¹⁴ I will return to this matter in particular in chapters 12–15.

²¹¹ 'Die Welt der Technik bleibt stumm, solange man sie lediglich unter diesem [dem Kreis der technischen *Werke*] Gesichtspunkt betrachtet und befragt—sie beginnt sich erst zu erschliessen und ihr Geheimnis preiszugeben, wenn man [. . .] von der *forma formata* zur *forma formans*, vom Gewordenen zum Prinzip des Werdens zurückgeht'. Ibid.

²¹² Leo Treitler, *Reflections on Musical Meaning and its Representations*, 163-4.

²¹³ Ernst Cassirer, "Form und Technik (1930)," 43.

²¹⁴ Cited from: Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: The Sense of an Ending," *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 2 (1991): 293.

With regard to serial music in the twentieth century, Guldbrandsen calls later phases of the compositional process the articulation of the raw material.²¹⁵ The composer articulates his intentions on the basis of preliminary research into his own musical material. As Maynard Solomon writes in his article 'Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Sense of an Ending', 'The imagination is not handcuffed by organic laws; rather, it embraces some strange mixture of free will and chance'. 216

The aspect of 'chance' undermines a view of the compositional process as logical and inevitable in terms of its eventual goal. Solomon continues:

With Beethoven, not only is there no prospective inevitability, there may even be no inevitability after the fact. His sketches and autographs may well be a series of rough maps to the multiplicity of universes he glimpsed, to a plurality of possibilities, a jammed crossroads, of paths taken and not taken.²¹⁷

Solomon then notes that 'Nineteenth-century music critics could not have accepted this sense of perpetual openness and mutability of purpose'—Otto Jahn, he assures us,

though initially bewildered by the proliferation of Beethoven's sketches[,] ultimately reassured himself of their place in an evolutionary order. Despite Beethoven's apparent 'uncertainty and groping', he wrote, 'I have found no instance in which one was compelled to recognize that the material chosen was not the best, or in which one could deplore that the material which he rejected had not been used.'218

I might add, however, that the question of 'free will' is problematised in Cassirer's philosophy. The wind does not blow entirely where it will but rather encounters obstacles that change its direction—perhaps towards new and unexplored territory. The wind is shaped by the landscape through which it blows—that is, freedom is both in dialogue with and impacted by 'prerequisites of the possible'—in this case, the techniques and means possessed by the composer. This evokes Guldbrandsen's emphasis upon the importance of the act of writing, to which I will return throughout part V. Svendsen's somewhat limited repertory of sketching methods re-acts on the possible discoveries and choices that confront him, accommodating some and falling short of others.

Modern philologists such as Jerome J. McGann and James Grier have likewise criticised the notion of 'final authorial intentions'. The critical new approach to

²¹⁵ Erling E. Guldbrandsen, "Tradisjon og tradisjonsbrudd," 386ff.

²¹⁶ Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," 292-93.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 293.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ James Grier, The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice (Cambridge: Cambridge Univesity Press, 1996), 16.

sketches corresponds to that of text criticism in music edition. Notions as *Urtext* and *Fassung letzter Hand* are, thus, problematic for a number of reasons.

Cassirer cited Goethe's statement that 'Tun und Denken, Denken und Tun, die Summe aller Weisheit bilden'²²⁰ (doing and thinking, thinking and doing makes the sum of all wisdom). Cassirer emphasised the duality of imagination and technology: 'zwischen dem "Geist des Werkzeug" und dem "Werkzeug des Geistes" (between the 'spirit of the tool' and the 'tool of the spirit'):²²¹

The discovery of the new tool constitutes a transformation, a revolution of the previous principles of operation, the work's mode itself. Thus, [...] with the sewing machine came the invention of a new manner of sewing and with the roller mill the invention of a new manner of forging—and the problem of flying only found its definite solution when the technical imagination was released from the model of birds' flying and the principle of moving wings.²²²

In the field of art, Cassirer refers to Leonardo da Vinci: "Theorie" und "Praxis", "Praxis" und "Poiësis" [...] miteinander durchdringen"'²²³ ['Theory' and 'practice', 'practice' and 'poiësis' penetrates each other]. In natural science, in turn,

One must have clear in mind that all of Galilei's discoveries in the areas of physics and astronomy were closely connected with one instrument or another he had invented himself or had installed. 224

In fact, Sulzer had some of the same understanding one and a half centuries earlier:

The composer might by chance think of an idea, or hear something in some composition, and by reworking this material while trying to express a certain emotion, end up inventing something new. It is just as if one discovers an application for a machine for which it was not originally invented; through careful observation of the thing, one hits upon the idea of applying it in a new way. This is probably how the sailboat was invented.²²⁵

Sulzer divided the process of *invention* into two categories. The first emphasises the composer's *clear imagination* regarding what is to be created—here, the invention process is about materialising this image. This view corresponds well to Nottebohm. The second is reflected in the quote above and further illustrated in the following statement by Stravinsky (also partly quoted above):

²²⁰ Ernst Cassirer, "Form und Technik (1930)," 79.

²²¹ ibid., 74.

²²² 'Die Entdeckung des neuen Werkzeugs stellt eine Umbildung, eine Revolution der bisheriger Wirkungs*art*, des Modus der Arbeit selbst, dar. So wurde, wie man betont hat, mit der Nähmaschine zugleich eine neue Näweise, mit dem Walzwerk eine neue Schmiedeweise erfunden—und auch das Flugproblem konnte erst endgültig erlöst verden, als das technische Denken sich von dem Vorbild des Vogelflugs freimachte und das Prinzip des bewegten Flügels verließ'. Ibid., 73-74.

²²⁴ 'Man muß sich die Tatsache vergegenwärtigen, daß jede Entdeckung Galileis auf dem Gebiete der Physik und der Astronomie mit irgendeinem Instrument eigener Erfindung oder besondere Einrichtung aufs engste verknüpftist'. Ibid., 80.

Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightement*, 57.

A composer improvises aimlessly the way an animal grubs about. Both of them go grubbing about because they yield to a compulsion to seek things out. What urge of the composer is satisfied by this investigation? The rules with which, like a penitent, he is burdened? No: he is in quest of his pleasure. He seeks a satisfaction that he fully knows he will not find without first striving for it. [. . .] So we grub about in expectation of our pleasure, guided by our scent, and suddenly we stumble against an unknown obstacle. It gives us a jolt, a shock, and this shock fecundates our creative power. ²²⁶

Elsewhere, he states:

This calling and this urge to constant act of creation involve an obligation to submit to rules and instruct oneself in the strictest discipline. The realization of the work demands this.²²⁷

Finally, Paul Hindemith states: 'Everyone may have sudden artistic ideas [. . .] but only the inventive artist has the knowledge to develop them',²²⁸ which does not only concerns rules of musical composition or talent for work but working habits and working method too.

I might sum up the thoughts above with the following passage from Guldbrandsen regarding the inseparable link between the exploratory act of composing and the act of writing:

The act of writing is usually involved to emphasise that the signs in the final score are not merely complete, aural musical ideas in the composer's imagination, but that the writing and the writing process themselves contribute significantly and participate in realising and marking the musical result.²²⁹

In endorsing this view, Leo Treitler claims that the new practice of writing down music as far back as in the ninth century was both an impulse for and a consequence of a

radical move of depositing onto a writing surface through the use of arbitrary graphic signs referring to the movement of a voice through a tonal space the musical part of centuries-old oral tradition of song that had been conceived as a unity of words and melody. As a consequence of the very act of writing down, participants in the tradition were forced to recognize properties and problems of the tradition that they could not have conceived and would not have confronted in the oral tradition.²³⁰

I find this reality crucial to understanding sketches and the part they can play in the compositional process. A sketch is an *active* tool in the work of composition that splits up and organise aural imagination visually. By doing so it re-acts on the composer's

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²²⁶ Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*, 55-56.

²²⁷ 'Dette kall og denne drift til stadig skapervirksomhet innebærer også en forpliktelse til å underkaste seg regler til å pålegge seg den strengeste disiplin. Det er verkets virkeliggjørelse som krever det'. (MLH s. 163) Ove Kristian Sundberg, *Igor Stravinsky og hans musikkforståelse*, 92.

²²⁸ 'Alle kan ha kunstneriske innfall—og har det også—men at bare den skapende kunstner vet å gjøre noe med den'. Cited from ibid., 86.

²²⁹ 'Når [det] aktive aspekt ved skriften trekkes inn, er det vanligvis for å betone at tegnene i det ferdige partituret ikker er blott og bar nedskrift av fiks ferdige, hørte, musikalske ideer i komponistens fantasi, men at skriften og skriveprosessen selv i høy grad er med på å frembringe og prege det musikalske resultat'. Erling E. Guldbrandsen, "Tradisjon og tradisjonsbrudd," 382.

²³⁰ Leo Treitler, *Reflections on Musical Meaning and its Representations*, 165-66.

imagination. This is directly counter to accomplished sketch scholar Friedemann Sallis's belief that a sketch's 'function is primarily mnemonic'.²³¹

4.4 Sound—as Imagined—as Notated—as Realised

Western art music is so fundamentally conditioned by the development of music notation that scholars, composers and thinkers have often taken its ramifications and consequences for granted. Treitler argues that music notation as a phenomenon originates from (a broad definition of) sketches rather than authoritative autographs:

Among the oldest surviving specimens of European music writing are musical sketches illustrating explanations in theoretical and pedagogical tracts. It may be that the systems of notation were invented for that purpose. In any case, a more pressing need for them than for the systems used first in representing the enormous repertories of ritual song in the oral tradition is suggested by the circumstance that the music writing used for such purposes is significantly more precise in its denotations of pitch than the earliest notations in the chant books.²³²

He continues, '[A] clear and consistent distinction between the categories "sketching" and "writing" of "finished works" [...] is not to be found in music-writing practice before 1600'.²³³

Before the recording of sound, notation was the only medium through which music could be *fixed* and *stored*. Composition techniques, in terms of harmony, counterpoint and form, have largely been taught through music notation, from its origins (according to Treitler) to our own time. And music notation remains the most important tool and language for Western art music composers to communicate their thoughts to musicians. Despite the fact that composers primarily imagine *sound*, they must also work out textures on paper in accordance with the rules and patterns they have learned through music notation. When their auditory imagination (or idea) is too complex to readily notate, they will then develop it further through music notation (or playing). Thus, according to the previous discussion, the writing process impacts their ideas, and their music is a result of their writing procedures and compositional habits, as well as their imagination.

One important difference between writing sketches and improvising on the piano, 234 for example, is that the experience of sound becomes vaguer as it is

²³¹ Friedemann Sallis, "Coming to terms with the composer's working manuscripts," in *A Handbook to Twentieth-Century Musical Sketches*, ed. Patricia Hall and Friedemann Sallis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 45.

²³² Leo Treitler, *Reflections on Musical Meaning and its Representations*, 166.

²³³ (Ibid. 163)

²³⁴ The piano is, of course, like notation, a technical device that partly conditions the 'prerequsites of the possible.'

represented visually. The sound must be *imagined* and visually represented rather than *realised*. In addition, the compositional process slows down. To fill the absence of the sound and compensate for the slowness of writing, preconceived and learned *written patterns* come to the composer's aid, either visually successful or graceful sequences or visual relationships that agree with the rules of counterpoint, harmony, orchestration and so forth. Composers deliberately break such patterns as well, but they are still relating to them even so.

One example where *sight* appears to trump hearing is described in Lewis Lockwood's analysis of the *Eroica* sketches. Many have suspected and interpreted an intentional connection between the main theme of the first movement and the *Basso del tema* in the finale of that symphony. Lockwood tries to show that this relationship is based on the visual similarity of the *Basso* and an early version of the opening theme, rather than on their possible auditory similarity.²³⁵ He thinks that the similarity is more apparent to score readers than it is to listeners, and that this may have applied to Beethoven as well, in this case.

Composers often increase their writing speed using stenographic notation for sketches—Wagner, like Beethoven, represented his orchestral texture in continuity drafts on only one or two staves.²³⁶ For example the entire *Das Rheingold* was drafted on two staves, one for the singers and the other for the orchestra. Thus the focus was on the musical course rather than the sound one would hear at any given time. Of course, these composers left out the details not only because of a lack of time to write them down but also because they did not have the full scope of them. This means that the stage of working out texture and orchestration would also re-act on both the surface and the musical course of the work as well.

Some readers might argue that very skilled composers can notate whatever they imagine, with or without an instrument at hand. Transcribe a simple melody from one's imagination is one of the basic exercises of ear training in music education, after all. Sulzer addressed the matter²³⁷ but without really problematising on the translation from hearing to writing it always implies. Furthermore, Beethoven composed despite

²³⁵ Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harward University Press, 1992), 144.

²³⁶ Barry Millington, Wagner, 197.

²³⁷ Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightement*, 62f.

being deaf. (For many reasons, if he could hear what he wrote, he would have composed differently but not necessarily better.) Perhaps he played the piano even when he could not hear it, as well, because it gave him the feeling of hearing it. Mozart scholar Neal Zaslaw refers to two letters from Mozart to his father revealing that he needed a keyboard instrument with which to compose.²³⁸ 'One should not despise one's fingers', writes Stravinsky. 'They often have an inspiring effect, and when they come in contact with the instrument, they may evoke unconscious thoughts that perhaps otherwise would not have appeared'. 239 When Stravinsky 'grubs about', the tool he uses is crucial to his discoveries.

Beethoven commented on the duality of sketching and playing ideas in a letter to Archduke Rudolph on 1 July 1823:

I hope that Your Imperial Highness will continue especially to practice writing down your ideas straightaway at the piano; for this purpose, there should be a small table beside the piano. In this way the imagination is strengthened, and one also learns to put down the remotest ideas at once. It is likewise necessary to write without a piano. Nor should it pain but rather please Your Imperial Highness to find yourself absorbed in this art, at times to elaborate a simple melody, a chorale with simple and again with more varied figurations in counterpoint, and so on, to more difficult exercises. We develop gradually the capacity to represent exactly what we wish to represent, what we feel within us, which is a need characteristic of all superior persons.²⁴⁰

The issue, then, is not whether composers can write without an instrument or not but what difference it makes, as Zaslaw puts it, 'to learn if the sounds as realized had the same feel and effect as the sounds as imagined',²⁴¹ particularly if one intends to experiment rather than fall back onto the same safe habits.

A dialogue between composers' sketches and imagination can be discerned in the discrepancies and changes in related sketches as well (this is often referred to as the growth of ideas). I will emphasise three main reasons for those changes. First, the composer may change his mind. For example, he transcribes 'what he hears or imagines' but later decides he wants to do it differently. Second, the 'transcription' is inaccurate that is, his imagination is rather clear but he has misinterpreted it in his notation, due to writing too fast or being distracted or insufficiently skilled. Third, his imagination is blurry, so he has notated something equally blurry. Lastly, composers usually sketch for

²³⁸ Neaf Zaslaw, "Mozart as a working stiff," in *On Mozart*, ed. James M. Morris (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1997; reprint, 1997), 110.

²³⁹ 'Man skal ikke forakte fingrene [...] De kan ofte virke inspirerende, og når de kommer i berøring med instrumentet, kan de fremkalle underbevisste tanker som ellers kanskje ikke ville ha dukket opp' Ove Kristian Sundberg, Igor Stravinsky og hans musikkforståelse, 89.

²⁴⁰ Josiah Fisk, *Composers on Music*, 55-56.

²⁴¹ Neaf Zaslaw, "Mozart as a working stiff," 110.

themselves, so what looks like a single pitch might in fact represent a complex orchestral sound mass. In other words, unlike autograph scores, sketches are *private* rather than *public writing*,²⁴² and they express sound less accurately to outsiders than autograph scores.

In the discussions so far, I have given sketching a rather important role in composers' workshops. Evidently, however, sketching varies in importance among them, and it also varies and changes in character over one single composer's career. It even depends upon what genre of music he is writing. Many composers may improvise complete complex works (at the piano) and only then write them down from memory (like the tradition of *fantasieren*). Interestingly, however, both Mozart and Beethoven sketched more as their experience grew, apparently because they learned the benefits of sketch elaboration. The crucial point is that as long as a composer sketches, that action will re-act upon his creativity and the finality of the score. It is not merely a mnemonic tool.

4.5 Some Misinterpretations

Music lovers are often fascinated by musicians who imagine the sound of scores, only by reading them, and by composers who notate the music they imagine. My discussion above demonstrates the ambiguity and possible mismatches in that translation. However, it seems that many researchers and composers seem to take it for granted that composers sketch whatever they imagine, whereas the following examples will demonstrate some of the potential complications in this regard. My first example is from correspondence between Robert Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn concerning Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. Schumann writes: 'He |Wagner] cannot write or think out four consecutive bars of beautiful nor even good music. All of these musicians lack genuine harmony and skill in four-part chorale writing. What lasting work can be produced in that way?'²⁴³ Schumann's critique derived from some implied parallel fifths in the so-called 'repentance motif', which he discovered while reading the piano score. These parallels are, however, more apparent to the eye than to the ear, and Schumann later retracted his critique after hearing the orchestral version of the work.²⁴⁴ This indicates

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²⁴² William Kinderman, *Artaria 195: 3*, 3: Transcription, vii.

²⁴³ Robert T. Laudon, "The Debate about Consecutive Fifths: A Context for Brahms's Manuscript 'Oktaven und Quinten'," *Music & Letters* 73, no. 1 (1992): 52.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

that Schumann was effectively misled by a violation of the rules of harmony that he could see in the score. He either 'misheard' the reality of the orchestra in what he observed, or he was not able to accurately imagine how it would sound. He trusted what he saw (or played on the piano), and projected weak music from these observations.

My second example is a sketch from one of Johan Svendsen's sketchbooks, for his last work, *Prélude*, completed in 1898 but, as will be demonstrated in part III, most likely sketched around 1876–77.

Example 4.2: Svendsen: (a) Sketchbook 04:38v:7-9, compared to (b) Prélude (condensed) score, b. 33-36



The upper system is a transcription of Svendsen's sketch. The lower is a transposed version of the same bars that corresponds to the final score (in the score the upper thirds are elaborated as arpeggiated motives). Svendsen sketches a harmonic structure that is similar to many passages in his works: a chromatic line ascends (or descends) towards some stable sonority (here, thirds in syncopation). The original sketch carries the chromatic line in parallel major thirds. This certainly looks appealing on paper as it creates a four-part texture consisting of two layers, both in parallel thirds. However, the resulting harmony lies outside Svendsen's stylistic idiom. In spite of the smooth chromatic voice-leading, complex chord structures and sharp dissonances pile up in just a few bars. And, as indicated in the transcription, he erased the middle line. The sketch, then, suggests that he attempted a pattern on the basis of its visual look rather than its actual sound. There is a discrepancy between imagined, written and realised sound.

Mozart's statement above ('making a good dish of it, that is to say, agreeable to the rules of counterpoint') expresses similar aspects. And the fact that Beethoven's late quartets, written when he was deaf, are innovative in terms of form rather than harmony may be connected to the inaccessibility of realised sound.

My next example demonstrates how changes in sketching habits or methods can impact the musical style of a composer. In his analysis of the sketches for Schumann's Second Symphony, Jon W. Finson writes:

Midway through his sketching in December, 1845, Schumann seems to have developed a new approach to composition in response to the particular problems of the fourth movement for Op. $61.^{245}$

According to Finson, what Schumann managed to do during his work on the finale was to combine his extraordinary creativity with a new working method—one which simply consisted of drafting the same passages over and over again as he steadily brought his disparate melodic ideas together. And, as Finson notes, Schumann's contemporaries *did* hear the difference. That is, his changed working method affected his musical style.²⁴⁶

These examples demonstrate the fundamental impact which notation has upon composers' thinking. Notation is part and parcel of their musical imagination, inspiration and *ingenium*, which in turn clarifies the impact of sketches on the compositional process as a whole.

4.6 A Musical Work Comes into Being

Towards the end of this chapter, I will approach one of the most central yet problematic concepts in Western art music—the notion of the *musical work*. This notion is crucial to the traditional narratives, industries, aesthetics, performance practices and analysis of this musical culture. And it is equally important to try to comprehend what composers have been aiming at and striving to comply with. The realisation of musical works is the cornerstone of most compositional activity in Western art music in the nineteenth century.

In the present dissertation, the main issues concerning the notion of the musical work revolve less around its reception history than around the ways in which nineteenth-century composers, and Svendsen in particular, responded to it in the compositional process. During the act of composition, that is, when does a work become a work? One might argue that there is no work until a performable score exists. But that is problematic for a number of reasons. For example, the numerous works left

²⁴⁵ Jon W. Finson, "The Sketches for the Fourth Movement of Schumann's Second Symphony, Op. 61," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 1 (1986): 152.
²⁴⁶ Ibid., 167.

unfinished by composers and then 'completed' or 'realised' by others make one particular problematic area. Mahler left his Tenth Symphony in an unperformable state, but it was close enough to completion that Deryck Coock's efforts have been widely accepted. Süssmayr's interventions in Mozart's Requiem are even more substantial, but without them, the work would probably not have become the most performed in that genre. Furthermore, it is impossible to locate a specific moment in the compositional process when a score goes from unperformable to performable. No matter how many performance details are contained in a score, musicians and scholars will always have to add something—that is interpret it.

As discussed above, sketch scholars have traditionally taken the teleological point of view, meaning that they have used the final score as the key to what composers have aimed at from their initial intentions and throughout the entire compositional process. Sketch scholars generally do not indulge in alternative possibilities. As I will discuss in chapter 5, some composers do indeed write preliminary 'synopsis sketches' (which scholars interpret in light of the final score) that may give a glimpse into their early intentions for a work-to-be. Others write letters about their initial plans. Unfortunately, Svendsen did neither. The surviving examples of his early sketches for a work are always short memo or exploration sketches that say little about the intentions that inform them. While Svendsen must have had large-scale plans and a sense of an entire work from the start, he did not reveal them through sketches. Moreover, my discussions in parts III and V will reveal a significant amount of searching for musical material as he went along. The issue is the relationship between the emergent work that he imagined at any point in the compositional process and the score he signed in the end. Works in the genres of dances and marches, on the one hand, could have been conceived more quickly, so that only details would remain for the sketches, because dances and marches are based on self-contained melodies. (I will return to this in part V.)

On the other hand, there are Svendsen's Third and perhaps even Fourth Symphonies, work(s) that have never entered the public sphere (see chapter 14). There are many sources suggesting a symphony in progress after no. 2, but none of them represent a delimited, 'autonomous' work. There is no complete musical score, and one cannot say for certain whether one ever existed, or whether Svendsen planned one or several symphonies. Perhaps two symphony projects merged into one, or one concept split into two, or several, planned works-to-be. We do not know whether the various

sources point in similar or very different directions. Perhaps Svendsen's plans for a symphony were quite clear to him, but as long as we do not have access to a score, or even a well-developed draft, it is hard to speak of *the* Third Symphony.

In order to transcend a teleological perspective while discussing sketches 'for' completed works, it is necessary to allow for a flexible work concept, on the one hand, and to trace the composer's desire to create musical entities, on the other. I will therefore consider two aspects to my approach to the conception of a musical work: first, that the composer responds to the work concept as it appears to him or her, and second, that he or she, one way or another, 'holds on to' a work not yet written during the compositional process. Concerning the former, Svendsen's completed works demonstrate that his response was to comply with a well-established work concept rather than attempt to confront it. He wished to position himself within the tradition that followed Beethoven's so-called 'second period', with some additional influence from Liszt and Berlioz, for example, and he must have wanted to contribute to the development of this tradition. (As the music critics quoted in chapter 1 suggest, Svendsen was considered more radical in Norway than in central Europe.) Concerning the ability to 'hold on to' a work-to-be, he likely considered his own works to be autonomous entities in one way or another—as objects that, in some sense, remained the same during the compositional process. My assumption here follows the lines of Beethoven's statement quoted in the beginning of this chapter ('I know what I want...')

To clarify these aspects, I will follow two paths: a historic-philosophical understanding of the work concept, with reference to Lydia Goehr's theses in particular, and a cognitive approach to music as objects, represented by Matthew Butterfield. Goehr's focus is the *work concept*, while Butterfield's is the *musical object*. While the former confronts the historic, aesthetic and industrial aspects of art music creation, the latter traces the cognitive possibility of 'holding on to' a musical course one has heard before. Importantly, I will limit myself to nineteenth-century art music. The challenge raised by avant-garde composers of the twentieth century to the autonomous work lies outside the scope of this study.

Carl Dahlhaus states in *Esthetics of Music*: 'the idea that music is exemplified in works [...] is far from self-evident'.²⁴⁷ All of the musical cultures and styles of today that

²⁴⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, *Esthetics of Music*, trans. William Austin (Cambridge University Press, 1982; repr., 1995), 10.

do not derive from the work concept demonstrate this fact. On the other hand, Western art music, as we know it, depends completely on the work concept. Lydia Goehr begins her influential book *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Work* with this Dahlhaus quote. Her central claim is that the concept emerged around 1800. Goehr explains this as follows:

Prior to the point at which we would say a concept has emerged, it might be that many if not all the threads of what becomes the content of the concept already exist. As yet however they have not meshed together in the appropriate way to admit the concept's regulative function, if the concept has such a function. The phenomenon helps explain why, when movements transform themselves one into another, the new appears as much continuous as it does discontinuous with the old.

Thus, prior to 1800 there were functioning concepts of composition, performance, and notation in musical practice, just as there were after that time. This is the continuity. The discontinuity lies in the fact that their significance, and the conceptual relation in which these concepts stood to one another, differed across the two time periods.²⁴⁸

She then traces the origins of the work concept back to early sixteenth century (presumably following Dahlhaus' initiative), and other musicologists have traced it as far back as the medieval period. It might seem easy to criticise such a statement that highlights a short time span for the appearance of the work concept. Did Bach not create works? Extensive philosophical exercises underpin her claim,²⁴⁹ and I cannot account for all of them here. Still, as Mia Göran notes, Goehr's assertion of 1800 has been attacked for its lack of empirical evidence.²⁵⁰ I think Goehr's viability here depends on the meaning of the work concept, which surely has changed, and still is. Nevertheless, Goehr, not surprisingly, emphasises the 'Beethoven paradigm' as crucial to the work concept's development and further refers to Franz Liszt as an advocate for the idea of a 'musical art museum'—that is, a canon.²⁵¹ In spite of her disputable dates, it is clear that the work concept was prospering throughout the nineteenth century, when Johan Svendsen composed his music. Even if Svendsen's notion of the work concept is different from ours, there is no doubt that he sought to compose musical works of art, which, as

²⁴⁸ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; repr., 1994), 108.

²⁴⁹ I would add an example to illuminate the complexity. Bach often used the same music in several cantatas and masses, a practice which seems to conflict with the sense of work autonomy that was operative in the nineteenth century. Nor did Bach publish many of his works, which means they were not fixed or authorized by him as such. Yet he did oversee the publication of *some particular* works, such as the partitas for keyboard. Hence, they were made available for study and performance without his supervision and transfered into 'autonomous' works.

²⁵⁰ Mia Göran, "John Cage og verkbegrepet i europeisk musikktradisjon," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 36 (2010): 134.

²⁵¹ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*.

mentioned, both then and now can be placed safely within that category, no matter how complicated it is to determine and define this compound concept.

Goehr supports her claim that 'the work-concept began to regulate a practice at a particular point in time'²⁵² through a combination of certain aspects of ontology and historical practice. She claims that the concept of musical works is an *open concept* correlated to the *ideals* of a practice, a *regulative concept, projective* and *emergent*. Furthermore, she states that her 'methodological transition is a move away from asking what kind of *object* a musical work is, to asking what kind of *concept* the work-concept is'.²⁵³ An open concept, as Goehr describes it (referring, in turn, to Wittgenstein), is 'unbounded; its definition need be confined only to known or uncontroversial, canonical, or paradigm examples'.²⁵⁴ The paradigm changes and the paradigm examples play a certain role at a certain time. Her point is that the work concept does not need a clear definition, because the concept itself will continue to develop along with musical practice—that is, it is emergent.

It seems to me that many of Goehr's complex philosophical concepts regarding ontology come strikingly close to, and can be easily confused with, several of the positions that she attacks in the first part of her book (some are discussed below). The important difference goes between that the work in the so-called 'Platonist view', for example, *is* predicated, predestined or universal, but the work-concept in Goehr's theory is practically treated *as if* it is predicated, predestined and universal. The other important difference is while most earlier theories seek a precise definition of the work concept, Goehr refuses to do so.

The historical emergence of the work concept around 1800 cannot be linked back to a single incident or concept but rather arises from many necessary social factors and practices that were already at work in the eighteenth century, including the growing music publishing industry, the shift of artistic power from patrons to composer, the rising status of instrumental, and thus, absolute music, and autonomy. Composers increasingly detailed instructions in scores, giving rise to the assumption of originality, individuality and plagiarism.²⁵⁵ Thus, Goehr accepts the work concept as a historical, cultural phenomenon that regulates musical practice and analysis. Composers at work,

²⁵² Ibid., 89.

²⁵³ Ibid., 90.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 93.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 218.

then, try to comply with the regulations of the work concept exhibited around them. And as they succeed or fall short in relation to these regulations, they contribute to revising them.

The work as a regulative concept means that it 'functions stably because [it is] treated as if [it were] givens and not "merely" as [a] concept [...] that ha[s] artificially emerged and crystallized within a practice'. 256 Hence, when Svendsen began a work, he did not need any particular definition of the work concept or any fixed structure or particular work as a role model—he formed his intentions based on the musical practice he had absorbed. For example, the openness of the work concept would have made it possible to experiment and explore, to indulge aspects of both the Mendelssohn tradition and the New German School and keep his options open. The work could emerge during the act of composing and find its shape based on the musical motives that had developed and come together. The regulative aspects of the work concept, on the other hand, would have helped Svendsen choose and judge among his possibilities. In accordance with my discussions in chapter 1, I do not think Svendsen verbalised much of this to himself. The present analysis would have appeared foreign to him. But that does not mean it is irrelevant. The regulations that Svendsen probably *felt* are not equal to the music he knew. He was familiar with recent works by Wagner and Liszt in his active period in the 1870s, but he must have felt more restricted than those works suggested, or he was unable to reach that far, for some reason.

Goehr also accounts for a few different theses regarding the work concept that both she and most musicologists today tend to dismiss. Two of them, the 'Platonist view' and the 'Idealist view', have a certain relevance to this discussion of composers' attitudes towards the work concept and *when* in the compositional process works as such arise.

The 'Platonist view', according to Goehr, in short, says that musical works are eternal and even anticipate actual compositional activity. The composer *discovers* the work rather than *creates* it.²⁵⁷ Wagner's vision, discussed above, is not exactly that, but it is similar. Wagner felt (or claimed) that the *Rheingold* prelude existed within him as a foetus released, or presented to him during his vision. As John Andrew Fisher has insisted, however, a composer can make many *discoveries* during the act of composition,

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 104.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 14.

such as how to solve certain problems, but the piece itself is *created* (made up), not discovered.²⁵⁸ While the 'Platonist view' goes against common sense, I think it is relevant to an understanding of composers' goals. In a possible reference to Stravinsky's statement above on grubbing about for satisfaction, a composer might well *feel* that the musical work he composes pre-existed at the satisfactory moment of completion, and that he does discover it (gradually) as bits and pieces seem to fall into place. This goes hand in hand with the fact that it is difficult, even impossible, for a composer to go back and reconstruct the process of composition himself (though experiments have come a long way in the reconstruction of the complex surroundings within which the act of composition takes place). I have already argued against the 'Platonist view', in line with Cassirer, Solomon and Guldbrandsen. But speaking as a composer, it can be difficult to attach to my being as before the creation of those works that mean the most to me and have marked my life, just as it is hard to recall what life was like before I became a father. Rationally, I understand that I have not 'discovered' my works or my children, but they have a sense of the eternal to them nevertheless. I have seen that many other artists express themselves in similar ways.

In other words, I think many composers would be familiar with the feeling of discovery while they are working. Stravinsky's description of satisfaction is a response to *some expectations*. The sketch material I will investigate from part III onwards shows many traces of discovery in Svendsen's work as well. For example, as he strived to comply with the notion of a unified whole, he not only developed his material from selected *germinal ideas* (see chapter 5.3) but also realised that he could unify very different themes, even those originally intended for different works, in the same work as though they had arisen from the same seed, just as Schumann discovered as he composed the finale of his Second Symphony. Svendsen might even have yearned to discover eternal works of art, or even to *feel* that he had done so. His own Hegelian thoughts on seeking the 'truth' in art relate to this (see chapter 1.3).

In the 'Idealist view', as described by Goehr, the work is identified with the *idea* formed in the composer's mind, which then finds objectified forms in musical material duplicated in score copies and performances. German nineteenth-century thinkers such as Adolph Bernhard Marx, followed later by Arnold Schoenberg, distinguished 'Idee'

²⁵⁸ John Andrew Fisher, "Discovery, Creation and Musical Works," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 49, no. 2 (1991).

from 'Gedanke'. While Gedanke was typically understood as the concrete musical material, such as the theme that was to be developed, *Idee* (from the Greek to see) was a more philosophical concept of what lies behind and initiates the *Gedanken*.²⁵⁹ (Schoenberg also used *Einfall*, or an idea that strikes—that is, an inspiration.) According to Schoenberg, an idea is timeless.²⁶⁰ Wagner would express such a view, and the notion that Beethoven's ideas speak to us through his music today, applies to it as well. Like the 'Platonist view', the 'Idealist view' conflicts, to some extent with my arguments regarding the re-acting technique above. In principle, even in cases such as Mozart's, the making of the score influences the initial ideas behind the work. Inevitably, in what degree his ideas survive through various performances, depends on the cultural capital of its participants etc. Nevertheless, the notion of werktreue—the idea that one seeks the composer's intentions in one's interpretation of the score—largely agrees with the 'Idealist view'. Despite my arguments above, and Goehr's problematising of this view, I will argue that the work concept (with regard to nineteenth-century music) to some extent depends on 'a belief' in the 'Idealist view' as well. Most performers will place their faith in the score and, as mentioned, seek the composer's ideas and intentions behind the notation. The score contains performance instructions that must be interpreted, but in the end one seeks the *Idee* behind those instructions. For example, most listeners of classical music concern about who the composer is--who's ideas are expressed. Arguably, the ideas that might be seen to surface in the score are not (necessarily) the same as those that initiated the work, but those initial ideas guided every compositional choice along the way—even those choices that departed from the original ideas. This returns us to the problem of when the work comes into existence. The satisfaction that the composer seeks is not to be found in the final barline in the score but in the sense that he or she has realised the ideas that started it.

Thus I will argue that even though the 'Platonist' and 'Idealist views' can be dismissed as irrational and do not explain what the musical work is, they are still incorporated into the development of the work concept and help to keep it alive as a cultural phenomenon. For a composer, an 'Idealist view' can be central to trusting that one's ideas will be communicated to listeners during the performance. Throughout the

²⁵⁹ Patrica Carpenter and Severine Neff's 'Commentary' in Arnold Schoenberg, *The Musical Idea and the Logic, Technique and Art of its Presentation,* trans. Patricia Carpenter and Severine Neff (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 17.

act of composition, that is, the 'illusion' of the 'Idealist view' can be an important guideline for the composer, in that he or she maintains a sense of actually composing *a work*, not several (possible) works, as it progresses to a performable status. The Idealist view also shares some features with Goehr's conception of the *ideals* versus the *identity condition* of work production. An important difference is that Goehr's *ideal* is not the work itself or the actual ideas of the composer, but assumptions of those based on certain aesthetic beliefs.

The above discussion might shed light on how a composer like Svendsen responded to the work concept as it appeared to him, and how he strived to realise his *Ideen* through the musical score. In what follows, I will try to present an understanding of the mental processes that help the composer to 'hold on to' a work that is not yet completed, as an entity. Again, I have nineteenth-century art music in mind here—that is, pieces with a beginning and an end that are usually dividable into sections.

Matthew Butterfield tracks the *musical object* as a cognitive experience of an existing identifiable entity.²⁶¹ He argues that some musical features are likely to be perceived as 'object-like' by the human brain, and others, less so or not at all. Music with a clear beginning and end, or music that consists of temporally defined events that stand out, tends to be objectified, whereas, for example, gamelan, dance club music and much minimalist music tend to deemphasise the sense of the musical object. Butterfield's theory is largely a response to attempts to deconstruct or do away with the notion of the musical object by notable theorists such as Susan McClary, Christopher Small and Nicholas Cook.

In accounting for some theory on the human brain's perception of physical objects, Butterfield refers to the 'idealised cognitive model (ICM) of an object':

- 1) An object is an other, not I;
- 2) it is structured in our perception by container and part-whole image schemata;
- 3) it is some type of thing, i.e., it can be categorized at the basic level with respect to perceived shape and function;
- 4) it is durable, material and present as perceived through vision and/or touch;
- 5) its shape and size tend towards gestalt in our perception—i.e., optionally the whole can either be held in the hand or fit entirely within the field of vision (or at least enough parts can be seen that one can imaginatively extrapolate the size and shape of the whole); and
- 6) it is inanimate.262

Butterfield continues, 'For a sound to motivate the ontological metaphor—that is, for a listener to interpret a sound as a kind of object—it must meet at least a few of the

²⁶¹ Matthew Butterfield, "The Musical Object Revisited," *Music Analysis* 21, no. 3 (2002).

²⁶² Ibid., 337.

conditions of the OBJECT ICM'.²⁶³ Concerning criterion 1, it is debatable whether the music becomes a part of the listener or the listener's self-forgetfulness is a response to it. Butterfield concludes that a 'sound is always a thing encountered, invariably something "other" to which one responds. It does not matter if that response is conscious, abstract, intellectual, emotional, instinctual, physiological or even "pathological". So long as it is perceived, it is perceived as other, and not 1'.²⁶⁴ He admits that criterion 6 is highly problematic, yet finds it reasonable to apply sound to criterion 3: "'T)he richer the part-whole structure of a sound, the more sharply defined its profile, the easier it is to identify and interpret, and the more readily it can be understood as a sound object.'²⁶⁵ Sound fails to meet criterion 4, due to its ephemeral nature. However, as the brain can 'hold blocks of time—about five to six seconds on average'²⁶⁶ (this is called 'chunking' with regard to the short-term memory),²⁶⁷ it can act to hold or 'objectify' the presence:

[A sound] becomes an object, however, only when it acquires its complete form, only when it is contained, or bounded, by ending—that is, only with the annihilation of its actual presence. If we are to understand a sound through the OBJECT ICM, then, we must clarify our experience of its presence as a whole—as a gestalt—just as the presence of the sound itself has ended.²⁶⁸

This is necessary for the sound to meet criterion 5. Butterfield sees this quality of sound perception as a condition for the existence of language. We hear words as units, entities or objects, though they have duration.

To sum up, whether a sound is perceived as object-like depends on the degree to which it complies with the ICM, Butterfield writes:

Strictly speaking, then, sounds are not very good examples of objects. Nevertheless, because the experiential gestalt that characterises and structures our experience of sounds overlaps with that of objects in significant ways, we find it not only feasible, but also useful and meaningful on many occasions to treat sounds as objects.²⁶⁹

Butterfield, then, makes a distinction between *microscopic* and *macroscopic* musical objects. Microscopic musical objects generally comply with tones, ornaments, motives and phrases—musical features handled by the short-term memory. The macroscopic musical object, however,

involves a qualitative experience of an emerging 'wholeness', where the real existence of a whole is imaginatively stipulated or projected as the music proceeds. It is less precise, less definite than

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 344.

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²⁶³ Ibid., 342.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 345.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 346.

²⁶⁷ Bob Snyder, *Music and Memory*, 53.

²⁶⁸ Matthew Butterfield, "The Musical Object Revisited," 346.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 349.

a microscopic musical object, for it is not something we can grasp 'at a glance' as a single entity or gestalt, and repeat directly upon its conclusion.²⁷⁰

Butterfield stresses that the two types of musical objects are incommensurate, because there are different perceptual modes of operation at stake.

Space does not permit a review of Butterfield's complete argument here, but he explicitly sets macroscopic musical object in perception of growth and development: '[O]ne must perceive that the music is going somewhere or becoming something'.²⁷¹ The composition of a work, then, is linked to both macroscopic and microscopic musical objects, but the ability to hold on to a work not yet written relates especially to the former.

I will argue that our *expectations* for the continuity of the musical presence also help us to objectify it. For example, we are able to think about a symphony as a whole after having heard only the first two movements. In fact, we can think about it as such even before we have heard anything of it. This ability is important in the compositional process. While composing the first movement of a symphony, a composer can think of its finale without having any ideas for that finale's actual musical material. This recalls the discussion of Goehr's theory above. Svendsen had many expectations regarding what a symphony *should be* which not only guided his choices but also helped him to hold on to a conception of what he was creating. Expectations also make it possible for us to think about Svendsen's Third Symphony based on the fragmentary clues of its existence.

Thus, it is no surprise that most examples of Western art music are easily perceived as musical objects. It must further be said that musical works and musical objects are not necessarily identical, although they overlap. A 'sound installation' at an airport might be understood as a musical work but will be difficult to perceive as an object, according to Butterfield's theory. A simple tune (or short piano piece) might not be considered an entire work in Western art music but might be perceived as a musical object. Composers' use of opus numbers seems to reflect this: pieces are usually assembled in collections before an opus number is awarded to them.

Johan Svendsen's use of opus numbers, in particular, might shed some light on how he evaluated his pieces of music as *works of art*. For example, he never assigned his folk music arrangements for string orchestra any opus numbers, though Benestad and

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 358.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 360.

Schjelderup-Ebbe did.²⁷² Perhaps Svendsen regarded this material as *not original enough*—not his own *Ideen* and *Gedanken*, so not worthy of opus status. He felt the same way about his orchestrations of other composers' works. The Norwegian Rhapsodies, which are mostly folk tune arrangements with short transitions, a coda and usually introductions, received opus numbers. The curious *March of the Red-Nosed Knights* first had opus number 16, though he later deleted it from the list. The march is based on a children's tune *Ritsj-ratsj-fillebombombom* and therefore not his original work, but its form is more extensively developed than the string orchestra arrangements, for example.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have brought together thoughts from composers, philosophers and researchers spanning nearly two and a half centuries to demonstrate and discuss some of the issues surrounding the relationship between sketch studies, compositional process, ideas, imagination and technique. My central claim is that, particularly concerning dead composers, one has access to only a fraction of the whole compositional process, but all is not lost. Because compositional techniques and sketching habits *re-act* on these composers' musical imaginations and artistic ideas, and because this interaction prompts revision and re-composition in the composers' sketches, it is conceivable that sketch studies might suggest some aspects of the creative processes and artistic goals that contributed to the work being sketched. The translation between musical imagination, notation and realisation depends upon the active part played by craft and habits of sketching in the creative process.

Sketches appear in retrospect as fixed notation, but when they are written, they are inherently and essentially emergent, and they inform and influence the writing composer in turn. Therefore, one sketch, no matter how short and simple it may be, does not represent a moment in a process but a time span of creative development. In fact, it might represent many such time spans, as composers often reconsider and revisit their own sketches again and again. This discrepancy between fixed and emergent is immanent in sketches and also informs the complexity of the work concept.

It is difficult for researchers to avoid teleological perspectives on sketch studies, because knowledge of completed works must act as a reference while one organises

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²⁷² Bjarte Engeset, "Opus Numbers in Johan Svendsen's Works."

sketch material. In addition, sketches are often (but not always) aimed at the production of works. Related to my claims above, there is a tension between the finality of the score as an object and the many possibilities inherent in the often numerous sketches that preceded it—and the interpretations that followed it. (And, as music editors know, even the score itself is often represented in different variants.) The work concept is both regulative and open. Nineteenth-century composers (like composers today) sought to translate their *Ideen* and *Gedanken* into musical objects that could be transported and circulated via duplicated scores and performances. For many composers, *Gedanken* travel from one planned work to another over the course of composition as well. The 'public objects' or autonomous works often seem to dissolve into a panorama of possibilities in private working documents, as we will see further in part V.

Even though works are concepts rather than objects, they usually have object-like perceptual features that ideally make it possible to communicate artists' ideas again and again for different audiences. This 'hope' represents one of the premises of and goals for much sketch production.

These thoughts will form the basis for the following philological investigations and be activated in part V in particular.

Chapter 5: Terminology of Sketch Studies

5.1 Approaching Concepts and Definitions

In A Handbook to Twentieth-Century Musical Sketches, Friedemann Sallis writes:

The terminology of sketch studies is complex. With regard to music, the vocabulary, which gradually came into place during the nineteenth century, consists of a hodgepodge of terms borrowed from art history and literary criticism that seems to defy clear definition.²⁷³

In other words, despite a long tradition of sketch studies, it appears to be difficult to establish a unified or shared terminology concerning, for example, types of sketches. While some particular terms reoccur, one and the same term often applies to different sketch types, depending on the era or composer in question, for example. But Sallis argues that 'a good understanding of both the terms and the concepts we use to classify and qualify the composer's working documents is indispensable if we are to make sense of the enormous quantities of manuscript material [. . .] available'. ²⁷⁴ Laszlo Somfai, however, writes in the same anthology:

The physical appearance as well as the function of sketches is so diverse in the workshop of different composers that the applied terminology seems to be a key issue. I personally doubt, however, that the compatibility of definitions in sketch studies is crucial for us to understand each other.²⁷⁵

I incline towards this opinion. The extreme diversity of form and working habits among composers is reflected in the diversity of scholarly work on them. A shared or unified set of concepts may arise gradually, but as our understanding of sketches is continuously evolving, our terminology is evolving as well. In what follows, then, I will choose among terms and concepts from the existing literature and clarify their definitions for the present study. I will also invent some of my own.

What is a *sketch*? In addition, what defines a sketch in the case of Johan Svendsen? I will approach these questions from two angles. From a bibliographical point of view, a sketch is the physical document, including its inscriptions (this resonates with Sallis's position). But from a phenomenological point of view, a sketch might be the incompleteness of its *content*, *intention* and *meaning*, and also the tension between its fixed and emergent states, as discussed in the previous chapter. Clearly, these perspectives complement each other: the musical content or intention suggested in a sketch might in fact be shaped by the limits of its physical context. A large leaf of score

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²⁷³ Friedemann Sallis, "Coming to terms with the composer's working manuscripts," 43.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ László Somfai, "'Written between the desk and the piano': dating Béla Bartok's sketches," ibid., 114.

paper with many small staves affords the composer different opportunities and constraints than a small pocket book with but a few staves per page. Furthermore, a physical document, which from a library's point of view has the appearance of a sketch, might not have had that function for the composer, or vice versa.

Lewis Lockwood states the following:

In speaking of the 'autograph' we can at least proceed from the premise that the written object is a complete and consecutive representation of a single composition, and that it is normally a discrete physical unit set apart from material belonging to other works. When it comes to the sketches we can reaffirm the obvious by saying that as the representations of given works they are never complete and rarely consecutive, and they normally appear in sources combining material for more than one composition.²⁷⁶

'Never complete and rarely consecutive' is hardly surprising. That they normally appear in the same source as, and often side by side with material for, other compositions is, if not surprising, at least striking—this characteristic significantly influences the circumstances of how they came into existence, as well as our interpretation of them. I would add that sketches express a larger panorama of possibilities than autographs, both to scholars and to the composers themselves.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a distinction between sketches and autographs did not arise until around 1600. Lockwood (referring to Beethoven in particular) shows that the distinction continues to be somewhat blurry even centuries later:

It may be that within certain limits the long-familiar and superficially obvious distinction between 'autograph' and 'sketch' may begin to break down, or that in some cases the relationship between the two categories may be most fruitfully understood not as one of antecedent elaboration to finished consequent, but that they may be seen as partially complementary and reciprocal useful areas of work serving different tasks of elaboration en route to a common objective. In other words, for certain compositions Beethoven may have proceeded not simply by first elaborating and refining his ideas in his sketchbooks and only then beginning his autograph, but may have worked more or less simultaneously at both, shuttling back and forth from one work-area to the other as he sought to clarify and revise.²⁷⁷

Schubert and Sallis point out that sketches in the visual arts possess an autonomous aesthetic value 'which can neither be attained nor overtaken by the completed work',²⁷⁸ whereas musical sketches are traditionally characterised by their incompleteness. With regard to this commonly held view,²⁷⁹ Treitler argues that this is one of the reasons why studies of musical sketches have generally subscribed to a teleological focus connected

²⁷⁶ Lewis Lockwood, "On Beethoven's Sketches and Autoraphs: Some Problems of Definition and Interpretation," *Acta Musicologica* 42, no. 1/2 (1970): 41.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 40.

²⁷⁸ Giseller Schubert and Friedemann Sallis, "Sketches and Sketching," 5.

²⁷⁹ Leo Treitler, *Reflections on Musical Meaning and its Representations*, 161ff.

to the conception of the autonomous work, while visual sketches have been approached with a more open mind. This is no doubt connected to the fact that musical notation is in a medium other than the one it represents: writings that represent sound impose a greater distance than writings (drawings) that represent visual art. Musical sketches are rather inaccessible in relation to sketches for visual art, and there is more there to translate. In addition, art sketches are more accepted as public documents than musical sketches, which are often hard to read.

Grove Music Dictionary's definition of *sketch* reads:

A composer's written record of compositional activity not itself intended to have the status of a finished, public work. A sketch may record work in progress on a specific composition or may be made independently of any such project; while typically fragmentary or discontinuous, even consisting of no more than a few notes, a sketch may also represent a more fully worked-out musical idea. Even though a sketch might be sufficiently extensive and fully notated as to be performable, its origin as an essentially private notation distinguishes it from a composer's manuscript [autograph] of a completed work, a document typically intended as the basis for subsequent copying and publication. The term 'sketch' usually refers to an idea recorded in musical notation, but may be extended to include verbal remarks or the numerical tables and rows frequently used in the composition of serial works.²⁸⁰

In the case of Johan Svendsen, the above definition can be narrowed somewhat: it appears that he only sketched in music notation, now and then accompanied by verbal suggestions for orchestration, numbers for alternative solutions, specifications of illegible pitches or the sign # (which will be discussed later) but never accompanied by any verbal expression of his intentions or plans. Not one of his sketches is marked with the work for which it was intended, and only a handful of examples contains a tempo marking.

A sketch reflects what the composer does and does not need to notate. In terms of music notation, what is the minimum of information needed to identify it as a sketch? Music philologist James Grier writes, "The individual symbol of musical notation carries no independent meaning whatsoever'.²⁸¹ But sketches are an example of private writing, and therefore almost always lack conventional notational information. It is the rule rather than the exception that clefs, tempo, articulation, key or time signature and even accidentals are omitted. Any given isolated note head might represent a musical intention, even when its pitch cannot be determined. Thus the interpretation of sketches relies on an awareness of the stylistic conventions informing the composer in question's works, as well as his or her sketching habits. The information that is inherent to the

²⁸⁰ Nicholas Marston, 'Sketch' in Grove Dictionary of Music. 2015.

²⁸¹ James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 24.

composer must be exposed by scholars as much as possible. In relation to the discussion of imagined and notated sound in chapter 4, it is often unclear what remains implied (or utterly absent) in the sketch in relation to what was in the composer's mind at the time.

A sketch, as I will use the term here, consists of music notation that in a preliminary fashion represents a continuity of music or suggests musical intentions. Usually, in Svendsen's case, there appears to be the intention to develop its content towards a final score. But it is also true that a given short melodic inscription may have no other intention than to be mnemonic—or, as Treitler suggests, 'to stimulate the imagination'.²⁸² The latter recalls Smith Brindle's advice for students to use sketching (or doodling) as a brain starter.²⁸³ In other words, a sketch's intention might be simply the sketch itself, and one would be well advised not to read more into it.

In terms of length, a sketch, in its broadest sense, might include the course of an entire passage or even work. However, most scholars tend to reserve the term *draft* for that situation. For simplicity, I will use the plural term *sketches* for all preliminary representations of musical material, but in the detailed definitions and clarifications that follow, I will stay true to the tradition of labelling sketches as something relatively short in length, and drafts as representing a continuity that suggests musical form in one way or another. The term *draft* may also refer to something containing more textural detail, usually arising in the last compositional phase before the autograph score.

Focusing on sketches that relate to a planned work, one may assume that their generally incomplete nature derives from at least one of the following three conditions, all of which were briefly discussed in chapter 4: (1) the composer's uncertainty, (2) omitted information that was unnecessary for the composer's purposes or needs and (3) the discrepancy between the temporalities associated with imagination, sketching and performance. For all of these reasons, composers usually compose in phases—that is, they must work with the same material or passage over and over again, in several versions or representations. And fact comes to our aid when approaching compositional process through sketches. By comparing related sketches, we can discern something of the mental processes behind them.

²⁸² Leo Treitler, Reflections on Musical Meaning and its Representations, 162.

²⁸³ Reginald Smith Brindle, Musical Composition, 4.

Now, I have followed a rather traditional path in understanding sketches as 'unfinished, open and provisional', as Schubert and Sallis put it.²⁸⁴ 'Contradicting this [. .] view', they continue, 'is the position that all sketch material, no matter how preliminary, should be accorded an independent status, which is lost when this material is uncritically subsumed within the bounds of a work or work project'.²⁸⁵ I believe such an understanding of sketches is correct and was sufficiently discussed in chapter 4.

5.2 On Compositional Phases and Sketch Appearance

Nicolas Donin identifies a handful of procedures among composers that constitute a cyclic or hermeneutic process—for example, the tension between what he calls 'synoptic planning' and 'heuristic ideation', a constant generation of *rules* that themselves can be modified, disputed or abandoned throughout the process and the interaction between production and theorisation.²⁸⁶ Traces of these cognitive processes often can be found in sketches and classified by compositional phase. Strictly speaking, scholars observe only (potentially) related material in various shapes, different degrees of detail and different lengths. Most sketch studies of compositional processes, however, seek to organise these variants chronologically to reveal compositional phases (or sketching phases). Such research is generally teleological and relies upon a final score as its reference. A greater degree of similarity or alignment with the 'result' and the presence of more textural details are generally used as arguments for a later compositional stage.

In the introduction, I outlined such phases in Svendsen's case, which enables further structuring of the sketches. However, this scholarly urge can be misleading. The composer himself may not have been thinking in 'phases' at all, or he or she might have been working simultaneously on different kinds of sketches that present themselves as phases to scholars, as Lockwood suggested. Nevertheless, such phase structuring appears to have been part of compositional education for a long time, and it is likely valid in sketch study as well. For example, Johann Matheson described the following phases in 1739:

- 1. *inventio*, in which thematic material, tempo, and key are found;
- 2. dispositio, in which the material is structured;
- 3. *elaboratio*, in which the theme and structure are carefully worked upon;
- 4. decoratio, in which the melodic material is sensuously decorated; and finally

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²⁸⁴ Giseller Schubert and Friedemann Sallis, "Sketches and Sketching," 5.

²⁸⁵ (Ibid.)

²⁸⁶ Nicolas Donin, "Empirical and Historical Musicologies of Compositional Processes: Towards a Crossfertilisation," 19-20.

5. execution in which the music is performed.²⁸⁷

Although the particular phases are unique to every composer and also vary according to genre and even from work to work, the notion of the phase is the basis for much of the sketch terminology that exists today.

5.3 Microscopic and Macroscopic Musical Objects Traced in Sketches

I will next follow the idea of synoptic planning versus heuristic ideation, mentioned above. First, I will elaborate a bit on the notion of the *germinal idea*.²⁸⁸ I define it as an individual identifiable musical unit, or seed, which is changed and shaped through a sketching process. It appears usually as a musical motive—a self-contained melody or rhythm. Presumably it is a small musical component that strikes the composer's mind in a generative phase and then becomes a subject for further elaboration. The germinal idea is not synonymous with the *motive*, because, as mentioned, it can also be a melody of, say, eight bars. In addition, its appearance can change so radically during the process of composition that one might speak of two different motives but still the same germinal idea. To some extent, it overlaps with what Treitler describes as an 'archetype [. . .] the ever-present' elements in sketches for the same melody,²⁸⁹ but he is thinking in terms of medieval chant books.

I will give a few examples of a germinal idea. In Lockwood's discussion of the origins of the *Eroica*, mentioned in chapter 4, he suggests that the opening theme of the final score evolved from the *basso del tema* in the finale (that is, from *Prometheus*). In other words, the germinal idea for the opening of the symphony is this famous bass line in the finale. Whether his claim, based on his sketch studies, actually holds up is open for debate, because he clearly has a teleological point of view: he knows that these themes ended up in the same symphony.

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²⁸⁷ Juha Ojala, *Space in Musical Semiosis*, 163.

²⁸⁸ William Kinderman, *Artaria 195: 1*, 1: Commentary, 21. and Stan Bennett, "Musical Creation: Interwievs with Eight Composers," 3.

²⁸⁹ Leo Treitler, *Reflections on Musical Meaning and its Representations*, 167.

Example 5.1: Analysis of the relationship between the *basso del tema* from the fourth movement and the main theme in the first movement of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony.²⁹⁰



Another Beethoven example: an early sketch that eventually developed into the main theme of the Andante in Symphony no. 5 and the final version 'contain' the same

archetypes and appear to arise from the same germinal idea, which the sketchbooks confirm. But is this in fact the same melody? Its earliest shape in 3/4 metre looks more like a minuet than a slow movement. What if the first example was by Haydn, in fact, and Beethoven intentionally or unintentionally wrote a similar tune? What if they were written many years apart and their similarities were accidental as part of the musical dialect of Austria and Germany in the eighteenth century? Only the sketches can reveal whether they are intentionally linked.

Example 5.2: Beethoven: Symphony no. 5, second movement. Comparison between early sketch (a) and the theme in the score (b).²⁹¹



The concept of germinal ideas is complex and can be misleading. For example, Johan Svendsen, like many composers, has some musical signatures that recur in many works. One clear example is the rhythmic syncopation III that often occurs in alla breve with the half note as a passing or neighbouring tone. This signature can be confusing, however. Do the three themes in example 5.3 stem from the same germinal idea?

²⁹⁰ Transcribed from: Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process*, 142-43.

²⁹¹ Transcribed from: Paul Mies, *Beethoven's Sketches*, 74-75.

Example 5.3: (a) *Sigurd Slembe* (1871), b. 8 etc., vln I; (b) *Romeo and Juliet* (1876), b. 1 etc.; (c) *Prélude* (1898), b. 13 etc.



I will not go into a deeper metrical and harmonic analysis of these examples at this time, but they do appear to be alternative renderings of personal signature. The key of the first one is different, and, according to the sketchbooks, it was completed years before the other two (see part III). Still, the formal function and character of (a) and (b) are somewhat similar—they are slow (in character, not in notated tempo) and harmonically wandering introductions to extrovert allegros. On the other hand, (b) and (c) have the same key, and, as I will demonstrate in chapter 6, they are sketched physically closely together and probably within a short period of time. They also share similarities with another E major sketch. The three themes above appear as 'independent entities' in three different 'public objects' (works), but in the private sketch documents the borderlines between at least (b) and (c) is blurred. A closer analysis will be presented in chapters 12 and 13.

Thus it should be clear that a germinal idea is not a *type of sketch*. It is a striking musical (and local) idea or selection of motivic archetypes realised in various types of sketches. As the composer's intentions are not literally spoken out in the openness of sketches, a larger quantity of related sketches should be compared to determine germinal ideas from the broader perspective of *inter-opus* similarities.

Next I will move from the musical cell to its opposite. What Lockwood called a *movemental plan* or *preliminary compositional plan* for the *Eroica* can be related to the concept for a work that Beethoven conceived in an early phase of composition. Note that the movemental plan is a type of sketch, not the planned work itself—Barry Cooper has called this a *synopsis sketch*,²⁹² and it is obviously related to Donin's concept of synoptic planning as well. Plans and concepts change, while the traces of them as labelled by

²⁹² Barry Cooper, *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 106.

Lockwood and Cooper are physical fixed sketches that were initially emergent as well. Surprisingly, there are no surviving synopsis sketches or structural plans in Svendsen's hand. Take the Norwegian Rhapsodies, for example—one might think that he would have notated which folk tune he intended to include in each of those four works, in the order and keys in which they would appear. But no such sketches have survived, and there is no evidence of preliminary plans for any of Svendsen's cyclic works, in fact.

5.4 Types of Sketches

In the following, I will describe and define some *types of sketches* that I found useful for the present survey. These types will largely reflect phases in Svendsen's compositional process, in spite of the complexity problematised above. They will relate to symphonic music in particular, as the most complex genre in his work catalogue.

In his Bartok studies, László Somfai uses the term preliminary memo sketch to refer to 'notation of mostly short musical ideas during the preparation for a new work, typically before the intensive improvisation'.293 I will shorten it to memo sketch to describe sudden ideas (Einfälle) caught on paper, along the lines of what Barry Cooper refers to as concept sketches in his classification of Beethoven's sketches.²⁹⁴ I will avoid Cooper's term because it is easily confused with work concept, and because I think these sketches actually do not reveal any clear concept and, in fact, can travel from one work to another during the process of composition. Svendsen's memo sketches are usually notated on one line but, importantly, he often draws the barlines through three or even four staves, in case he worked out the texture in further detail later on. Sometimes he does so, converting the memo sketch into what I call an exploration sketch. It is impossible to discern whether a memo sketch was initiated in a moment of inspiration or by a thought one had lived with for a while. The point is that a memo sketch reveals a very limited degree of exploration on paper. Having said this, when two versions of a melody, for example, occur as memo sketches, at least one of them will be an elaboration on the other. Therefore, even when a memo sketch appears on its own, one cannot know whether it is the 'first memo' or an elaboration of a previous sketch that is now lost. It is the 'openness' of the sketch—that is, the sparse information—that makes it difficult to determine the sketch's intentions. Nevertheless, memo sketches fall into what I will call

²⁹³ László Somfai, "Written between the desk and the piano," 15.

²⁹⁴ Barry Cooper, Beethoven and the Creative Process, 104.

phase 1, primarily a generative phase, in Svendsen's sketching process (which is not identical to the compositional process).

Exploration sketches make up phase 2 of his sketching process. I will use this term to describe the phase in which the composer explores his germinal ideas, aided by the visual appearance of his sketches. Through exploration sketches, the shape and character of the musical material can change and evolve quite significantly. Their function is to test the different possibilities of germinal ideas, make then 'agreeable to the rules of counterpoint', as Mozart put it, and generate more raw material. This phase most clearly demonstrates the re-acting technique that I discussed in chapter 4. Visual and learned patterns govern aural imagination, as much as the other way around. Germinal ideas are also processed through various compositional techniques (for example, contrapuntal devices). As I will demonstrate, Svendsen utilises a somewhat limited repertory of compositional devices (imitation and sequencing, or a combination of the two, in particular) in this phase, which perhaps explains, to some extent, his relatively restricted musical idiom and even his creative decline around the age of forty. I will return to this possibility throughout this dissertation.

Exploration sketch is synonymous with what Cooper calls a *variant sketch*,²⁹⁵ but I will expand the concept of *variants* in sketches to include the succeeding compositional phases as well. *Variants* in music editing, of course, are the differences revealed in the various sources for a work. In the same manner, composers sketch variants of rhythmic details, melodies or extended passages to explore and evaluate the possibilities at every phase of the sketching process. Often they later combine variants in a synthesis which represents yet another variant.

I think *exploration* captures the actual purpose of phase 2, a point when the composer is usually most in unknown waters. As I will demonstrate, the need to write exploration sketches seems to increase in progressive musical contexts, which meant, in Svendsen's case, usually symphonic music. First, such works are texturally more complex. Second, the musical periodicity is less predicable. Third, while most of Svendsen's dances and occasional music are based on longer self-contained melodies, the symphonic movements consist of long passages based on short motives, in a Beethovenian fashion.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 106.

Continuity draft is a term often used by various scholars, though its precise definition differs according to the composer. Most importantly, the continuity draft focuses on the *musical course*. In relation to Beethoven, Barry Cooper defines a continuity draft as

a fairly long sketch [that] [...] tends to represent a relatively late stage of composition. It consists of a single-stave (occasionally two-stave) draft for an extended portion of a composition: a typical length might be an exposition of a sonata-form movement, but a draft may be shorter or longer, and sometimes covers an entire movement. In these drafts Beethoven can be seen fitting together the more fragmentary ideas made earlier into a coherent whole.²⁹⁶

Lewis Lockwood describes the continuity drafts of Beethoven as 'those widespanning sketches that encompass entire large formal divisions of a movement, and which evidently have the function of laying out, in rapidly written one-line drafts, the basic direction of the whole section'.²⁹⁷ This means that Beethoven did not bother much about textural detail at this stage (or it was implicit in his sketch, as far as he was concerned). Such a sketching technique becomes especially important in progressive or 'evolving' music (as mentioned, Wagner used the same method in his operas). The use of the term *draft* evokes Sallis's definition, mentioned above. Importantly, the continuity draft, though it may primarily consist of the melodic foreground, also reveals aspects of the musical form and narrative.

In the case of Svendsen, continuity drafts have a somewhat different appearance. As with Beethoven, they cover every bar in the musical course of a section or an entire movement. But they are always between two and four staves (and usually three), and they reveal harmony and texture in considerable detail. Their function, then, is more multiple, suggesting that *particella*²⁹⁸ might be a more appropriate descriptor. A particella is a short score that represents, for example, orchestral music on a few staves. One problem is that Svendsen has many short sketches that appear to be particellas in their level of detail, but exploration sketches in their function, especially in his arrangements of folk tunes, where the foreground is predicted. I will refer to the third-phase sketches as *drafts*, *continuity drafts* and *particellas*, interchangeably.

Somfai also defines the term *partial sketch* as 'quick elaboration of contrapuntal, harmonic, textural and most typically scoring problems on a separate piece of paper in

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 105.

²⁹⁷ Lewis Lockwood, Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process, 130.

²⁹⁸ Friedemann Sallis, "Coming to terms with the composer's working manuscripts," 48.

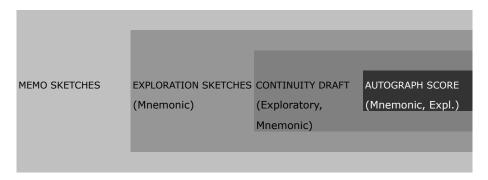
the course of the writing of a draft or an orchestration'.²⁹⁹ This type of sketch is written at a rather late stage in the process. For example, it might accompany the writing of the continuity draft or the score in order to solve a certain problem, in detail, without disturbing the musical course of the draft. Partial sketches look at lot like exploration sketches in Svendsen's case, though the partial sketch is generally more detailed and often identifiable by its close relationship to the final score. Interestingly, and unlike most of the exploration sketches, the partial sketches tend to focus on harmonic refinements and voicing rather than on contrapuntal problems. Svendsen's exploration sketches are usually written in pencil, whereas partial sketches can also be in ink, if they accompany his work on a given autograph score (which is also in ink).

Thus far I have described the sketching phases as follows: (1) memo sketches, (2) exploration sketches, (3) drafts and (4) autograph score (see also the introduction). In this way I align the compositional phases with sketches with different functions and appearances. Yet it is very important to keep in mind that sketches in phase 2 and 3 also have a mnemonic function, for example, and those in phase 3 still accommodate the exploration of musical ideas, and so on. Furthermore, there is a *tendency* for the compositional phases to become increasingly *goal-directed*. A memo sketch can be either intended for a specific planned work or used as merely a tool for memorising an attractive idea that might be useful at another time. And this type of sketch can easily be moved from one project to another. In phase 2, this idea is explored either for the purpose of revealing some harmonic or contrapuntal possibilities or for making it fit into a planned work. When it comes to the draft, the work possibilities are more limited, and the shaping of the draft is usually clearly attached to the constraints of a specific genre, such as the scherzo of a symphony.

Therefore, I will suggest that the process is as much a matter of compositional *levels* as phases of a *narrowing-down process*—that is, a limiting of the possibilities as one works towards a gradually clearer notion of the intraopus style and structure of a work, or a narrowing down from a panorama of possibilities towards a musical macroscopic object: the musical work represented in the score. The following figure represents a visualisation of this process.

²⁹⁹ László Somfai, "'Written between the desk and the piano': dating Béla Bartok's sketches," ibid., 115.

Figure 5.1.



5.5 Chronology and Relationship

Part II opened with a philosophical discussion regarding the re-action of technique on a composer's creativity and imagination, and I concluded by remarking upon the inseparability of music notation and musical imagination in nineteenth-century Western art music. I have followed up with some definitions of types, shapes and functions of different sketches and tried to clarify a terminology for this while indicating some of the ways in which the visual appearance of sketches to an extent reflects compositional phases or levels (in chapter 5). In what follows, I will discuss philological tools and methods for organising source material in terms of identity, date and chronology. This latter section directly prepares us for part III, which will lay the groundwork for discussions of the relationship between working method and musical style and aesthetics in parts IV and V. Here are questions that will be considered:

- 1. *Identification* of (a) author and (b) work. In part III, I will try to clarify what in the current source material stems from Svendsen's hand, and what does not. Furthermore, I will clarify as much as possible the relationships between the sketches and finalised works (when there are such links), what the intention of a sketch was at the time it was written, and its relationship to other sketches and documents.
- 2. *Chronology:* In what order was the material written?
- 3. *Dating:* When was it written?
- 4. *Compositional process:* Based on issues 1–3, I will lay the groundwork for a better understanding of what the sketches can tell us about the compositional process (and what they cannot).

Philologically, I will work towards these ends through the evaluation of the following features:

- 1. *Physical link:* Two sketches written on the same page or in the same sketchbook are physically bound together, which can form a basis for other links between them, such as a range of time or a shared intended project. This will never be a sufficient argument in and of itself, however, and there are many examples of material in the same source with no link other than physical proximity.
- 2. *Dates and identification:* Some composers date their sketches as though they were musical diaries; others date them sporadically. Some identify them by the name of the work for which they are intended, and some use verbal annotations to clarify their intentions. Though dates can be wrong and associations with a work can change, it does not matter here, as Svendsen did very little dating (two sketches in all) and no naming.
- 3. *Conventional order:* If sketch A appears *before* sketch B in a source—that is, A is at the top of a page and B is further down—or in the conventional page order of a sketchbook (page 5r before page 19v), we might choose to argue that A was also *written* before B. Still, in sketches, conventional order is very often contradicted.
- 4. *Shared musical content:* Relationships in the musical features of sketches, such as metre, tempo, key, motivic likeness, texture and harmonic character. If two sketches share many of these musical features, it is more likely that they are intentionally linked. As the previous discussion of germinal ideas demonstrated, however, one must be cautious even here.
- 5. *Stemmatic studies* in the cases of shared musical character. Following up on the implications of item 4 above, one would want to understand the chronology of the linked sketches once a link had been established. A focus on chronology with the aid of stemmatics was especially popular in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sketch studies and was re-vitalised by Somfai in his Bartok studies. In any quest for the compositional *process*, chronology would clearly be a focus. Yet some scholars have cautioned against an overemphasis on chronology, because different types of sketches might well have been used more or less

simultaneously—that is, hermeneutically rather than chronologically.³⁰⁰ The use of stemmatic filiation through, for example, 'shared errors' is one of the most common philological methods for establishing the relationships among several sources.³⁰¹ Although one cannot use it strictly in sketch studies, because it is difficult to speak of 'copied errors' and because there is only one author for all of the sources, one might speak of 'shared features' or a 'shared character' which can illuminate the chronology of the sketches. But, again, composers may go back and forth between variants of a germinal idea, which disrupts this pattern.

- 6. *Continuity and discontinuities* in the sketch material. As William Kinderman demonstrates with Beethoven's sketches for the Credo of *Missa Solemnis* and his simultaneous compositional work on the Sonata op. 109, continuity and discontinuity in sketches can reveal a good deal about chronology and working habits. Concentration of sketch material for a particular work can imply two further conditions: first, that the composer has worked without interruption from other projects; second, that he has reserved a certain space in a sketchbook for a particular work. In the latter case, a sudden break does not necessarily imply a pause in the work—it could be that the composer has run into a sketch that was already written in that spot. If one can locate a natural musical continuation of the broken-off sketch elsewhere, as Kinderman does, it is clear evidence of the latter condition.
- 7. Handwriting and writing tools: When considering personal identity and dating, many scholars have turned to the analysis of handwriting, though little can replace a long-lasting relationship with a particular author's handwriting in this regard. Technically observable features of handwriting vary for many reasons other than personality and time. Emanuel Winternitz's two-volume *Musical Autographs from Monteverdi to Hindemith* clarifies a number of important aspects of handwriting analysis. First, one should be very careful when interpreting an author's mood or temperament from the shape and form of his handwriting (as graphologists have done in earlier times).³⁰³ If a cross-out looks dense and

³⁰⁰ Friedemann Sallis, "Coming to terms with the composer's working manuscripts," ibid., 55.

³⁰¹ James Grier, The Critical Editing of Music, 62ff.

³⁰² William Kinderman, Artaria 195: 1, 1: Commentary, 21ff.

³⁰³ Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Autographs from Monteverdi to Hindemith*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (New Yourk: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), 23.

irregular, it does not necessarily mean it was written in anger or haste. Second, the writing tool, and particularly its sharpness and the direction in which it is held, impacts the shape of written signs significantly. While many habits of writing direction and pressure can be discerned in quill or pen writing, these same characteristics are barely observable in pencil writing.³⁰⁴ A sharpened pencil, then, can change the appearance of a sketch more than a time span of years. Third, while ordinary writing (that is, of words) faces few limitations on the page, music notation must adjust to staff size, pitch and metrical organisation, and the relationships among a variety of signs. Arguably, handwriting can vary significantly in spite of these limitations. Yet, one cannot expect the same amount of variation as in text. If two authors have worked on the same autograph, their handwriting will for these reasons become more alike than if they were writing independently. Thus, verbal signs in a musical score tend to be a lot more informative than the musical notation itself. Bjarte Engeset, who has studied Svendsen's handwriting in autograph scores, comes to the same conclusion.³⁰⁵

Because Svendsen's surviving sketches are, with few exceptions, all written in pencil, almost free of words, and (as will be presented in part III) probably written within a time span of less than ten years, handwriting is probably the least reliable analysis tool in the present study. Having said this, it is sometimes possible to propose a chronology and time span from variations in writing appearance combined with items 1–6 above.

To sum up, I will establish probabilities rather than pure facts. I will correlate the methods above and discuss the degree to which they align. As in most sketch studies, to my knowledge, it will be prove difficult to establish watertight conclusions based on logical arguments. In spite of a solid methodological fundament, it appears that the most important factor remains an intimate knowledge of the sources. I will be able to uncover a number of working habits but also many deviations from them, yet the relevance of the inquiry remains, for contradictory evidence to habits cannot dismiss them fully. It is quite obvious that every artist will establish working habits, yet sometimes break them. I must make *some* statements otherwise feebleness will haunt the following inquiry. This

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 37.

³⁰⁵ Bjarte Engeset, "Johan Svendsen si handskrift," *Unpublished*.

tension between uncertainty and the need for clarification, in spite of thorough analyses, is a paradox that I find to be one of the most problematic in the study of Svendsen's sketches, and perhaps sketch studies in general.

5.6 Transcription and Facsimile

Sketch material is reproduced and made public in two ways: facsimile and transcription. All scholars today agree that neither can replace examination of the physical source itself. However, for the obvious reason of limited accessibility, reproduction is necessary to make the material widely available. Furthermore, access to the physical source does not in itself guarantee a fruitful examination, because this also requires a thorough insight into philology, as well as the habits and writings of the composer in question. 'We must know the meaning of the symbols before we can transcribe them', ³⁰⁶ as James Grier says.

The greatest benefit of facsimile is, of course, that one comes very close to the visual appearance of the original, but facsimiles of single pages take the sketch out of its original physical surroundings. If the size of a printed facsimile differs from the original, it is also less reliable in this sense. Even a multi-coloured, high-quality photocopy cannot fully reflect the nuances of different writing layers and tools. Grier, for instance, acknowledges that he misinterpreted a pinprick for a notehead in facsimile. Printed facsimile is also very expensive and usually very time consuming to decipher. Nowadays, more and more manuscripts are made available via high-resolution scans online—most of the source material for this survey, for example, has become available online since I began it. Online facsimiles can be consulted over and over again, which is great, though the size of the screen and the extreme zooming possibilities can be misleading as well.

Transcription is a pragmatic solution to some of these challenges. It is a very time-consuming process and full of risks for errors and misinterpretation, yet cheaper for mass production and easier to read. But '[n]o transcription is objective',³⁰⁷ Grier insists. 'Regardless of the method used and the precision of the work carried out, the result is always different from the source', Regina Busch agrees,³⁰⁸ comparing transcription to translation.

³⁰⁶ James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 58.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

Regina Busch, "Transcribing sketches," in *A Handbook to Twentieth-Century Musical Sketches*, ed. Patricia Hall and Friedemann Sallis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 85.

Nottebohm's Beethoven transcriptions are selective, interestingly. He transcribed what he could read and organised the sketches in a manner other than their original placement, and most of his successors continued to publish Beethoven sketches by work rather than according to their physical surroundings in the sketchbooks. One might easily criticise such publications, but it is certainly the most accessible method for music lovers who orientate themselves according to the finished works. In the beginning of the twentieth century, Karl Lothar Mikulicz was the pioneer of publishing complete sketchbooks in transcription. He wanted to pass on the sketches as they appeared for Beethoven, yet in 'bequem lesbare Druckschrift'³⁰⁹ (comfortably readable print). This method is what was to become so-called 'diplomatic transcription', whereby the editor 'ideally [. . .] was a copyist rather than an interpreter, rendering the sketches legible without questioning what he saw'.³¹⁰ However, in accordance with Grier and Busch's statements above, that prospect is rather utopian.

Nevertheless, the most common type of transcription can be described as 'semi-diplomatic'—that is, complete with added clefs, key signatures, accidentals and other information in brackets, for example, but nevertheless seeking to keep the physical placement and look of the original, perhaps by maintaining the same stem directions and paper format. William Kinderman has this approach in his *Beethoven's Diabelli Variations*, which contains an extended appendix of sketch transcriptions.³¹¹ (These transcriptions are compressed to a standard-sized paperback book.) All the extra information in brackets changes the visual looks quite significantly, in addition to the standardised 'bequem lesbare Druckschrift' and the fact that the writing tools and colours are not expressed. A dedicated sketch scholar might dismiss such transcriptions, but, as Regina Busch states: 'The fact that a crochet rest, a clef or an accidental was written and where it appears in the document are far more significant than how they were written'.³¹²

One admirable, faithful and expensive reproduction of sketches is William Kinderman's critical edition of Beethoven's sketchbook *Artaria 195* in three volumes: commentary, facsimile and transcription. Kinderman allows the reader to examine the facsimile and transcription side-by-side, in this way conveying most aspects of the

³⁰⁹ Douglas Johnson, "Beethoven Scholars and Beethoven's Sketches," 9.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 11.

³¹¹ William Kinderman, *Beethoven's Diabelli Variations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 133.

³¹² Regina Busch, "Transcribing sketches," 87.

original.³¹³ This concept was in fact launched by Mikulicz already in 1927 and began to grow in popularity some time after World War II.

While reproducing and presenting sketches, one must know one's purpose. If the intention is to communicate the musical content—for example, what a germinal idea looked like at a certain stage—a transcription is more appropriate than a facsimile. If the visual look is important to communicate—for example, for a discussion of how and when a sketch was formed or how different sketches relate visually—the facsimile would be ideal, but a diplomatic transcription is the most pragmatic solution. For communication and accessibility, transcription is usually an effective entry point.

A transcription of all of the Svendsen sketches (or the greater part of them) is unrealistic within the scope of this study. In addition, I find most Svendsen sketches relatively easy to decipher, so the need for actual transcription is less urgent than in Beethoven's case, for example. Furthermore, I can refer to existing online scans in most cases. Throughout the current text, I will alternate between 'selective' (Nottebohmian) and 'semi-diplomatic' examples, as well as a few instances of facsimile reproduction. In addition, I will use what I call *selective comparative* transcriptions, which align several variants of a specific passage, a germinal idea and so forth in a 'score layout' for comparison's sake. In some cases I will also present variants on ossia staves. For practical reasons my editorial accidentals are added in normal parentheses, not square brackets as most common in sketch transcriptions. I have added my interpretations of keys and key signatures usually without brackets or parentheses.³¹⁴ I have not made attempts to cope the shapes of cross-outs, but only marked them as: [crossed out] or with diagonal lines.

³¹³ William Kinderman, *Artaria 195: 3*, 3: Transcription; ———, *Artaria 195: Beethoven's Sketchbook for the Missa Solemnis and the Piano Sonata in E Major, op 109*, 3 vols., vol. 2: Facsimile (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003); ibid., 1: Commentary.

³¹⁴ I have used the notation software Sibelius 7.1. It turned out to be extremely time-consuming to use square brackets both for accidentals and keys.

5.7 A Reference to the Debate on Sketch Studies and Musical Analysis

I will conclude part II with a short reference to an old and extended debate on sketch studies' relevance to musical analysis with an extension to their relevance for musical performance.

Their relevance depends on the definition and boundaries of analysis, of course, and the dispute grows sharper when one narrows the definition of analysis to *score analysis*. The Beethoven-Haus website still states the following:

Sketches are mainly consulted to answer questions regarding the genesis of the musical text and the chronology of works. Their relevance for the musical analysis of the finished composition is a matter of debate. 315

This statement concur surprisingly well with Gustav Nottebohm's 150-year-old position:

The sketches do not contribute to the understanding and actual enjoyment of a work. They are superfluous to the understanding of a work of art, certainly—but not to the understanding of the artist, if this is to be complete and comprehensive. For they assert something that the finished work, where every trace of the past has been shed, suppresses. And this extra something that the sketches offer belongs to the biography of Beethoven the artist, to the history of his artistic development.³¹⁶

According to the notable Beethoven scholar Douglas Johnson, Gustav Nottebohm saw no potential for musical analysis in the sketches. But for Nottebohm, a musical work (and especially a masterpiece) was an autonomous entity. After a hundred years of sketch studies, Johnson himself reached more or less the same conclusion in the 1970s.³¹⁷ Though musicology and musical analysis have developed significantly during the forty years since Johnson made his pessimistic statement on behalf of sketch studies. Yet, as the above quote demonstrates, still in 2015 the Beethoven-Haus expresses the similar. Treitler remains doubtful as well.

The debate is perhaps best illustrated in the heated discussion between Johnson, Sieghard Brandenburg and William Drabkin from 1979.³¹⁸ If Johnson was rather disillusioned regarding the prospects of sketch studies for music analysis, Brandenburg and Drabkin were much less so, though for different reasons. Not surprisingly, the disagreement largely stems from alternative understandings of what musical analysis is. According to Brandenburg, Johnson narrows analysis to the study of 'internal

³¹⁵ Bonn Beethoven-Haus, "Draft research (continuation)," Beethoven-Haus, http://www.beethoven-hausbonn.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=38895&template=&_mid=39069.

³¹⁶ Cited from Douglas Johnson, "Beethoven Scholars and Beethoven's Sketches," 5.

³¹⁷ ibid., 12ff.

³¹⁸ ibid and Sieghard Brandenburg, William Drabkin, and Douglas Johnson, "On Beethoven Scholars and Beethoven's Sketches," *19th Century Music* 2, no. 3 (1979).

relationships',³¹⁹ whereas he himself emphasises that analysis also rests on the analyst's understanding of the musical context. Drabkin, in turn, highlights the ways in which sketches can confirm relationships suggested by the analysis of the final score.

Johnson and Drabkin was apparently significantly influenced by the autonomic conception of the musical work, even if their understanding of it was very different from Nottebohm's. Brandenburg looked more hopefully to the future: 'A hundred years of fruitless sketch research does not mean that the hundred-and-first year will be equally negative'.³²⁰ Brandenburg's conception of musical analysis coincides with Ian Bent's, in that it is not only a discipline in itself but also present in the pursuits of historiography, aesthetics and criticism. And as Bent concludes, the conception of analysis is continuously changing: 'No single method or approach reveals the truth about music above all others'.³²¹ In his book *The Creative Process in Music from Mozart to Kurtág* from 2012, William Kinderman discusses the field of genetic criticism as a study of 'the genesis of cultural works, as regarded in a broad and inclusive manner.'322 In short, this is an inter-diciplinary study including philology, aesthetics and other areas in a way that 'often opens perspectives that serve as a promising platform for critical interpretation'.323 In continuation he says that: 'analysis remains vitally important to the evaluation of sketches and drafts, whose significanse can be elusive and enigmatic.'324 To put it differently, we might say that reception history passes 'through' the final score and into the composer's reception of his own work in progress—as it is witnessed in his sketches. Such a perspective does not only lengthen a work's history in time, but also expands its panorama in the pressent.

As to the question of *how* sketch studies are relevant to musical analysis, I will take the position that the more musicians know about the context of a work they are to interpret—the social, cultural, historic and aesthetic conditions that brought it into existence, its performance history and so forth—the more well-founded their interpretation will be. The *'intentional depth'*³²⁵ of their interpretation will increase. Sketches are part of the secondary sources surrounding scores and can contribute to a

³¹⁹ Ibid., 272.

³²⁰ Ibid., 271.

³²¹ Ian Bent, *Analysis*, The New Grove Handbooks in Music (Basinstoke: McMillian, 1987), 5.

³²² William Kinderman, *The Creative Process in Music from Mozart to Kurtág* (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 2.

³²³ Ibid., 11.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Store Norske Leksikon. 2011, s.v. "Intensjonsdybde."

critical understanding of the notation in the score. They demonstrate that a work could well have been different, and that themes and even specific passages might be transferred from one planned work to another during the compositional process. This means that the intentions of musical Gedanken are more open, yet more complex, than the score alone reveals. A comparison of the first and second versions of musical works reveals this most clearly. The rhetoric and narrative changes, and the relative importance of and relationship between musical themes vary. Perhaps a deeper knowledge of what anticipated the score can lead to a freer, more flexible and more insightful interpretation of it. But if this is to happen, musicians must learn how to use this knowledge. To simply observe the fact that a melody has been changed is too superficial. And because there is no one-to-one relationship between knowledge of a composer's statement of his own work and a performer's interpretation of it, no such relationship is likely in the case of sketch knowledge either. I cannot offer any suggestions regarding sketch studies for musicians. It is probably a highly individual process. But I think they can pave the way for a more well-informed and open interpretation at the same time.

For composers, though, this knowledge is obviously valuable. In a more general sense, I think it is vital for our culture's understanding of our own music to build up our knowledge of how it comes into existence—the methods and creative processes that lie behind it. One thing is to observe the ways in which the stone blocks of an Egyptian pyramid sit atop each other, and another to understand how they came together in that way thousands of years ago. The conditions were not limited to their architects' imaginations but also to what was physically possible at that time—that is, the prerequisites of the possible.

PART III THE SOURCES

General Observations

In part III, I will perform a descriptive philological analysis of the sources that contain Svendsen's surviving sketches and exercises. These sources comprise about 860 pages containing sketches and exercises in total. In addition come autograph scores (finished, unfinished, complete and incomplete) that sometimes share physical sources with sketches.

I will begin with a few general remarks about the surviving sketches. To count the number of sketches, is problematic according to my discussions in the previous chapter, but as an estimate, in line of my definition in chapter 5.1, there are about 650-700 surviving sketches and drafts—that is representations of a musical continuity, most of them very short. I estimate this to represent less than a quarter of all of the sketches Svendsen made, based on the time span and realized works they reflect. He completed most of the identifiable works in the sketches between 1874 and 1882. There are also many sketches with no apparent connection to known completed works. The sketches appear in the following types of sources:

Musical notebooks. Usually large sets of sketches that are physically bound together. All sketch types and phases are represented. Some of these notebooks also contain Leipzig exercises.

Autograph scores. Svendsen also sketched in some of his autograph scores for completed works. Sometimes these sketches are revisions of the work represented in the autograph score, and in this case, they are usually situated on empty staves at the bottom of the passage that is to be revised. Such sketches are usually in pencil and should not be confused with *corrections*, which are written in ink. Corrections are marked with *...*, corresponding to a crossed-out bar or two in one instrumental part on the same page, and he most likely made them while composing the score. Pencil sketches, on the other hand, are preparations for *revisions* and thus most likely made after the first performance.

If sketches in an autograph score are *not* related to the work in question, Svendsen was apparently simply sketching on paper that happened to be close to him at the time, which suggests they might have been written around the time of the autograph score. Thus the date of the autograph score might suggest an approximate time for the sketches as well. Usually, sketches in autograph scores are few and fragmentary, representing sketch phase 1, memo sketches, or 2, exploration sketches.

Loose leaves and gatherings. Due to their physical ephemerality, these sketches are the most difficult to place in time and in relation to other sources, and quite often they are not related to known works, which makes them even harder to date. They usually conatin sketch phases 1 and 2.

Almanacs. These sketches resemble the category above but are probably related to the date of the almanac in question. (In some cases, of course, the year of the almanac is doubtful.) They are always very short and fragmented and represent sketch phases 1 or 2.

Chapter 6 will concentrate on the musical notebooks, while chapter 7 is devoted to the other types of sources listed above.

I will reiterate my remarks on legibility from chapter 5 as well. Sketches are private writings, usually made for the composer's eyes only. Fortunately, in the case of Svendsen, the musical notation is generally very legible. While clefs, time and key signatures are commonly missing, they are usually relatively easy to determine.

Some composers develop an advanced and rich language of symbols, shorthand techniques, abbreviations and systems of reference to connect their own sketches to one another. As mentioned in chapter 5, Svendsen appears not to have done this; his sketches contain mostly ordinary music notation, and his sparing verbal notations are usually indications for the orchestration, lyrics or specifications of equivocal pitches in the music notation. These verbal notations are normally legible as well. As to further marks, he sometimes numbered alternative solutions for a passage, and he also used the symbol # in several places. I have not been able to decode the exact intention of this sign, but it seems to stand for 'refers to'. There are very few instances were two such signs match (examples in part V).

While easy to interpret, Svendsen's sparing use of verbal notation and the like causes significant problems in terms of dating, chronology and work identity. As already mentioned, he virtually never dated his sketches (I have only found *two* dates among them all). Nor did he label them with the works for which they might have been intended. As discussed in chapter 5, handwriting variation is of little help to dating in this case, due to his use of pencil, the lack of verbal notation (which reveals variation in handwriting better than music notation) and the presumably relatively short time span of the surviving sketches. The only reliable source for dating is, in fact, the completion date of the autograph scores or the date of the premiere in those situations where a sketch can be associated with a completed work. In other words, if a sketch can be connected to a completed work, we can usually set a date that it surely preceded.

When it comes to the surviving exercises, they are all collected in three of the musical notebooks discussed in chapter 6. Close to 400 surviving exercises exist, which I believe is close to what he actually wrote. The exercises should, in fact, be regarded as autograph scores, rather than sketches. They are clearly meant for his teachers' eyes too—neatly written in ink, organised chronologically and (to some extent) labelled. The start date of each course is notated, but otherwise no dates appear in these exercise books, as opposed to Edvard Grieg's exercise books, which appear almost as musical diaries. Among Svendsen's ink exercises, there are a few further exercises written in pencil, but they are more crammed together and appear to be sketches for the exercises themselves.

I recommend that part III be read slowly and patiently, as it contains a lot of cross-references within source material that will be heretofore unknown to the reader.

Chapter 6: The Musical Notebooks

At the Royal Library in Copenhagen, there are eight notebooks stored in a box labelled MA ms. 5276 mu 9705.2800.³²⁶ The library has numbered them from 01 to 08 (on sheets stuck into each book). Books 07 and 08 are French exercise books used in Paris in 1868–70 that contain no music notation. The other six notebooks (01–06) contain both the exercises and the sketches that make up the better part of the material discussed and analysed in the remainder of the present dissertation.

Svendsen used books 01, 02 and 03 for music theory exercises (harmony and counterpoint) in Leipzig in 1864–65. Two of these exercise books, 01 and 03, also contain sketches for several works completed a decade later, in 1874–76, as well as a significant number of sketches that I cannot connect to any known work. Book 02 contains only exercises from Leipzig.

Books 04 and 05 contain sketches for works completed in 1876–82 and unidentifiable projects. Book 06 contain sketches but not for *any* known completed works. However, there are at least two major works in development here, and one of them is very likely a symphony in E minor. Books 04, 05 and 06 contain no exercises.

In the present chapter, I will examine and discuss the music-filled notebooks 01–06 in terms of their physical appearance, chronology and dating. The musical content is, thus, illuminated for that purpose, rather than the genesis of single works. Links and overall coherence between given sources, and between different parts of the same source, thereby exploring these exercises and sketches from the perspective of the physical sources in which they appear. In parts IV and V, in turn, I will approach the same material from the point of view of the musical works, compositional method, craft, musical style and aesthetics. I will touch upon compositional process here only because the principal dating method is based on a sketch's possible coherence with the autograph scores for completed works.

 $^{^{326}}$ Johan Svendsen. [Teoriopgaver m.m.] (Royal Library in Copenhagen WH-arkivet MA ms 5276 mu 9705.2800 01-08) (1864).

Table 6.1: Physical description of the notebooks.

Book	01	02	03	04	05	90	07	80
Dims. cm	17,4x21,8	17,8x25,7	17,4x26,4	17,0x26,9	17,0x26,8	17,5x26,4	17,5x21,8	17,5x21,3
Cover type	Hardcover wood	Hardcover leather	Hardcover leather	Hardcover leather	Hardcover leather	Hardcover leather	Hardcover leather	Hardcover leather
Cover colour	Brown/Dark orange	Black	Dark brown marble	Brown marble	Brown marble	Brown/yellow marble	Dark blue	Dark red
Back colour	Dark purple/ brown	Dark blue	Dark green	Brown/ Orange	Brown/Orange	Brown/Orange	Dark blue	Dark red
Gatherings	9	6	9	6	6	12		
Bifolia/ gathering	4	4	9	9	9	3		
Leaves	48	72 Thicker than 01-03	72	72	72	36 thicker		
Flyleaves	2 pink thin	2 beige thin	1 thin leave					
Music staves	12	12	12	12	12	10		
Paper colour	Greened	White/browne d	Greened	White/light browned	White/browne d	White/beige	White/off white	White/off white
Date/Place	Leipzig d. 14/4 - 63 ³²⁷	Leipzig ¼ 1864	Leipzig d. 6/7 - 65					Johan Svendsen / Rue Tournon No 9 / Paris
Stamp/Mark							Papeterie des Etudiants Chélu / F'de sous main Steinographes / Serviettes D'Avocats / Galerie D'Odéon, 10. / Paris	Papeterie des Etudiants Chélu / F'de sous main Steinographes / Serviettes D'Avocats / Galerie D'Odéon, 10. / Paris

 327 Note that -63 is an error. Svendsen was not in Leipzig at that time, so -64 is the correct year.

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6.1 Physical Appearances and Conditions

Table 6.1 is a summary of the appearance and condition of the eight notebooks. As the table indicates, all are approximately the same size—the width varies by only a few millimetres, and the height varies by up to five centimetres. Stamps inside the front covers of books 07 and 08 suggest that they were purchased in Paris.

The dates in books 01, 02 and 03 reveal that they were in Svendsen's possession in Leipzig by April 1864 (01, 02) and July 1865 (03). It is worth noticing that books 04 and 05 are almost identical in appearance. Hence, he most likely acquired them at the same time from the same dealer, although there are no dates to confirm this. There is also nothing to indicate that Svendsen possessed or used them during his Leipzig studies. Neither the staff at the Royal Library in Copenhagen nor I have discerned any watermarks that might help to establish the origins of each book. The Royal Library staff, in fact, deems these books to be too standardised to track their origins. The back of book 01 is about to break apart, and the partly covered by glue reads the following: 'Doic [Donc] avoir argelle Mais âvan des instrumiens d'acier par exemple [...] / Que lo tailleur cogse un habit il fant quil le ... ciceau. Puis [...] res so'.

My examination of the physical books revealed that they are all intact—that is, no pages have been ripped out. This means that the pages appeared in the same succession when Svendsen used them. The table indicates the number of gatherings, and of bifolia per gathering. All gatherings are still present in each book.

Books 04 and 05 are rather worn out and almost break apart, which may indicate extensive use and turning of pages back and forth. The fact that both of them are filled with sketches for many works in a rather unorganised manner supports this likelihood. They might also be of weaker quality. Book 01 and 03 are only somewhat less worn out; they were used both as exercise books in Leipzig and, a decade later, as sketchbooks. Book 01 contains a few sketches but was primarily used for exercises. Notably, books 01 and 03 are much shorter than 04 and 05, which might also explain why they are less worn out (there was less for Svendsen to look at). Book 02, which only contains exercises, has kept very nicely, and book 06, which contains the sketches for a presumed unfinished symphony (or two), also bears relatively few signs of wear and tear (it also has a lot of blank pages remaining). Book 06 offers only ten music staves (all of the

³²⁸ Anne Ørbæk Jensen, e-mail, 11 July 2014.

others offer twelve) and has only thirty-six leaves, and each gathering consists of only three bifolia, which might suggest a different manufacturer and date/place of purchase than books 04 and 05, for example.

6.2 Book 01³²⁹

As mentioned, book 01 contains both exercises and sketches. 'Leipzig d. 14/4 – 63 J. Svendsen' is written on the flyleaf. The year 1863 must be an error, as mentioned in the table, because Svendsen only entered the Leipzig Conservatory in December of that year. The following title page in fact confirms April 1864 as the more likely time that this book came into use. The date *14* April, though, suggests that it did so two weeks later than book 02 (see section 6.3).

The exercises are written in ink and corrected in pencil by Svendsen's teacher Moritz Hauptmann. Some exercises, though, as mentioned above, are themselves written in pencil by Svendsen and have a rather crammed and hasty appearance, and some of these are not finished.

Page 1r (the first page with music staves) is a title page that reads 'Theoretische Studien unter Herrn M. D., Dr. u.s.w. M. Hauptmann Leipzig i April 1864'. The exercises run continuously from pages 1v to 34v.

Table 6.2: Summary of the content of book 01.

Leaf	JS Pag.	No. of pages	Description
1r		1	'Theoretische Studien unter M.D.Dr. u.s.w. Hauptmann Leipzig April 1864'
1v-2v	$2-3^{330}$	4	4 four-part 1st and 4th species exercises, c.f. in bass
2v-6v	$6-12^{331}$	9	14 double cp., c.f. in bass exercises
6v-20r	12-40 ³³²	28	74 four-part 1st–4th species exercises
20r-20v	40–41	2	11 two-part 1st–3rd species exercises
21r-22v	42–45	4	10 two-part canons
23r-23v	46–47	2	2 two-part canons + 1 free voice
24r–25r	47–50	4	18 dux and comes exercises
25v-28v	51-57	7	9 counterpoint to fugue themes (simple and dbl. cp.)
29r-30v	58–61	4	4 fugues in two parts
30v-34v	61–69	9	3 fugues in three parts
34v-37r	$69-70^{333}$	6	Sketches on stage 1–2 apparently for Symphony no. 2 and <i>Romeo and</i>
			Juliet, among others; mostly centred around the key of Bb
37v-38r		2	Sketches for March of the Red-Nosed Knights
38v–48v		21	Empty pages

³²⁹ Johan Svendsen. [Musical notebook 01] (Royal Library in Copenhagen WH-arkivet MA ms 5276 mu 9705.2800:01) (1864).

³³⁰ Pages 4–5 are not paginated.

³³¹ Pages 9–10 are not paginated.

³³² In JS pagination, page 25 follows page 23.

³³³ JS pagination stops one page after the last exercises.

As I will demonstrate, all of the exercises in this book were written under the teacher Moritz Hauptmann. Svendsen's own dating indicates that studies under Hauptmann began in the middle of April 1864, as mentioned. The exercises advance in complexity throughout the book and appear in their chronological order. The book does not, however, indicate when Svendsen finished these studies, or how fast he progressed through them; there are no dates at all after the title page. Fortunately, three other sources give some clues. As table 6.2 indicates, the three last and most advanced exercises are three-part fugues. In fact, Svendsen copied two of them into the beginning of book 03 as exercises for Ernst Friedrich Richter (see section 6.4 and part IV). It is very clear that the Hauptmann versions (in book 01) are the oldest, as Hauptmann's corrections and suggested emendations are incorporated into the versions in book 03. The flyleaf in book 03 also bears a later date, namely 6 July 1865. It would appear, then, that the exercises for Hauptmann took less than fifteen months to write.

The second relevant source is Edvard Grieg's exercise books, written for the same teachers only a few years earlier. Fortunately, Grieg, as opposed to Svendsen, dated many of his exercises, and the types and number of exercises written for Hauptmann by the two Norwegian composers correlate surprisingly well. Whereas Grieg wrote 168, Svendsen wrote 154 in total, and there are only a few minor discrepancies between the numbers of each type of exercise. Grieg spent thirteen months on his exercises in total, from 12 January 1861 to 10 February 1862.³³⁴ He concluded them with three quite extensive and rather advanced piano fugues;³³⁵ such fugues are not to be found in the Svendsen sources. Nevertheless, before these piano fugues, Grieg wrote two three-part fugues with old vocal clefs that correlate with Svendsen's.³³⁶ The last of Grieg's fugues (with old clefs) is dated 10 January 1862, or twelve months after his first exercise under Hauptmann.

The third relevant source is a letter from Svendsen to his father dated 6 June 1865, in which he states: 'It goes well with composition and theory. I have now started

³³⁴ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: I. Harmoniarbeider hos Dr. R. Papperitz. October 1859. II. Harmoniarbeider hos Musicdirector M. Hauptmann. januar 1861 (Bergen Public Library 0436565) (1859): 37 leaves.

³³⁵ Ibid., 34v-37r.

³³⁶ Ibid., 33r-34v.

with the fugue'. 337 (The week before he wrote this letter, he had visited a festival for new music in Dessau and presumably did not start on any fugues there.)

Based on all of this context, I think it is safe to say that Svendsen too spent approximately one year on the Hauptmann exercises in question, so the three last fugues were probably written in April and May 1865. In another letter to his father, dated a few months later on 20 September, he states: 'It goes well with composition; I write fugues for Dr. Hauptman, and I have begun a symphony for Reinecke, which I believe will be good'. Strictly speaking, according to this letter, he was still writing fugues for Hauptmann in September. Are these then the fugues in book 01? If so, there is a mismatch with the dating of book 03. If not, where are these fugues? There were plenty of empty pages left in book 01. Why would he not have continued there? I presume he was referring to the fugues written in April and May, and I will discuss them in detail in chapter 9.3.

After the exercises that took up most of book 01, there remained twenty-eight and a half empty pages when Svendsen left Leipzig, of which seven and a half were used nearly a decade later for memo and exploration sketches for his own works (that is, fourteen distinct sketches). All of these are short, and only in a few instances do two consecutive sketches share any musical content. As I see it, then, there are few signs of continuous work from one sketch to the next, so they could very well have been written somewhat independently of one another (not during the same spell of work). On the other hand, certain interesting connections to book 03 suggest that the time span of book 01 *as a sketchbook* parallels that of book 03.

Among several unidentifiable sketches, I discerned two known works: *March of the Red-Nosed Knights*, op. 16 (1874), and the two last movements of Symphony no. 2, op. 15 (1876). The symphony sketches are relatively remote in character from the final score and may well have been written long before the completion of the symphony in May 1876. Furthermore, seven of the sketches in book 01 have links to a number of sketches between pages 20v and 35v in book 03. These links are in terms of both *musical content* and *sketch phase*. In other words, one can see matching sketch phases

³³⁷ 'Med Composit[i]onen og Theorien gaar det godt. Jeg har nu begyndt med Fugen'. Johan Svendsen. to Gulbrand Svendsen (National Library of Norway Brevsamlingen 533:47) (6 June 1865): 6.

³³⁸ 'Med Compositionen gaar det godt; for Dr Hauptman skriver jeg fuager, og for Capelmester Reinecke har jeg begyndt en Symphoni som jeg tænker skal blive god'. ———. to Gulbrand Svendsen (National Library of Norway Brevsamlingen 533:48) (20 September 1865): 4.

for *several* germinal ideas in a limited physical space in two different sketchbooks, leading me to believe that pages 34v–38r in book 01 and 20v–35v in book 03 were in use at approximately the same time.

Some of the unidentified ideas on these pages can be related to the key of Bb minor and 2/4 or alla breve metre, which, I think, suggest a possible link to the finale of Symphony no. 2 as well.

The *March of the Red-Nosed Knights* was, as far as I know, first performed on 13 December 1874, which makes it possible to suggest a time span for all of the sketches in book 01 in late 1874. The links between book 01 and 03 support this as well.

I will now go into detail to support and clarify what I have just suggested: The first sketch in book 01 (appearing directly below the last fugue from 1865) is apparently not linked to any known completed works by Svendsen, though similar motives that may be the same germinal idea appear in book 03:29v:3–6, 03:30r:1–4, 03:54r:7–8 and 03:54v:1–4. The latter two sketches suggest link to the finale of Symphony no. 2, so the sketch on 01:34v:-5-8 may have an intentional link to that work. Example 6.1 presents a transcription of the sketch in book 01.

Example 6.1: Book 01:34v:5-8.



The metre of 2/2 suggests a fast tempo (most of Svendsen's allegros are alla breve). The key signature suggests C major, while the accidental in bar 8 might imply F major. The extensive use of thirds might suggest many different tonal possibilities, and there is no harmonisation that points in any particular direction. It is difficult, therefore, to determine the intention at the time the sketch was written, but the links mentioned above align the idea at some point was connected to the symphony.

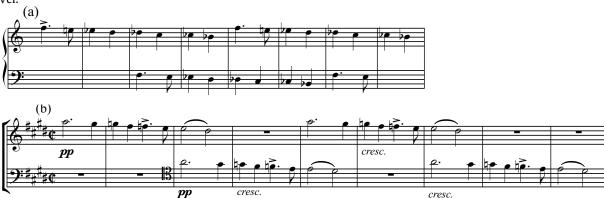
The following sketch, in 2/4, suggests Bb minor. It is a memo sketch, and, as far as I know, this is the only place in which this germinal idea appears. I suspect it might have been intended for the finale or the third movement of Symphony no. 2, based on its physical proximity to other sketches involving the same key and metre.

Example 6.2: Book 01:34v:9-11.



From the following page, I will only show a transcription of the third sketch, which was also likely intended for the third or fourth movement of Symphony no. 2. It indicates the key of Bb and 2/4 metre. However, the sketch transcribed below actually ended up in *Romeo and Juliet* (1876), where this germinal idea forms the basis for the main theme in the Allegro molto section. Its closest relative is bar 288/H-16 (the imitation in the final work is delayed by two beats).

Example 6.3: (a) Book 03:35r:7-10. Intended for Symphony no. 2? (b) *Romeo and Juliet,* b. 228, vln. I and vcl.



The following page, 35v, also contains a sketch in Bb minor. Then, at the top of page 36r, we can observe a clear link to the finale of Symphony no. 2, now in alla breve. (Book 03 also contains sketches in both 2/4 and 2/2 metres with a more evident link to the finale.) The sketch on 01:36r:8 might in fact also be linked to the *third* movement of the symphony.

The three exploration sketches on page 37r can be related to the third movement of Symphony no. 2, and corresponding sketches appear on two facing pages in book 03, 03:68v:7–12 and 03:69r:9–11, among other sketches for that movement. Like numerous other exploration sketches throughout all of the sources, these three sketches are based on the techniques of imitation and sequence. Sketches for the third and fourth movements of that symphony are partly intertwined at several places in book 03 too, which also supports the likelihood that book 01 and some sections of 03 were in use at about the same time. Furthermore, it suggests that Svendsen, for a while, worked on these two movements in parallel. As the discussion of book 03 will show, late 1874 and the first half of 1875 represents the most likely time period for these sketches.

The two last sketches in book 01, situated on pages 37v and 38r, are both for the *March of the Red-Nosed Knights* (1874). On 37v there is a four-part fugato in C major intended specifically for that work which is transposed to E major in the continuity draft in book 03:21v–22r. This fugato did not in fact make it into the final score and is also crossed out in the draft.

To sum up and conclude the discussion of the sketches in book 01, I will point to the *March of the Red-Nosed Knights* as the most important clue to dating these sketches. The two book 01 sketches for this work, both exploration sketches, certainly predate the continuity draft in book 03 (if only by a matter of hours). If this work were completed relatively close to its premiere, I would date these sketches to late 1874. In addition, a few other germinal ideas in book 01 also appear in book 03, quite near to the continuity draft of the march. This, I think, strengthens my view that the sketches in book 01 and the 'corresponding' section of book 03 (approximately 20v–35v) date to about the same time. Curiously, though, the march sketches appear *last* in book 01, while the continuity draft for the march appears *before* the other corresponding sketches in book 03. Thus one cannot tell whether the sketches were written in the same order as they appear in book 01 or during more or less the same period of time. My tentative assessment is that all of the sketches in book 01 were written between late 1874 and the spring of 1875. In that case, there is a gap of about ten years between the last exercise (April–May 1865) and the sketches.

6.3 Book 02³³⁹

Book 02 contains *only* exercises. In April 1864, Svendsen technically needed three books for the exercises he had to prepare for three different teachers: Moritz Hauptmann, Robert Papperitz and Ernst Friedrich Richter. But he only used *two* physical books: books 01 (Hauptmann) and 02 (Papperitz and Richter). (Book 03 came into use more than a year later.) Therefore, he divided book 02 into two halves and marked each half with its own title page. The title page at the beginning reads 'Theoretische Studien/unter/Herrn Dr. Papperitz/April 1864' (see table 6.3, leaves 1r–19v), and the title page halfway through reads 'Theoretische Studien ünter Musikdirektor Richter. April 1864' (see table 6.3, leaves 33r–60v). On the very last page of book 02, he also recorded some of the assignments his teachers had given him—that is, the melodies,

³³⁹ ———. [Musical notebook 02] (Royal Library in Copenhagen MA ms 5276 mu 9705.2800:02) (1864).

bass lines and cantus firmi he would use for his exercises (72v). In fact, this is a hint regarding how he organised some of his sketchbooks later on—I will demonstrate a similar tendency to write sketch phase 1 and early sketch phase 2 *from the back* of a sketchbook and the particellas (sketch phase 3) from the *beginning of the same book*. That is to say, the last pages are (partly) filled *before* the first pages, as here, in book 02.

When Svendsen began a new term in October 1864, he continued his contrapuntal studies under Richter in book 02 but grew afraid of running out of pages in the second half of the book. As he had apparently finished his studies under Papperitz and had twenty-four empty pages remaining there, he continued the almost-filled second half of book 02 for Richter in the rest of the first half of the same book (pages 20r–32r) from October 1864 onwards. He was at that point working on more advanced counterpoint in three and four parts and reached the middle of the book (33r) used in April, forcing him to return to the back of the book to write the last three four-part chorale preludes³⁴⁰ there, on pages 61v–65r.

Table 6.3: Summary of the contents of book 02.

Leaf	JS Pag.	No. of pages	Description
1r		1	'Theoretische studien/unter/Herrn Dr. Papperitz/April 1864'
1v-4v	2-8	7	Intervals, scales, triads in major modes
5r-6r	9-11	3	16 four-part figured bass exercises (2 staves)
6v-8r	12-15	4	9 Seventh chords in major mode exercises
8v-12v	16- 23 ³⁴¹	9	35 four-part figured bass exercises (2 staves)
12v-19v	23-37	15	45 four-part 1st-4th species exercises (4 staves)
20r			'Theoretische Studien/unter/Musikdirektor
			Richter./Angefangen October 1864'
20v-32r	39-62	24	13 chorale preludes in three and four parts
33r		1	'Theoretische Studien/unter/Herrn Musikdirektor
			Richter./April 1864'
33v-39r		12	17 double cp. exercises 2nd-3rd species, 2-3 parts
39v-44r		10	11 Four-part species exercises in 3/2 metre
44v-49v		11	11 Four-part chorales. (1st and 2nd species)
50r-51r		3	10 two-part canons in 5ths, 8ths and 9ths
51v-60v		19	16 two-part canons + 1–2 free voices
61v-65r		8	3 four-part chorale preludes in four parts
65v-72r		14	EMPTY 66r-71r not included in digital scan form Royal Library
72v		1	Assignments: 8 cantus firmi (c.f.)

In brief, the exercises written under Papperitz focus on four-part harmony. They begin with interval names, scales, figured bass exercises written on two staves and end with

³⁴⁰ These are 'Choralbearbeitungen' on 3-4 staves, not specifically intended for organ.

³⁴¹ Leaves 10r and 10v are both paginated as page 19 by Svendsen

similar exercises on four staves (with vocal old-fashion clefs), with the cantus firmus in varying voices. Dissonances are introduced in second to fourth species counterpoint, and Svendsen apparently worked on the latter type of exercises under both Hauptmann and Richter as well from April 1864 onwards. He wrote approximately 150 species exercises in four parts for three different teachers altogether, and because these types of exercises overlap, in some cases he has handed in the same exercise to two teachers. The practice of three different tutors teaching more or less the same is called *team teaching* and was common at the Leipzig Conservatory at this time (see chapter 8). I will discuss these exercises in more detail in chapter 9.

Svendsen's organisation of book 02 into three parts (Papperitz, Richter I and II) gives us a sense of how fast he progressed. The exercises for Papperitz in book 02 were seemingly all written between April and October of 1864—that is, in less than five months. Grieg's roughly corresponding exercises extend over a much longer period of about a year beginning in October 1858,³⁴² though Grieg appears to have completed many more exercises. In the case of his work under Richter, Svendsen began with double counterpoint in April 1864 and progressed to various kinds of canons with obligato voices by October. When it comes to the chorale preludes, he started them in October and most likely finished with them by July 1865, since at that point he wrote two fugues for Richter in book 03 (that were copied from book 01). Grieg wrote one corresponding three-part chorale prelude in May 1860,³⁴³ and then eight four-part chorale preludes from January to March 1861.³⁴⁴ It is difficult, then, to establish an end date for Svendsen's chorales, but the winter of 1864–65 is the most likely time, and perhaps even by the end of the autumn term.

One might wonder why Svendsen began his theory studies with three teachers at the same time in April 1864 when he had enrolled at the conservatory in the middle of an academic year, in December 1863? Grieg, after all, studied under Papperitz and Richter first, and then began his work under Hauptmann after a couple of years. In fact, Grieg's exercises might yet again suggest an answer: the first, fundamental exercises for both Papperitz and Hauptmann correlate well between the two students, while the

³⁴² Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: October 1858 (Bergen Public Library bm EG A/1:0436558) (1858): 61 leaves.

³⁴³ ———. [Arbeidsbok]: bei Herrn Musikdirector Richter. October 1859 (Bergen Public Library 0436563) (1859): 47 leaves.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 20v-29r.

Richter exercises show a significant discrepancy. While Svendsen started straight off with double counterpoint under Richter in April, Grieg began with much simpler fourpart homophonic harmony exercises in October. It is likely, then, that Svendsen too did similar fundamental exercises for Richter between December 1863 and April 1864, suggesting, in turn, that at least one source containing exercises has been lost.

At the end of the theory courses, Grieg did several advanced and extensive fugues for both Hauptmann and Richter, which do not have counterparts in the Svendsen sources. Notably, these Grieg fugues are mostly written for a specified instrumentation (generally piano, plus one for organ and one for choir a cappella). Could it be that these exercises were given to pianists only? Svendsen might have composed similar fugues in other sources that are now lost; the letter to his father dated 20 September 1865, quoted above, might suggest this. The many empty pages left in all books 01 (for Hauptmann), 02 and 03 (for Richter), however, contradict it. If he continued studying with those two teachers, why did he fail to fill the empty pages in books 01, 02 and 03? Was Svendsen still referring to fugues written around May in a letter in September? Quite possibly. In addition, Grieg did fifty-five more advanced exercises for Papperitz as well, including eighteen chorale preludes specifically for organ, fourteen four-part 5th species imitation exercises and twenty-three exercises in modulation. No such exercises are to be found in the Svendsen sources. Could it be that Svendsen continued his studies under Papperitz using another source, now lost? Or did he, as an older and more experienced composer, end his theory courses early? The frugal use of paper revealed in book 02 supports the proposition that he would have used the empty pages of the same books if he had continued exercises after those which survive. My suggestion, then, is that he might well have written preliminary exercises for Richter between December 1863 and April 1864 but probably ended his music theory studies with the latest ones to survive.

6.4 Book 03³⁴⁵ Table 6.4: Summary of the contents of book 03.

Leaf	JS	No. of pages	Description	Date of completion
	Pag.			
1r		1	Loose ends phase 1–2	
1v-4r	2-7	6	2 exercise fugues in three parts	1865
4v-12v		17	Two Icelandic Melodies (+ early	1874 (1876)
			Romeo and Juliet)	

 $^{^{345}}$ Johan Svendsen. [Musical notebook 03] (Royal Library in Copenhagen MA ms 5276 mu 9705.2800:03) (1865).

12v-19v	15	Romeo and Juliet (+ unidentfd.)	1876
18v-19r	2	Two Religious Songs, draft/autograph	1874
20v–25v	11	March of the Red-Nosed Knights	1874
		(Draft)	
25v-35r	20	Loose ends, phase 1–2	
35v–45v	21	Symphony no. 2, 3rd mvt., phase 2-3	1876
45v-64v	39	Symphony no. 2, 4th mvt., phase 2	1876
65r-72v	16	Symphony no. 2, 3rd and 4th mvts.,	1876
		phase 2	

Table 6.4 gives a summary of the contents of book 03. Like book 01, book 03 is a hybrid between exercise and sketchbook. 'Leipzig d. 6/7=65 / J Svendsen' is written on the flyleaf, meaning that this book apparently came into use fifteen months after books 01 and 02. As stated above, Svendsen copied book 01's two last fugues (for Hauptmann; pages 33r-34v) into book 03 (pages 1v-4r). In book 01, he numbered them 2 and 3 (no. 1 was not copied into book 03). In book 03, however, they are numbered 1 and 2. So why did he copy these fugues into another book? The reason is clear. As mentioned, there are several examples proving that both Grieg and Svendsen handed in the same exercises to several teachers, presumably to save time. They could do so due to the team teaching model (see chapter 8). I already stated why the versions in book 01 are the oldest, but I will elaborate on my argument here: Svendsen wrote these fugues for Hauptmann, during the spring of 1865, and Hauptmann corrected them. Then, in July, or later, he submitted them to Richter, now with Hauptmann's corrections incorporated. (This was, by the way, shortly after Svendsen's trip to the New Music festival in Dessau³⁴⁶ and the completion of the String Quartet in A minor, op. 1.) The fugues in book 03 are yet again corrected in pencil, this time, I would surmise, by Richter. Admittedly, Richter's name does not occur anywhere in book 03. Nevertheless, due to these corrections, the empty page 1r that was intended as a title page (and later used for sketching), the date on the flyleaf, and Grieg and Svendsen's practice of doublesubmitting exercises, this is clearly the most likely situation. As it happened, Svendsen did not continue studies under Richter after these fugues. The rest of the book (4v–72v) remained empty until 1874–75, apparently, when he filled the pages with sketches.

The large number of empty pages in two sources at his disposal in Leipzig suggests he did *not* progress to a level of fugal writing that matched the complexity and

³⁴⁶ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 51.

extent of Edvard Grieg's. Exercises in music theory are not mentioned in either of the later letters from Leipzig after September 1865.

I will now turn to the *sketches* in book 03, which circle around four clearly identifiable works: *Two Icelandic Melodies*, JSV 60 (1874), *The March of the Red-Nosed Knights*, JSV 63 (1874), Symphony no. 2, JSV 66 (1876), and *Romeo and Juliet*, JSV 68 (1876). In addition comes the draft, which also is the autograph for *Two Religious Songs*, JSV 62, identified by the JSV project.

There are also a number of other germinal ideas that appear repeatedly in exploration sketches. Although I cannot connect them to known completed works, the fact of their reappearance may suggest that specific works were in the pipeline. They may also be musical ideas that appealed to him independent of any particular goal or project. There are also many memo sketches—germinal ideas that occur only once in a rather cursory fashion (see chapter 15).

I think one can divide this book into two approximately equal halves. The second half clearly reveals a concentration of sketches for the two last movements of Symphony no. 2. Svendsen either devoted this half to symphony sketches or focused on that project at the very time when this book was in use (or some combination of the two).

The first half displays sketches for a number of other recognisable projects, plus many loose ends. Between these two halves, twenty pages (25v–35r) appear to represent a 'grey area'. Many apparently unrelated ideas occur side by side, and one has the impression of a composer who had a lot of spontaneous inspirations or insights. Either he filled these pages more-or-less consecutively with various short sketches within a relatively short time, or he came back to the book every now and then to notate whatever came to him. In the latter case, of course, it must have been hard for him to keep track of his own sketches. There are a variety of pencil strokes, some thicker than others, that seems to correspond well with the variety of musical content. That is, the related ideas written side by side, are usually written with similar pencil strokes. These are likely written during the same spell of work, but this observation cannot indicate the time span between each type of stroke. It simply strengthens the impression that this section of book 03 served to notate anything that came to his mind, very much like the equivalent pages in book 01 discussed in section 6.2.

I will now look at the first half in detail, to establish a probable chronology and dating for this section. Several ideas and projects appear rather haphazardly, so it would

not appear that he had reserved the first half for certain projects in particular. When it comes to dating the sketches, it is worth mentioning those works that are *not* found here. There is no trace of any known compositions completed between his settling down in Christiania in 1872 and August 1874 (or of any earlier works either). Hence, if *any* idea or project could have been sketched in book 03, as appears to have been the case, why are there no sketches for known works earlier than *Two Icelandic Melodies?* Neither *I Fjol gjætt'e Gjeitinn* (August 1874), *Zorahayda* (August 1874), *Norwegian Artists' Carnival* (March 1874) nor the works written in 1872–73 are to be found, as is the case for the works he completed during his years on the Continent. A likely reason for this, of course, is that the book came into use *after* August 1874 (or after he had finished sketching those works which he completed in August).

As mentioned, two works are represented in sketch phase 3 in the first half of book 03 (*Two Icelandic Melodies* and *March of the Red-Nosed Knights*).³⁴⁷ My suggested dating, then, derives from the assumption that they were composed almost immediately before their premiere. The autograph score for *Two Icelandic Melodies* is not dated,³⁴⁸ and the autograph for the march is incomplete and unfinished and, thus, has no date either.³⁴⁹ The *Icelandic* was premiered on 3 October 1874, together with *Zorahayda* and *I Fjol gjætt'e Gjeitinn*, while the march was premiered on 13 December.³⁵⁰ Hence, we do not know when these works were composed in relation to their premieres. However, there are a number of indicia suggesting that the pages from 4v (the first *Icelandic* sketch) to 25v (the last *Red-Nosed* sketch) of book 03 were written between August and December 1874. Admittedly, the *Icelandic* could have been written at any time between Svendsen's trip to Iceland during the summer of 1867³⁵¹ and the autumn of 1874. Svendsen's letter to Grieg on 11 November 1874, stating that 'with the exception of a small orchestral piece (*Zoraidée*) which was [. . .] unsuccessful, I have not written

³⁴⁷ Arguably, *Two Religious Songs*, as well. But as this is the only source for these songs, they can not be used for dating. That is, there is no dated autograph score or reference to any performances.

³⁴⁸ The JSV project believes that the surviving autograph was written at a later stage (in 1878)—that is, that it was not the score used for the premiere in 1874. Johan Svendsen. Zwei isländische Melodien (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7870) (? [1878]).

³⁴⁹ ———. [Rødneseriddermarsj] (Musikmuseet, Copenhagen Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast (Autographer)) ([1874]): 7-10.

³⁵⁰ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 123.

³⁵¹ Several sources claim that Svendsen brought transcriptions of Icelandic folk music home from Iceland. It is not clear, however, whether he transcribed the melodies himself or received them in notation from local professional musicians. See discussion in chapter 10.

anything since you left Christiania'352 speaks for an earlier dating. But, he bears no mentioning of Ifjol gjætt'e Gjeitinn, completed about the same time as Zorahayda, which he by an understatement calls a small orchestral piece. I find it likely, then, that he might not have mentioned Two Icelandic Melodies, even if he did write them during these months. Three indicia speak against an early date of composition for the *Icelandic*. The strongest one is the lack of other identifiable works from before August 1874. A somewhat weaker one is that I Fjol Gjett'e Gjeitinn—another work for string orchestra based on folk tunes—is dated August 1874 and might have inspired the idea for the *Icelandic* (it could have been the other way around as well). The third indicium involves the march. According to Benestad, it was premiered at an Artists' Society party on 13 December 1874, at which Svendsen was knighted in the Order of the Red Noses.³⁵³ The march is based on the popular humorous tune Ritsj ratsj fillebombombom, and its instrumentation is rather odd: piano four hands and string quintet. Thus it is most likely an occasional work and correspondingly less likely to have been composed in advance without that special purpose in mind. Svendsen's ambiguity towards it is revealed by the fact that he first gave it an opus number, then later removed from his own opus lists.

The sketches for both *Icelandic Melodies* and the march represent phase 3, as mentioned, and there is a close match between them and the scores.³⁵⁴ In other words, no further sketching was needed to realise these works, so we appear to have two works, (most likely) premiered close to one another, existing in drafts that are likewise physically proximate in the same source. Furthermore, their chronology in the sketchbook matches that of their premieres: *Icelandic*, then the march. I think these are strong arguments for dating these sketches to the autumn of 1874. As my discussion below will suggest, pages 4v to 12v were quite possibly largely filled between August and late September 1874 (assuming the *Icelandic* was completed at least some days before its premiere), and 12v to 25v largely written before approximately 10 December of that year. Having said this, a somewhat earlier dating than August is possible according to the same hypothesis: the sketches in book 03 are apparently written after

³⁵² 'Med Undtagelse af et mindre Orchesterstykke (Zoraidée) som oven i Kjøbet er mislykket, har jeg intet skrevet siden Du forlod Christiana'. Johan Svendsen. to Edvard Grieg (Bergen Public Library 0215128) (11 November 1874).

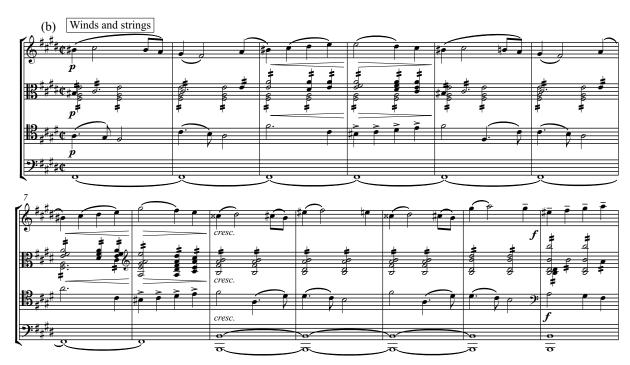
³⁵³ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*.

³⁵⁴ For further information on the source situation for the march see chapter 16.

the *drafts* for *Zorahayda* and *I fjol*, but I cannot determine the timespan between composition of the drafts and the dated autographs for those two works.

Example 6.4: (a) Thirteen bars from *Zorahayda* autograph, pages 17–18, and (b) *Romeo and Juliet*, b. 74–86 (condensed scores).





Arguably, the loose ends among these sketches could have been written at any time, but a close analysis, page by page, suggests a dating most likely close to that of the sketches of the works mentioned above. I will present this analysis here, despite its complexity,

because it will impact any subsequent interpretation of books 01 and 04 as well. What follows is a further elaboration of what I have just presented, but it also anticipates the case study in chapter 12.

To accomplish it, I must involve two other works as well. The first version of *Romeo and Juliet*, op. 18, JSV 68, was completed on 27 September 1876.³⁵⁵ It has a complicated genesis that will be discussed in chapter 12 as well. The first surviving sketches for the work are situated among the *Icelandic* sketches in book 03, and they are partly intertwined with one another. As mentioned above, the first version of *Zorahayda* was completed in August 1874, less than two months before the *Icelandic* was premiered, and in fact a thirteen-bar passage in G major from the final section of *Zorahayda*³⁵⁶ was later transposed to E major and pasted into *Romeo and Juliet* (b. 74–86/B+20), as we can see in example 6.4 above.

These bars do not occur in book 03, but there are curious similarities between them and the earliest *Romeo and Juliet* sketches in book 03 (see examples 6.6-6.7 below). The question, then, is whether the thirteen bars were composed *before* or *after* the similar material in book 03. It had all come together in the same work by 1876, but which anticipated which? If the book 03 sketches were the basis for the thirteen bars used in *Zorahayda*, then the sketches in book 03, including the *Icelandic*, must be dated *earlier* than August 1874. If it were the other way around, my above argument holds up. Of course, there is a third possibility as well: Svendsen may have been entirely unaware of the similarity at the time. This possibility, in fact, illuminates the perspectives of *forma formata* versus *forma formans* that I discussed in chapter 4. The fact that sketch scholars use final works as references is a problem which hinders one from escaping teleology. The question of germinal ideas versus composer stylistic signatures is also relevant here.

I will now go through the beginning of book 03, page by page, to clarify the present situation. I will start with page 4v, where the first *Icelandic* sketch is situated:

Book 03:4v-5r contains a draft for one variation of *Icelandic Melody* no. 1.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Johan Svendsen. Romeo und Julia: Symphonische Einleitung zu Shakespeare's Drama (The Music Museum, Copenhagen Nodemanuskripter) (27 September 1876): 35.

³⁵⁶ ———. [Zorahayda, op. 11]. (National Library of Norway Mus.ms.a 2895) (1874).

³⁵⁷ This is the draft for rehearsal letter B. Bar B+17 etc. was sketched three times on page 5r, the third time being very close to the final score. See chapter 11.1.

Book 03:5v–6r contains sketches for another Icelandic melody which Svendsen eventually excluded in the final score.³⁵⁸

Book 03:6v contains a draft for one verse of *Icelandic Melody* no. 2, meaning that Svendsen had thus sketched each of the three melodies at least once.

Book 03:7r–9r:1–3 contain further sketches for no. 2, and ornamental sixteenth-note motives dominate these passages.

Book 03:9r:3-9v contains a draft for rehearsal letter A in no. 2.

Book 03:10r–10v:1–4 contains a draft for letter C in no. 2. Importantly, the last bars are sketched in two new versions on the *facing page* of 11r, not below on the same page (10v).

Book 03:10v:5–8, then, contains the following sketch.

Example 6.5: Book 03:10v:5-8.



This sketch is musically unrelated to the *Icelandic*, and its metre and key signature are unclear, though

the B sharps and the triad on B in b. 4 speak to E major as the most likely. A few pages later, this idea is joined with material related to *Romeo and Juliet*, although the motive above does not occur in either the first or the second version of the final score. Thus I will link this sketch to the *Romeo and Juliet* completed in 1876, although one cannot know Svendsen's intentions for it at the moment it was written. It is clearly connected to musical material that ended up in that work. (On staff 11, there is another idea as well.)

Book 03:11r contains, as mentioned, three new versions of the last bars of the *Icelandic* draft from 10v. One might wonder why Svendsen did not write them further down on the same page, and one likely reason could be that the *Romeo and Juliet* sketch was already there.

Book 03:11v contains the same idea as in example 6.5 above on staves 1–2. Then, on staves 3–10, there is an idea that bears close similarity to the thematic material of Romeo and Juliet. The intentional link between the sketches on 1–2 and 3–10 is clarified in later pages, and their similarity to the aforementioned thirteen bars from Zorahayda

³⁵⁸ Svendsen's student, the Danish composer Hakon Børresen, used the melody in his work *Nordiske folkemelodier* (1949). According to Børresen, his work is based on transcriptions Svendsen made on the journey to Iceland and the Fareo Islands. See chapter 10

is rather curious as well, although these sketches do not comprise a clean copy of those bars.

Example 6.6: Book 03:11v:1-10.



Book 03:12r reveals a new draft for *Icelandic Melody* no. 1 (letter A), meaning that the sketches for the *Icelandic Melodies* intersect with *Romeo and Juliet* sketches in two places.

Book 03:12v:1-3 contains a short sketch for no. 2.

Sketches for *Romeo and Juliet* that follow upon the examples above appear repeatedly on pages 14r–18r, and their links to specific passages in the final score become increasingly more apparent. The sketch on 03:15v:11–12 (repeated in transposition on 03:16r:9–12) is even closer to the thirteen bars from *Zorahayda*, because the harmonisation is a sustained dominant chord, apparently in measured string tremolos (*misurato*). This strong similarity might also be relevant to the dating of these sketches.

Example 6.7: 03:15v:11-12.



The preceding review suggests that Svendsen wrote drafts for *Two Icelandic Melodies* and early sketches for what would become *Romeo and Juliet* more or less simultaneously. They even intersect twice within just a few pages. If my above assumptions on chronology and dating are true, the first two *Romeo and Juliet* sketches were written before 3 October, and the rest in book 03 before 13 December, because

after the last *Icelandic* sketch, the *Romeo* and *Juliet* sketches continue until the draft for the *March* of the *Red-Nosed* Knights. After that, there are no more *Romeo* and *Juliet* sketches in book 03.

To repeat the crucial questions preceding the above review, was the sketch in example 6.6 and 6.7 written *before* or *after* the thirteen bars from *Zorahayda* in example 6.4 (a)? Was Svendsen aware of the similarities, or did he see them only later? One argument for the book 03 sketches as the earlier work is the fact that the thirteen bars in *Zorahayda* boast more melodic variation and elaboration, as well as a counter-melody. But this proposition might be too teleological in its assumption that the more elaborate must be the later because it is more complicated and 'better'. The argument for the opposite relation rests upon the indicia for the suggested dating discussed above. Supporting the view that Svendsen *was* aware of the similarities in the autumn of 1874 is the fact that *Zorahayda* must have been on his mind at that time, because he had just completed it and was about to premiere it.

The arguments for an *unintentional similarity* at the moments of their composition—that is, that they are two different germinal ideas only joined at a later stage—are the following. First, the keys are different: G major and E major. Second, the thirteen bars are transposed to E major in a sketch in book 04, and, as I will demonstrate in my discussion of that book, this sketch was written much later (04:26v:1–27r:3). Third, the melodic characteristics of chromatic appoggiatura and stepwise syncopation are, as discussed in chapters 2 and 5, some of Svendsen's stylistic signatures, and many of his sketches, for both identified and unidentified work concepts, feature such motives.

I will continue my analysis of the relationship between *Zorahayda* and *Romeo and Juliet* in chapter 12. For the time being, I will propose that the pages between 4v and 25v were most likely filled between August and December 1874. Svendsen's eventual awareness of the similarities is hard to judge from the sketches alone.

The pages from 25v to 35r appear rather chaotic and discontinuous, and I have called them a 'grey zone' between two sections that are dominated by distinct projects. The most striking feature of this grey zone is that the musical ideas are generally unrelated. While there are *some* instances where two or three consecutive sketches share material, the overall impression is one of discontinuity. As mentioned, however, there are a few links to book 01, including the striking similarities of pages 29v and 30r to book 01:34v:5–8. Another (weaker) link can be found in the sketches on 03:34r and

03:34v, in 2/4 metre and circling around Bb major. As mentioned, book 01:35r:7–10 features a sketch in 2/4 and the key of Bb that eventually ended up in *Romeo and Juliet* (in E), but I believe it was originally intended for Symphony no. 2. The third link to book 01 is, as mentioned, the *March of the Red-Nosed Knights*, the draft of which ends on 25v. Hence, the relationship between the two books might indicate parallel usage within a limited time span.

Another striking feature of these pages, and of the entire book 03, is the large number of short exploration sketches based on imitation and sequence. As mentioned, this technique predominates in most of his sketch sources, in fact, whether they represent focused preparation for specific works or a random collection of germinal ideas. It is Svendsen's prevailing sketching method, by far. The stylistic aesthetic output of such a dominance will be discussed in part V in particular.

The second half of book 03 (pages 35v–72v) is more or less exclusively reserved for the third and fourth movements of Symphony no. 2. Pages 35v–37r contain various exploration sketches, mostly for the third movement, and it is quite possible that the sketches on 03:36v:8–12 and 37r are for this movement as well. Arguably, they are in 3/4 metre, but their melodic characteristics evoke the third movement. Pages 37v–45r are all crossed out with large X's, one of the two most common types of crossing out in Svendsen's sketches (the other is a very irregular 'doodling'). While the former seems to happen some time after the sketch itself and seems to mean 'copied elsewhere' or 'out of date', the latter seems to happen during the act of sketching and seems to mean 'erased'. The pages in question here contain an unfinished draft for the third movement of the symphony, a later and apparently final phase 3 draft which we find in a different source (see chapter 7).³⁵⁹

The rest of book 03 (45v–72v) contains mostly exploration sketches for the symphony's finale. I will present one transcription of each of the two prevailing germinal ideas that can be connected to sketches in the back of book 04, where the process seems to have continued.

³⁵⁹ Johan Svendsen. [Intermezzo, draft] (Musikmuseet, Copenhagen Svendsen, Johan S.: Diverse mindre Nodemanuskripter og Udkast) ([1875]).

Example 6.8 (a): Book 03:62v:1-2, germinal idea 56.



Example 6.8 (b): 03:63r, germinal idea 58.



There are more exploration sketches for the third movement between pages 65r and 72v, and most likely these pages were filled in a more-or-less a chronological order. In this case, it would appear that Svendsen continued to explore ideas for the third movement some time after his first draft of it. But the chronology could be much more complicated as well, given that no sketches involve page turns, hence allowing for many possible relationships among them. It is also possible that several of the third-movement exploration sketches were written *before* the draft in the middle of the book. A noteworthy link to book 01 should also be mentioned, in that 03:68v:7–12 and 03:69r:9 matches the three sketches on 01:37r.

The sketches for these two movements also can suggest that the main theme of the finale emerged from the main theme of the intermezzo (third movement). This generic relationship weakened during the further process of composition and revision and is nearly inaudible in the final score, as I will discuss in more detail in chapter 11.

Other thematic inter-movement relationships also occur in the sketches. Many sketches begin with an octave leap, which is the characteristic interval in the first movement. At one point Svendsen also quotes the first movement's main theme, but in 2/2 (03:50v:1–3). (The first movement is in 3/4, and the fourth is in 2/2.) A similar adjustment of that main theme appears in book 04:65v:5–8. Together with other thematic inter-movement relationships, I think this suggests that Svendsen composed these movements in the order in which they appear in the work. In this case, movements 1 and 2 may have been drafted in 1874 or earlier (that is, before book 03). Or it may be that he had only done preliminary sketching and developed the thematic material for the first (and perhaps the second) movement before he made the sketches for the third

and fourth movements in book 03. The sketching process for the finale continues in book 04, while no sketches or drafts for the two first movements have survived.

It is difficult to date the pages of book 03 following the *March of the Red-Nosed Knights*. I have implied that the book might have been generally filled in its natural order from beginning to end, based on my sense of the book as a whole (or at least of large sections of it). From the point of view of any given page or sketch, however, it is difficult to determine whether a sketch at the top of a page predates those further down, or whether page 49v was used before 61r, for example. The actual picture is probably quite complicated, and as the analysis of the remaining books 04–06 will show, significant chronological irregularities do occur, so that years can even separate two sketches on the same page.

The fact that large sections of Svendsen's sketchbooks appear with short sketches in an apparently unorganised manner does suggest that he rarely 'reserved' a book for particular works. Hence, when a concentration of sketches for Symphony no. 2 fills half a sketchbook, it is very likely that sketching on this work was not much interrupted by other projects during a certain time span.

When was book 03 completed? This knowledge would reveal much about the speed of the genesis of Symphony no. 2's third and fourth movements. Svendsen's almanac from 1876 might offer a clue—on the pages for 22–27 August, motives for the finale appear (see chapter 7.3). But at that time, the symphony was finished. Likely then, Svendsen wrote these motives at a random place in his almanac, which would probably be early in 1876 or late 1875, when this book presumably came into his possession. These motives are musically more akin to the autograph score and the book 04 sketches for the finale than they are to those in book 03. It is likely, then, that book 03 was full sometime before this. Hence, the whole year of 1875 is a likely dating of the second half of book 03. Notably, Svendsen did not complete any known compositions that year, but he would complete a number of large-scale works in 1876.

6.5 Book 04³⁶⁰ Table 6.5: Summary of the contents of book 04.

Leaf	No. of pages	Description	Date of completion
1r-3v	6	Symphony no. 2, fourth mvt.,	1876
		sketch phase 2, exploration	
3v-25v	45	Symphony no. 2, fourth mvt.,	1876
		sketch phase 3, continuity draft	
		(excluding introduction)	
26r-28r	5	Romeo und Julia, sketch phase 2,	1876
		including passage transferred from	
		Zorahayda (1874 version)	
28v-36v	17	Loose ends, phase 2, including	
		songs (i.e., Zuleikha)	
37r-41r	9	<i>Prélude,</i> phases 2–3	1898
41v-51r	20	Loose ends, phases 1-2	
51v-72v	43	Symphony no. 2, fourth mvt., phase	1876
		2 + Loose ends	

Book 04's first and last sections are dominated by sketches for the finale of Symphony no. 2. In addition, many other ideas and works appear haphazardly in the middle, as in books 01 and 03.

The symphony sketches in book 04 are closer to the final score than those in book 03. From a teleological point of view, then, the reasonable chronology is that book 03 comes before book 04. Interestingly, book 04 reveals a rather curious usage: many of the sketches in the back of the book were clearly written *before* the continuity draft in the beginning of the same book. To be more precise, several sketches on pages 60v–72v are closely related to those in book 03, as are some of the sketches on 04:1r–1v. These clearly predate the drafts from page 04:1v onwards. Here are some examples reflecting similarities to book 03:





 $^{^{360}}$ ———. [Musical notebook 04] (Royal Library in Copenhagen MA ms 5276 mu 9705.2800:04) ([1875-76]).

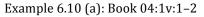
Example 6.9 (b): Book 04:60v:1-4.



Example 6.9 (c): Book 04:1r:1-6.



From 04:1v:3 onwards, the main theme of the final score is varied in several ways, each longer and more elaborate than the last. From 3v this effort becomes a continuity draft for the complete movement. There is a clear discrepancy between the motivic shape of the ideas in book 03 and the very first and last pages of book 04, on the one hand, and the final theme, which seems to emerge from 04:1v:3, on the other. I cannot determine the exact gaps of time between the sketches, but a 'creative breakthrough' does seem to have occurred on page 04:1v.





Example 6.10 (b): Book 04:1v: 3 etc.



I must emphasise, though, that weeks or months and a lot of sketching in other sources could separate staves 1–2 and 3, or it could have been a matter of minutes or seconds. The pencil stroke from staff 3 looks slightly thinner, but if one looks at the continuation of this at the top of 2r, it is slightly thicker again. Thus, it might only be a matter of

rotating the pencil, or laying it aside for any amount of time. Thus, the handwriting does not decide anything in this regard. Still, I label this a breakthrough (whether slow or sudden) because of the clear distinction between the musical material on 04:1v:1-2 and book 03 on the one hand, and the continuity draft from 04:1v:3 and the final score on the other.

Interestingly, some of the sketches in the back of book 04 are closest to the material following the breakthrough. Thus it seems that the last section of book 04 served as an *exploration section*, both before *and* after the crucial moment (or timespan) in the process. In other words, some of the sketches in the back of the book were certainly written before the continuity draft in the beginning, some *in parallel* with it, and some in fact afterward, as partial sketches while he composed the score. I will now show a few examples to illuminate the complex chronology of the exploration section in the back of book 04—other examples related to material in book 03 were already quoted above.

On 04:71r:9–12 Svendsen wrote the main theme, harmonised in A minor, but in ink, not in pencil. Compared to the corresponding passage in the draft (04:11v:1–6) and the final score (from b. 219/G-8), the voicing of the sketch in question matches the latter best. Hence, this is not an exploration sketch, written in preparation for the draft, but a partial sketch, jotted down while he wrote the autograph score (also in ink).

04:11v:1-6
Cont.Draft

04:71r:9-12
Partial Sketch

Example 6.11: Comparative transcription of 04:11v:1-6 (in pencil) and 04:71r:9-12 (in ink).

Other examples include the two E major sketches on 04:66r:7–9 and 04:70r:7–9, situated somewhat haphazardly among the many Bb major sketches for the finale.

Other examples too reveal a complex chronology in sections where memo and exploration sketches dominate. As in the last section of book 03, none of the sketches in the last section of book 04 (from 41v onward) involves page turns—that is, the pages

could have been filled independently from one another and in any order. I will present a detailed analysis of the genesis of the finale in chapter 11.

As table 6.5 above indicates, the Symphony no. 2 finale dominates pages 1r–25v and 51v–72v. Between these two sections, several other known projects appear in tandem with numerous unidentifiable ideas. Most notable are sketches for *Romeo and Juliet* (1876) (26r–28r), some of the songs from opus 23 (1879) and Svendsen's last completed composition, *Prélude* (1898!). I will leave the discussion of the *Romeo and Juliet* sketches to chapter 12. For now, it is simply worth mentioning that the thirteen bars stemming from *Zorahayda*, discussed in relation to book 03, appear on 04:26v:4:4–27r, transposed to E major. In other words, at this point (most likely after composing the draft for the finale of Symphony no. 2), Svendsen intentionally linked the material of *Zorahayda* and *Romeo and Juliet* together.

More problematic in terms of dating are the sketches for the song *Zuleikha* (04:28v–32v), which ended up in Svendsen's *Five Songs*, opus 23, composed in Paris in 1879, and especially the sketches for *Prélude* (04:37r–41r), composed in Copenhagen in 1898 for the 150th anniversary of the Royal Theatre. The vast majority of the known works sketched in the musical notebooks (except perhaps for book 06) were completed in Christiania. Sketches for the two problematic cases are positioned among sketches that largely align with 1875–76.

I will begin with *Zuleikha*. It is quite possible that Svendsen brought book 04 abroad in 1877–80 and therefore had it with him as *Zuleikha* came together, but the musical material is in fact not particularly close to the final score. It is therefore equally likely that he conceived of this song in Christiania around 1876, left it for a time, and took up the text again in 1879 in Paris. None of the other nine songs composed in the French capital appear as sketches in book 04,³⁶¹ and there is no sign of the revision for *Zorahayda* or the Norwegian Rhapsody no. 4, both of which were also completed abroad. The contents of book 05, which is mostly filled with sketches for all of the Norwegian Rhapsodies, might also be taken to imply that book 04 was more or less full when Svendsen embarked on the rhapsodies. I conclude, then, that he wrote the *Zuleikha* sketches in book 04 in Christiania around 1876, then returned to the poem three years later in Paris.

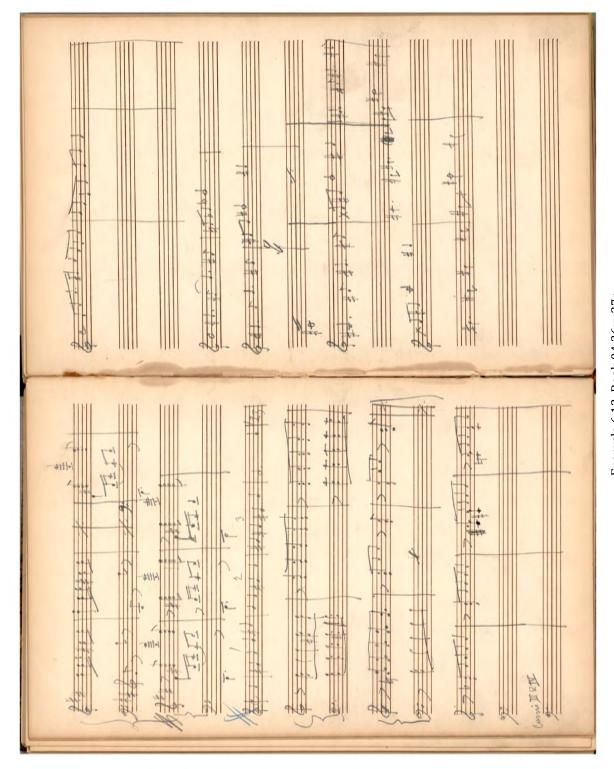
³⁶¹ There are some sketches based on another poem from von Bodenstedt's *Mirza Schaffy*, the same collection as *Zuleikha*. But this was not included in op. 23 (se chapter 16).

Prélude represents a more difficult situation. Svendsen most likely brought all of his musical notebooks to Copenhagen in 1883 (and they are presently stored at the Royal Library there). Two possibilities must be considered, then: (1) Svendsen received the commission for the anniversary, picked up a sketchbook, found some empty pages and sketched some new ideas, or (2) he received the commission, searched for old but usable material in his sketchbooks, and found these sketches. I favour the latter possibility and will summarise my argument below, saving the detailed discussion, which transcends philology to engage aesthetic considerations, for chapter 13.

By 1898, Svendsen's compositional activity had already been slow and sporadic for almost fifteen years, and one might well suspect that his musical creativity (and training) had faded a bit since the very active years of the 1870s. As my discussion in chapter 13 will demonstrate, as well, there is a clear discrepancy between the compositional craft and creativity needed in the A section of *Prélude*, which is sketched in book 04, and the B section of the work. The motive for the B section (in A minor) is situated on 04:37r:1-3, but there are no other sketches for this section here, nor are there sketches for the introduction or coda of the work. I believe these passages were composed independently from the A section. Although I have generally hesitated to use handwriting analysis in this dissertation, it is relevant to point out here that the autograph score from 1898 shows some signs of an aging, even trembling hand, and I find no such thing (or any other signs of a twenty-year gap) in the book 04 sketches. Some very interesting similarities to sketch material in book 05 (see section 6.6) might also imply that these thoughts belong to the 1870s. Based on these indicia, I conclude that 1875-6 is the most likely dating for the *Prélude* sketches in book 04. But whenever they were written, it is certain that book 04 was at Svendsen's disposal on his working desk as late as 1898.

I will conclude my discussion of book 04 with an example that potentially undermines the above arguments, but it is one of the most fascinating stories to emerge from Svendsen's sketchbooks. Such a haphazard juxtaposition of sketches must indeed have been written by a composer with an unusual memory and a curious urge to notate any idea anywhere at any time, as I will demonstrate.

The facing pages 36v and 37r most certainly contain sketches written several years apart. Example 6.12 presents a facsimile.



Example 6.12: Book 04:36v–37r Reproduced by permission of the Royal Library, Copenhagen

Page 36v:1–4 is an exploration sketch for Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1, which was completed in February 1876. The sketch matches bars 138–145/E-4–E+4 in the final score quite well, but, based on a teleological argument, I think it was written *before* the continuity draft in book 05, because the corresponding passage there is somewhat closer to the score. (See book 05:3v:1–3, from the last bar onward, for the corresponding passage in the continuity draft).

Page 36v:5 contains a memo sketch in F# minor that has no clear connection to any other sketches or works.

Page 36v:6–12 contains a partial sketch for the brass voicing (trumpets and trombones) in the trio section (from b. 87/D) of Polonaise, op. 28,³⁶² which was completed in January 1882. It seems very likely that it was written *after* the corresponding bars of the continuity draft in book 05:42v:1:3. As a partial sketch, it was most likely written during the preparation of the autograph score—that is, around the turn of the year 1881–82, or six years after the sketch on staves 1–4 above it.

Page 37r:1–3 contains what I consider to be a memo sketch of the motive for the B section of *Prélude*, completed in 1898, which I have already dated as 1875–76. (The remaining *Prélude* sketches appear on the following pages.)

Page 37r:4–10 contains unidentified ideas that lack any clear connection to the other sketches.

In other words, a gap of at least six and possibly up to twenty-two years characterises the material on these two facing pages!

Despite the irregularities, the most likely dating for most of book 04 remains the second half of 1875 and 1876. Book 05, which is largely devoted to the Norwegian Rhapsodies, might have been used in tandem with book 04 for some time, but as the following discussion will show, it is reasonable to place most of it after book 04.

³⁶² Johan Svendsen. Polonaise Op. 28 (Royal Library, Copenhagen DK-Kk C II, 39 Fol. C II, 39) (January 1882).

 $\textbf{6.6 Book } 05^{363}$ Table 6.6: Summary of the contents of book 05

Leaf	No. of pages	Description	Date of completion
1r-10v	20	Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1,	1876
		continuity draft	
11r-15r	10	Two Swedish Melodies, continuity	1876
		draft	
15v-37r	34	Norwegian Rhapsodies nos. 2–3	1876
		No. 2: continuity draft, No. 3: phase	
		2	
37v-43v	12	Polonaise in D, phase 2 and	1882
		continuity draft	
45v-52v	23	Unfinished symphony, sketches for	1882?
		movements in E major and A minor	
53r-59r	13	EMPTY	
59v-64r	10	EMPTY (+ a few short sketches, at	
		least one for a symphony scherzo)	
64v-72v	17	Norwegian Rhapsodies nos. 1-2:	1876
		sketch phase 2	

Sketchbook 05 is mainly devoted to Norwegian Rhapsodies nos. 1, 2 and 3. It has a similar pattern to that of book 04, in that the last section (64v–72v) mainly contains exploration sketches. For instance, preliminary sketches for Norwegian Rhapsody nos. 1 and 2 are here, though the continuity draft for no. 1 is found at the very beginning of this book, followed by the complete continuity draft for *Two Swedish Folk Tunes*, JSV 067, and then numerous sketches mainly for Norwegian Rhapsody nos. 2 and 3, including the complete continuity draft for no. 2. Hence, the last section of the book (64v-72v) was largely filled before the beginning, just as in book 04 and perhaps to some extent in book 03 as well. Thus the sketches written from the back and beginning of the book, respectively, would approach each other, which the almost empty pages 53r-64r support. These very pages strongly suggest that Svendsen had the habit of filling the 'exploration sections' in a random order, as there are only some very few sketches here.

The first half of the book (1r–37r) appears to have been used more or less in order, as they are dominated by drafts. Of course, longer drafts must be written where there are lots of blank pages, while the shorter memo and exploration sketches can be written anywhere, in any order.

Between pages 37r and 37v there appears to have been a gap in time of about five years. The first page contains an exploration sketch for Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3,

 $^{^{363}}$ ———. [Musical notebook 05] (Royal Library in Copenhagen MA ms 5276 mu 9705.2800:05) ([1875-82]).

completed (most likely) before Svendsen left Christiania in September 1877. The second page contains exploration sketches for *Polonaise*, op. 28, followed by a continuity draft for that work. As mentioned regarding book 04, the polonaise was composed for a ball in Christiania in February 1882, and its autograph is dated in January of that year.

During the interim, Svendsen composed the fourth rhapsody (only a few sketches have survived in book 05) and a number of songs, revised *Zorahayda* abroad and then revised *Romeo and Juliet*³⁶⁴ and composed two cantatas after returning home to Christiania in 1880. But none of these works are sketched in book 05 (except for a couple of sketches for the fourth rhapsody, probably made before he left Christiania in 1877).

The polonaise sketches and draft are written with a significantly softer (thicker) pencil than all of other sketches in any of the notebooks. It is difficult, though, to use this fact to deduce anything regarding dating. The *Polonaise* partial sketch in book 04, discussed above, however, was not written in the same thick strokes as the draft.

On pages 44v–47v, the thinner pencil stroke reappears to present sketches that are concentrated around a new and unidentifiable work. The key is E major, and the texture (four parts in treble register) and some of the harmonic progressions are curiously evocative of the *Prélude* draft in book 04 (also in E major). Notably, the key of A minor also emerges in both projects. The musical character, however, is slightly different: while chromaticism prevails in the *Prélude* sketches, a more diatonic harmony, and possible a more solemn character, appears in book 05. The question is whether these sketches once belonged to the same work project, and both Bjarte Engeset and I have wondered whether they might have been intended for a symphony in E, based on the pages that follow and especially their links to book 06. Book 05:47v contains a sketch that is very closely linked to a symphonic exposition in E minor in book 06, and book 05:49v-52v contain sketches for a movement in A minor. These sketches represent several attempts at phase 3 drafts, but their disrupted continuity classifies them somewhere between phases 2 and 3. This movement emerges again in book 06:8v-10v, now marked 'Andante con moto'. After many empty pages in book 05, pages 59v to 60r reveal sketches that, at first sight, look like the springar section from Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2 but are in fact another, though admittedly similar, melodic sequence.

³⁶⁴ The autograph score for the revision of *Romeo and Juliet* is lost. Whether it was revised abroad or in Christiania is not known.

These ideas match a continuity draft for a nearly complete scherzo in 06:11v–16v. Then, book 05:61r contains another sketch in E major that resembles the motives from *Prélude* and those in book 05:44v–47v. A further discussion of this material will appear over the course of chapters 12–14.

It is difficult to date these sketches, as they do not belong to any known completed works. The close physical connection between them and the Polonaise draft (and the many empty pages following them) suggests a dating *after* the Polonaise—in other words, early 1882 or later. On the other hand, the musical link to the *Prélude* sketches in book 04 might imply 1876 instead.

It is clear that the years 1876–77 and 1882 seem to jump out in terms of book 05. I think it most likely that Svendsen left book 05 (and the other notebooks) back home when he went abroad in 1877–80, and then returned to it during his last Christiania period in the early 1880s.

6.7 Book 06^{365} Table 6.7: Summary of the contents of book 06

Leaf	No. of pages	Description	Date
1r-8r	15	Unfinished symphony, exposition	1882-83?
		in E minor, continuity draft	
8v-10v	5	Unfinished symphony, Andante con	1882-83?
		moto in A minor, sketch stages 2-3	
11v-16v	11	Unfinished symphony, Scherzo in E	1882-83?
		major, continuity draft	
17r-19r	5	Loose ends, phases 1-2	
19v-21r	4	Kvivlemøyane II+III, transcriptions	
		of two fiddle tunes	
21v-36v	21	Loose ends, phases 2-3, mostly in C	
		major	

Sketchbook 06 is the most difficult to place in time because it contains no music for any known completed works. However, its first half does contain sketches that are related to pages 44v–61r in book 05, which I proposed to anticipate a symphony. In the absence of book 06, this might appear quite speculative, but the sketches in book 06 reveal a clearer symphonic plan and were probably written after the corresponding material in book 05. The drafts for a slow movement in A minor and a scherzo in E major are more continuous and have fewer cross-outs. Some of them, especially those for the scherzo, may also have been written in parallel.

³⁶⁵ Johan Svendsen. Musical notebook 06 (Royal Library in Copenhagen MA ms 5276 mu 9705.2800:06) ([1882-?]).

In the middle of the book (19v–21r) are two fiddle tunes, called *Kivlemøyane II* and *III*, presented as detailed transcriptions of what may be a particular fiddler's practice, apparently recorded in Svendsen's hand. I think that he made them before he moved to Copenhagen.³⁶⁶ The pages directly before and after the fiddle tunes are used for memo and exploration sketches for at least one other project in C major. While the germinal ideas before and after the fiddle tunes are different, the *Kivlemøyane* point to Christiania before the summer of 1883 as a likely time for the surrounding sketches as well. In either case, of course, the sketching might have continued in Copenhagen.

The second half of the book (21v–36v) is dedicated to various exploration sketches, mainly in C major. A couple of germinal ideas are worked out in polyphonic textures over and over again, recalling the many exploration sketches for the finale of Symphony no. 2 in the last parts of books 03 and 04. The exploration sketches in the last part of book 06 are so short that they reveal no clues as to form and structure, but their developing, transitional and contrapuntal nature indicates a large-scaled work (rather than songs or folk tune arrangements, for example), and the use of 3-4 staves suggests orchestral music. A symphony is thus a very likely destination for these sketches.

In sum, it is very difficult to date all of the sketches in book 06. From the preceding discussion of book 05, it would seem that 1882 or later is the far most likely. But either the 1870s or more likely his Copenhagen period later in the 1880s are also possibilities. I cannot determine a viable timespan for these sketches either. But while chronology and dating is challenging here, the musical content is of great interest—a substantial number of sketches, circling around a few germinal ideas and concentrated in one sketchbook, suggests that significant work concepts, otherwise unknown to the public, were in the pipeline. I will return to an in-depth musical analysis of this material in chapter 14.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the musical notebooks stored at the Royal Library in Copenhagen based on their physical appearance and condition but also the chronology and dating of their musical content. I looked at both sketches and exercises, though mostly the former, and the analysis was complex, due to the fact that Svendsen did not date or label his sketches.

³⁶⁶ These are very different from those Johan Halvorsen transcribed.

Handwriting and writing-tool analysis were not particularly reliable, though I brought them up now and then, and I mostly drew upon a teleological approach, from the point of view of known works' completion dates in relation to the physical concentration and continuity or discontinuity of ideas, to estimate dating and chronology for the content of each book.³⁶⁷ Letters and other secondary sources have not offered much help with this particular effort. Svendsen seems to have rarely written letters about works in progress, favouring news about works recently completed or complaints about periods of low productivity.

My methods for dating are inadequate when the musical material does not relate to known works. One might hypothesise that most of these sketches were written more or less at the same time as the identifiable ideas, but certain examples clearly undermine that view, indicating that it would represent, at most, a *tendency*.

Because my method of dating was so dependent upon the musical content and types of sketches, I have touched upon Svendsen's compositional methods and certain works' genesis as well. Whereas a concentration and continuity of musical ideas appear to characterise certain sections of each sketchbook, other sections reveal discontinuity and seem to contain collections of disparate, unrelated ideas. The degree and quality of Svendsen's own organisation, determination and focus, at least while sketching, appears to have varied significantly.

When it comes to exploring ideas, one technique seems to predominate; namely, a combination of imitation and sequence. This same texture often appears in his final scores during transitional passages or development sections. It is interesting, then, that Svendsen devoted so much attention to that very technique so early in the compositional process as part of the work of shaping his thematic material.

In many instances, such sketches reveal germinal ideas that appear only once or a few times. One might ask, then, whether they really are explorations of pre-conceived ideas or actually the initial ideas themselves (that is, phase 1). Are these glimpses into unknown works or rather 'solitary', spontaneous ideas following his inclination toward imitation? Or are they simply *sketching exercises*—that is, sketches for the sake of sketching itself, with no particular composition in their future?

³⁶⁷ Curiously, the staff at the Royal Library had numbered the books in accordance with my chronology. Arguably, the books overlapped each other in time, of course, and the most accurate chronological numbering might in fact be 02, 01, 03, 04, 05, 06 or 02, 01, 03, 04, 06, 05.

Explorations of harmonic possibilities seem not at all common, interestingly, despite the fact that harmonic elegance and sophistication are trademarks of Svendsen's musical style, as discussed in chapter 2. One wonders whether this modest harmonic exploration on paper may have had an impact on a lack of harmonic development throughout his professional composer career.

'Loose ends' are almost as common as identifiable projects in short sketches, but when it comes to drafts, there are only a few signs of abandoned projects. Discontinuity of germinal ideas is common in sections dominated by short sketches. Svendsen was certainly a goal-oriented composer who strived to complete unified, self-contained works of art. There are practically no signs suggesting that he performed any daily routine of sketching for its own sake.

While I approached the dating of the sketches from their likely destinations, when known, I dated the exercises according to their starting points, taking for granted that they appear chronologically for each teacher. I used relationships between the books, as with Edvard Grieg's exercise books, to propose a timespan for Svendsen's exercises, and their relevance to Svendsen's compositional development and style will occupy me in part IV.

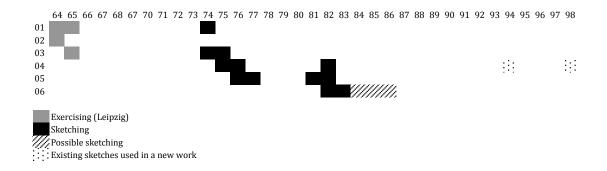
Table 6.8 summarises the most likely chronology and dating of the musical notebooks:

Book	Exercises 1864–65	Sketches 1874–77	Sketches 1880 ->
	Leipzig	Christiania	Christiania, Copenhagen
02	1864		
01	1864-65	1874-75	
03	1865	1874-75	
04		1875-77	Revisited 1894 and 1898
05		1875-77	1881->

1882->?

Table 6.8: Chronological disposal of the musical books.

The following timetable visualises my suggested chronology (book/year).



06

Books 04 and 05 appear to have been divided into a *drafting section* starting at the beginning and an *exploration section* located in the back. Sketches in the latter section appear to have been written at various times, both before and after the corresponding drafts earlier in the book. Book 06 reveals a similar pattern but with less corresponding musical material in the two sections. Some traces of this pattern can be found in book 03 as well. Such a disposition of sketches might have been inspired by his organisation of his exercises in Leipzig. On the very last page of book 02, there are assignments (cantus firmi and figured basses). This book was also divided into several sections, complete with title pages.

A teleological approach is indeed difficult to avoid, when one's only compass with regard to otherwise unorganised sketch material is the chronology of the completed known works. Nevertheless, my aim was to approach the material from the point of view of the physical sources, and I will continue to do this in chapter 7. In parts IV and V, in turn, I will approach selections of the same material from the point of view of exercises, work genesis and compositional strategies.

Chapter 7: Other Sketch Sources

The musical notebooks discussed in chapter 6 present the largest and most continuous collections of sketches from Svendsen's hand. In addition, about 200 sketches on loose leaves or in gatherings, autograph scores, almanacs and small notebooks have survived. The majority of them are short memo, exploration or partial sketches, and continuity drafts are rare, though one such draft does include the last two-thirds of the intermezzo from Symphony no. 2. Most of the germinal ideas I have identified here do not appear to be linked to projects known today, and they generally reveal few signs of continuous work. Some of the sketches, though, can be linked to germinal ideas in the musical notebooks discussed in chapter 6. There are no exercises in autograph in these sources, but one sketch for an exercise in book 02 survives.

What follows is a presentation of *all* sources with surviving sketches, although most will spur little discussion. Thus, this chapter is as much a catalogue of the sources as a discussion of their content.

7.1 Sketches in Autograph Scores

Autograph scores represent finished works in the composer's hand and differ from sketches in many ways—for example, they are usually meant to be read by others, such as musicians, copyists and publishers. Nevertheless, some of them do *contain* sketches. I assume that Svendsen, upon making a sketch in an autograph, determined to keep it rather than send it away to a publisher, for example. As mentioned elsewhere, sketches in autograph scores can be divided into two types: (1) sketches for works other than the one represented in the autograph (in which case Svendsen was presumably just sketching on a convenient sheet of paper); and (2) sketches for the work in the autograph itself. These sketches tend to revise aspects of the work in question and are occasionally situated in the back of the autograph but usually placed below the strings, alongside the passage to be revised.

Autograph score for Chatarina-Walzer (etc.). This source is the autograph score for four juvenilia dances composed in Christiania before Svendsen headed to Leipzig in the summer of 1862. Most of the pieces were composed in the late 1850s. 'Tilhører JSvendsen Chr. den 15/4–1862' [Belongs to JSvendsen . . .] is written on the inside cover. This source

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³⁶⁸ Johan Svendsen. Chatarina-Walzer in A af Johan S. Svendsen. Op. 5 (1858 [1862]).

dates to just over two months before he left the country. Most likely, existing scores in separate gatherings were bound together before he left, because the number of staves varies significantly and the datings of each work inside the book predates that on the inside cover. On the very last page, there is a sketch of seven bars written upside down.

The sketch is in Bb major and 4/4 metre and is labelled 'Trio'. It is written on two staves. It is quite clear that it must be a memo sketch (phase 1). The music consists of a fourbar, fanfare-like intro, followed by the beginning of a melody set to a sparing accompaniment. The character of the melody could indicate a trio section with a pastoral or cantabile character, but the suggested texture gives little further information in this regard.

The sketch is written in ink, and the handwriting is very similar to the rest of this book. It is therefore very likely that he made this sketch at approximately the same time as the autograph. As far as I know, *this is the only surviving sketch from his juvenilia* in Christiania.

Autograph for Poem by Molbeck.³⁶⁹ The autograph score for the song *Dæmring* with lyrics by Christian Molbeck is dated 4 February 1863, at which time Svendsen was in Lübeck. The autograph is in ink. The source, which consists of two bifolia sewed together, also contains sketches in pencil.

Page 1r was presumably intended as a title page for the song, but the top six and bottom five staves are filled with sketches and doodles, and the three staves in the middle are empty. These sketches are in light pencil, haphazardly mixed up with various doodles and ornamenting letters and numbers (could this have been written during a boring lecture in Leipzig?). There seem to be three or four distinctive germinal ideas present. The metres are 3/4, 2/4 and 6/8, and the first and last display dancelike rhythms. The handwriting seems to fit with other sources from the early 1860s. The third sketch in 6/8 recalls certain of the ideas in *Caprice*, written a few months after *Dæmring*, but this is probably a coincidence. On the other hand, several examples of imitation here may be related to Svendsen's counterpoint exercises in Leipzig, particularly if one takes the sketch on page 4v into account (see below). As mentioned, imitation was one of Svendsen's favourite sketching techniques. Could these sketches be among his earliest work in this manner? In chapter 9.4, I will also link the technique to canons Svendsen wrote for Richter between April and October 1864.

On the back of the same source (page 4v) there is a similarly faint pencil draft for one of Svendsen's chorale preludes written under Richter in Leipzig between October 1864 and spring 1865. The exercise in question is in D minor, and the fair copy can be found in book

^{369 ———.} Digt af Molbæk (Dæmring) (The Music Museum, Copenhagen Diverse mindre Nodemanuskripter og Udkast) (14 February). (1863).

02:31r–32r. This sketch tells us something about his sketching method for exercises. The four-part chorale preludes is sketched on three to four staves using the old vocal clefs also to be found in the autograph in book 02. Barry Cooper labels a sketch with the same setup of staves and clefs as the final score a *score sketch*, and this is the sketching method Beethoven developed for his late string quartets. The Svendsen sketch in question consists of a four-part contrapuntal setting and thus qualifies as a score sketch as well (or a draft). One might expect that, if he had been a pianist composer, it would be more natural for him to sketch on two staves, using treble and bass clefs. The perspicuous polyphony of this short exercise would make this perfectly possible, but he appears to have preferred a more advanced score setup for this sketch.

The dating of *Dæmring*, as well as the exercises written for Richter, proves that this sketch was written after the song. In accordance with my discussion of book 02 above, the likely dating for this sketch is around the turn of the year 1864–65.

Autograph score for Norwegian Artists' Carnival, op. 14 (first version).³⁷¹ This source is the autograph score for the first version of the work and is much longer, including even a trio section, than the published and well-known version of the work. Its opening bars are also different. The second (final) version opens with an imitation of the principal motive, from treble to bass, whereas the first version opens with the same motive but in unison. The imitation idea, then, emerged in the revision. On the very last page (38v) of the autograph score, there is, in fact, a sketch for the new opening that can be regarded as a partial sketch (elaboration sketch) made in preparation for the second version of the work.

Autograph score for Symphony no. 1 (first version).³⁷² Symphony no. 1 exists in two autograph scores, the second of which features many emendations and revisions in relation to the first. A lot of these revisions are to be found in the first score, and I would not regard them all as true sketches. However, there is one example of pencil sketching that revises the melody in the scherzo (b. 14–15), appearing on page 32r. A couple of suggested solutions are presented, some of the material of which accords with the second autograph. This is therefore a partial sketch made during the revision process.

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³⁷⁰ Barry Cooper, *Beethoven and the Creative Process*, 107-08.

 $^{^{371}}$ Johan Svendsen. Bryllup paa Dovre / for / Orchester / (Componeret til Kunstnerforeningens Carneval / i Christiania 17de marts 1874) (Musikmuseet, Copenhagen Nodemanuskripter) (1874).

³⁷² ———. "Symphonie in D dur", op. 4. (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 1614) (1865-1866).

Autograph score for Zorahayda, *op. 11* (first version).³⁷³ This source is the autograph score for the first version of *Zorahayda*, op. 11 (1874). It contains five sketches in pencil, placed below passages in the strings that they are intended to revise. The revisions correspond to the final version and will be discussed in further detail in chapter 12.

Autograph score for Romeo and Juliet, op. 18 (first version).³⁷⁴ This source is the autograph score for the first version of *Romeo and Juliet*, op. 18 (1876). It contains twelve sketches in pencil, placed below passages in the strings that they are intended to revise. The revisions correspond to the final version and will be discussed in further detail in chapter 12.

Unfinished autograph for Før Slaget [Before the Battle], composed by Edmund Neupert and arranged by Svendsen.³⁷⁵ The Music Museum in Copenhagen has both the finished autograph and an unfinished autograph for Før Slaget. The latter contains seven bars of a score for an unidentified orchestral work that is perhaps an arrangement of another composer's work.

Autograph for a collection of Norwegian folk music.³⁷⁶ This book contains Norwegian folk tunes in Svendsen's hand, most of which he copied from Ludvig Mathias Lindeman's collection Ældre og nyere norske fjeldmelodier (Older and Newer Norwegian Mountain Melodies). In it, Svendsen indicates which of his own (or other composers') works feature the melodies in question. Like his exercise books from Leipzig, this source is clearly divided into sections. The first section contains springdanser, numbered 1 to 22 on paginated pages 1 to 8, after which follow eight empty pages, also paginated. The second section contains twenty-five hallinger, on paginated pages 17 to 25, after which follow seven empty pages. The third section contains 25 slåtter of various kinds, on paginated pages 33 to 40, after which follow eight empty pages. The last section on paginated pages 49 to 72 contains fifty-five songs with lyrics and is followed by twenty-four empty pages. It is clear that Svendsen paginated the whole book first, then divided it into equal sections and copied the melodies by genre. The book is dated 30 [sic] February 1877, the same imaginary date as that of the book with Arabic songs that I

³⁷⁴ ———. Romeo und Julia: Symphonische Einleitung zu Shakespeare's Drama (27 September 1876).

³⁷³ ———. [Zorahayda, op. 11]. (1874).

^{375 ———.} Before the Battle (Musikmuseet, Copenhagen Nodemanuskripter, Edmund Neupert) ([1892]).

^{376 ———. [}Nedtegnelser av folkemelodier, avskrifter, skisser]. (b) (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 1615:106) (30 February [sic.] 1877).

discuss below. This is after he finished Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1 and probably after, or alongside, the composition of nos. 2 and 3.

In other words, this is the autograph for a collection of folk tunes. There are a few sketches for his own works as well. In *Halling* no. 25 (paginated pages 24–25) a pencil sketch proposes a secondary melody that is quite similar to the second violin part in Norwegian Rhapsody no. 4, bar 36.³⁷⁷ The fact that it is *similar* but not identical may suggest that it was written *before* he finished no. 4, and not as a quote afterwards, meaning that it is a sketch for the fourth rhapsody.

I suggested in chapter 6, that Svendsen left his musical notebooks at home when he went abroad for three years on 29 September 1877. This may hold true for this book as well. In that case, the sketch in question was written before this date.

Autograph for collection of Arabic folk music.³⁷⁸ In the same box as the collection of Norwegian folk tunes, there is a book with a collection of Arabic songs in Svendsen's hand (1v–3v). This book, then, is the autograph for that collection. The seven Arabic songs, plus lyrics and a Turkish march, are written on pages 1v to 3v and numbered from 1 to 8. Svendsen paginated 1v–4r as pages 2–7.

From page 7 (4r), various sketches are written in various pens and pencil. These sketches are most likely *not* written by Svendsen, however: the musical style is not typical, and the use of piano notation which dominates here is rare elsewhere in his sketches. In addition, several aspects of the handwriting, such as the treble clefs, the downward stems on the right side of the note head, and the small bass clefs, are not typical of Svendsen's writing from around 1877.³⁷⁹

7.2 Sketches on Loose Leaves, Bifolia and Gatherings

National Library of Norway: Mus. ms. 1901, Eske 144 Johan Svendsen [Skisser].³⁸⁰ This source is a folder stored at the National Library in Oslo. Most of the sources within it do not contain sketches, according to my definition, but because the library has labelled it 'Skisser' [Sketches], it is worth mentioning. Its contents are as follows:

³⁷⁷ Four bars after 'Allegro moderato'.

³⁷⁸ Johan Svendsen. [Nedtegnelser av folkemelodier, avskrifter, skisser]. (a) (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 1615:106) (30 February [sic.] 1877).

³⁷⁹ Bjarte Engeset, "Johan Svendsen si handskrift."

³⁸⁰ Johan Svendsen.: [Skisser]. (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 1901) (1876).

Table 7.1 Mus.ms. 1901.

Mus.	Title	Type	Leaves	Pag. (JS)	Instrument	Composer	Date	Staves	Dimensions
ms.	Title page (not by JS)		1r-1v					24	27x34
1901:1	Aria de Chiesa	Autograph score	1r–4v		High voice + string orch.	Alessandro Stradella (1667)		20	
1901:2	O Salutaris Missa solenelle	Сору	1r–4v		Voice + piano	G. Rossini		12	
1901:3	Il va venir Arie af Jødinnen	Autograph score	1r-10v	1–15	Voice + orchestra	Jacques Halévy	Hegdehaugen den 21/3–76 J. Svendsen	16	
1901:4	Julia Vals	Autograph score		1–4	Clarinet, cornet, strings	J. Johanson		20	
1901:5	Sørgemarsj	Autograph score (unfin.)	1r–4v	3 and 4	Orchestra	Hartmann		24	
1901:6	Romeo and Juliet	Autograph score (unfin.)	1r–4v 1r–1v 1r–2v	1–5 (r/v exchanged)	Orchestra	Svendsen		22	
1901:7	Hvad mig til dig så mäktig drog	Song lyrics	1r–2v					10	
	Chorale like D major?	Score sketch		3 bars	Orchestra		Vln.+ cello	24	

I will comment briefly on some of the sources, which are incomplete and unfinished autograph scores rather than sketches. The complete autograph scores, I will leave out.

1901:2 is an incomplete copy of *O Salutaris* from Rossini's *Messe Solenelle*. It corresponds exactly to the version with piano and harmonium accompaniment.³⁸¹ The copyist (Svendsen?) skipped from bar 8 to bar 10, and this error may have been the reason for abandoning it.

1901:5 is an unfinished autograph score for Svendsen's arrangement of Hartmann's Funeral March. It may tell us something about his procedure for writing autograph scores, because barlines have been lined up in advance for the first section. Here he filled in a few bars, but not in their musical order. In other words, it appears that Svendsen filled in what he was certain about first, rather than writing chronologically from bar 1 to the end. This might well explain how he could go directly from his drafts, which contain little accurate information on orchestration, to autograph scores in ink: he built up his scores based on degree of certainty rather than copying out pre-existing knowledge. The act of writing seems to have been very important to this stage of composition, as it was for him in the sketching process as well.

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 $^{^{381}}$ Gioacchino Rossini, "O Salutaris," in *Petite messe solennelle* (Paris: G. Brandus & S. Dufour, n.d, Plate B. et D. 11,53, ca 1868), 201.

1901:6 is the beginning of an unfinished autograph score for *Romeo und Julia*. It runs from the beginning to the Allegro section and corresponds best to the complete autograph of the 1876 version.³⁸²

National Library of Norway: Mus. ms. 7880 (a) Zwei Könige sassen auf Orkdal.³⁸³ This is a pencil draft for *Zwei Könige sassen auf Orkdal*, JSV 31, which was probably composed in Leipzig between 1863 and 1867. Despite its somewhat incomplete character, it may be the autograph score for the work. It therefore stands out from his usually neat autographs in ink. It is stored alongside the parts for violin I and II for the same work.

National Library of Norway: Mus. ms. 7880 (b) Zwei Könige sassen auf Orkdal. ³⁸⁴ This contains the autograph string parts for *Zwei Könige sassen auf Orkdal*. However, on the verso of the violin I part, there is a thirty-four-bar draft in pencil in A major. The instrumentation could be piano or string quartet, for example, and the work in question is unknown. (Strictly speaking, I could have discussed this under '7.1 Sketches in autograph scores', but I chose to keep it together with the source discussed above.)

National Library of Norway: Mus. ms. 7881 [Gyldenlak]. Pages 1r–1v contain an unfinished pencil draft for a song called *Gyldenlak* (lyrics Henrik Wergeland). Page 2v contains two and a half bars of imitation in ascending sequence in Bb minor and 4/4 metre. Might this have been intended for Symphony no. 2? The dating is probably around 1875.

³⁸² Johan Svendsen. Romeo und Julia: Symphonische Einleitung zu Shakespeare's Drama (27 September 1876).

^{383 ———. [}Zwei Könige sassen auf Orkdal]. (a) (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7880a) ([1867]).

^{384 ———. [}Zwei Könige sassen auf Orkdal]. (b) (Natinal Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7880) ([1867]).

³⁸⁵ ———. "Gyldenlak, før du din Glands har tabt" (National LIbrary of Norway Mus.ms. 7881) ([1876?]).

National Library of Norway: Mus. ms. 7882a-j.

Table 7.2 Mus. ms. 7882.

Mus.ms.	Title	Leaves	Description	Date	Staves	Dimensions
7882a ³⁸⁶		1r-2v	15 sketches, phases 1–2		16	23.1x30.8
7882b ³⁸⁷	Various +	1r-1v	5 sketches (3 germinal ideas),		18	17.6x26.9
	Beethoven Symph.9, 3rd mvt.		phases 1–2			
7882c ³⁸⁸	Symphony no. 2 + various	1r-2v	Sketch, phase 2	15/7	16	26.8x33.8
				-94		
7882d ³⁸⁹	Various	1r-2v	Sketch, phase 2		12	26.0x34.5
7882e ³⁹⁰	Various	1r-1v	Sketch, phase 2		24	26.7x34.1
7882f ³⁹¹	Sketch in E	1r-1v	Sketch, phases 1–2		12	27.2x35.2
7882g ³⁹²	Various	1r-1v	JS motive		20	26.0x34.5
7882h ³⁹³	Score sketch in pencil	1r-2v	March?		20	26.2x34x6
7882i ³⁹⁴	Andante grazioso		Song sketch		12	27.0x35.4
7882j ³⁹⁵	Andante funébre		Sketch, phase 2	1894	12	26.5x35.0

These sources are placed in a black folder with 'Skrevne Partiturer' [Written scores] handwritten on the front cover. This title is as misleading as the title of Mus. ms. 1901, because the contents of Mus. ms. 7882 are mostly loose leaves containing short sketches, not scores. Most of them are difficult or impossible to connect to any known works, although the finale of Symphony no. 2 (1876) and *Andante funébre* (1894) are discernible, as well as a copy of the fourth horn solo in the third movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, transposed to F horn. I will discuss the sketches in somewhat more detail:

7882a consists of a bifolio of four pages (1–2v). The outer pages (1r and 2v) contain various short sketches based in G major and in 4/4 metre. The sketches on 1r apparently derive from the same germinal idea, written on two staves. Piano or string quartet is the likely instrumentation. Apart from their key and metre, the sketches on 2v have no apparent link to those on 1r. The sketches at the bottom of 1r and 2v are crossed out *in ink*. Might it therefore be associated with an autograph score? There are some motivic similarities with the opening of *Zwei Könige sassen auf Orkdal*, discussed above, but there is no evident intentional link here.

³⁸⁶ ———. Mus.ms. 7882a Skisser] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7882a): 2 leaves.

³⁸⁷ ———. Mus.ms. 7882b [Skisser] (National LIbrary of Norway Mus.ms. 7882b).

^{388 ———.} Mus.ms. 7882c [Skisser] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7882c).

^{389 ———.} Mus.ms. 7882d [Skisser] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7882d).

³⁹⁰ ———. Mus.ms. 7882e [Skisser] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7882e).

³⁹¹ ———. Mus.ms. 7882f [Skisser] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7882f).

³⁹² ———. Mus.ms. 7882g [Skisser] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7882g).

^{393 ———.} Mus.ms. 7882h [Skisser] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7882h).

³⁹⁴ ———. Mus.ms. 7882i [Skisser] (National Llbrary of Norway Mus.ms. 7882i).

³⁹⁵ ———. Mus.ms. 7882j [Skisser] (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7882j).

The sketches inside the bifolio (1v–2r) are not obviously connected to those discussed above, but they are all typical exploration sketches based on the same idea (sequence and imitation). Each sketch also takes up three staves, leaving an empty stave in the middle that was presumably intended for a middle-register textural layer. As discussed in chapter 6, such sketches can be found in large numbers in many sources, and it is generally impossible to link them to finished projects or to find the same germinal idea sketched elsewhere. Nevertheless, while examining these sketches, one seems to glimpse a larger musical plan, because they all appear to represent *transitional* or *development* passages. Again, one wonders whether Svendsen, in fact, *did* have a work concept in mind or was merely puzzling out the technique itself. These sketches are difficult to date, due to the situation just described.

7882b is a single leaf with two unrelated sketches on 1r and a copy of the fourth horn solo from the third movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on 1v. The latter is written in blue crayon, which is often used for markings in Svendsen's scores. A possible dating for this transcription is spring 1881, because on 2 April of that year, Svendsen conducted the Norwegian premiere of that iconic work.³⁹⁶

7882c consists of a bifolio, the three last pages of which are empty. The first page, however, suggests a similar situation to that of book 04:36v–37r: it would appear that a gap of nearly twenty years occurs on the same page. At the top of page 1r, a sketch for the finale of Symphony no. 2 is written in pencil, most likely dating to 1875–76. Further down on the page are some sketches in ink in E major and 3/4 metre, apparently for two violins or flutes in ink. To the left of these sketches is the date '15/7–94' (two weeks after the premiere of *Andante funébre* at Georg Hindenburg's funeral).³⁹⁷ This is, as mentioned, one of *only two* dates I have found among Svendsen's sketches (that is, not the exercises). In other words, this sheet of paper was in the vicinity of his desk in at least two cities over the course of two decades. The germinal idea in ink is not connected to known works, which implies that Svendsen did in fact sketch ideas in Copenhagen in the 1890s that never surfaced in his published works.

7882d also contains several exploration sketches that are unrelated to known works, although there might be a distant link to *Andante Funébre*. While 7882a contains

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³⁹⁶ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 160.

³⁹⁷ Preface to Johan Svendsen, *Andante funébre*, ed. Bjarte Engeset, vol. I 8d, Johan Svendsens Verker (Oslo: Norwegian Heritage, 1894/2011).

imitation-and-sequence sketching, 7882d features sketches of harmonic progressions and rather detailed voicing (especially at the top of 1r). If these are in fact partial sketches, they might have been intended for particular passages in scores, but I have not been able to connected them to known works, though there might be a somewhat distant relationship to *Andante funébre*, intentional or otherwise.

7882e is a single leaf with twenty-four staves, and all of its sketches, on both sides, apparently derive from the same germinal idea. There is also a link to another source, namely book 04:41v–42r. Though I cannot connect this idea to a finished work, I suggested 1876 as the most likely dating for book 04, and it would appear reasonable to date these sketches to that time as well. Again, these are exploration sketches that recall the situation discussed under 7882a, though they were not the same material. In other words, 7882e contains sketches linked both physically and by content.

7882f has a piano score layout with the staves grouped in pairs. It includes a melodic feature and an imitation with a curious similarity to the 'Andante con moto', probably for an unfinished symphony. The similarity comes clear in book 05:49v:10–12 and 05:51r:1–8. The relationship might well be intentional—in both cases, the key is E major, though, unlike the book 05 sketches, these sketches include the key signature with four sharps. It is also worth mentioning that the two last bars feature a double neighbour-tone motive in sequence. While common, this melodic figure is prominently featured in the earliest *Romeo and Juliet* sketches in book 03:17r (see also 14r:9–12) and in *Prélude*, bars 45–48 (see sketches in book 04:38v:10–12 and 39r:7–19). These examples are perhaps not intentionally linked, but I will discuss this further in chapter 12–14. If a relationship was intended, the early 1880s is a likely timeframe here.

7882g is a single leaf with twenty staves. Just like 7882d, it contains several harmonic exploration sketches that feature a couple of Svendsen signatures—namely, the syncopated \Box and the descending chromatic lines. Aside from staves 16-17 in B minor, the key signature is not specified, although C minor and F minor seem to dominate.

7882h is a rare example of an *orchestral pencil draft* in full score. It is both unfinished and incomplete. The metre is 2/4 and the key is apparently F major, but the work is unidentified.

7882i is an unfinished draft of a song marked 'Andante grazioso'.

7882j is a bifolio containing three short sketches for *Andante funébre*, JSV 92 (1894). The first sketch on 1r:1–3 reveal the trombone voicings in bar 13–16 of the orchestral score, except that the ascending melody is missing. Below is a sketch of a melodic line corresponding to two crossed out bars in the first orchestral score. The sketch on 2v corresponds to the first four bars of the work's trio section (b. 38–41). The scoring and melodic line correspond best to the first version of the orchestral score ³⁹⁸—that is, all these sketches are related the first orchestral score. The JSV project has not concluded whether the first orchestral score was written before or after the funeral. Nevertheless, 1894 is the likely year.

As in many other cases observed in the preceding discussions, mus.ms. 7882 display a curious combination of significant detail in features such as voicing and an overall lack of continuity. In the case of 7882j, all of the sketches can be connected to a completed work, and even to specific passages within that work. Could this be the case for 7882a, c, d and e as well, all of which concentrate upon a single germinal idea? Do they represent partial sketches at a late stage, perhaps accompanying score writing, or are they exploration sketches with the potential to be used elsewhere? In the latter case, their chordal detail and lack of continuity represent an interesting inconsistency. Certainly Svendsen seems to have prioritised timbral quality over continuity or formal structure here.

It seems clear that the physical collection of the leaves, bifolia and gatherings marked a–j happened more or less by chance. There is a timespan of about twenty years (from about 1875 to about 1894), and the number of germinal ideas is about the same as the number of different paper sizes. Even sketches on the same leaf can be unrelated to each other, as 7882c demonstrates most clearly.

The Music Museum, Copenhagen: 'Johan Svendsen / Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast (Autographer)'.³⁹⁹ Most of the sources in this folder are, strictly speaking, not sketches, but I will summarise them here.

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³⁹⁸ ———. Andante funébre (Royal Library in Copenhagen C II, 39 Fol., 1923-24.196, C II, 39) ([1894]).

³⁹⁹ ———. Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast (Autographer) (The Music Museum, Copenhagen Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast (Autographer)).

Table 7.3: The Music Museum, Copenhagen: Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast. (Autographer). 400

Source	Work identity	Leaves	Description	Date	Staves	Dimentions
1	Piano Piece, JSV 88	1r	Autograph score	1888?	4	33.5x3(cut)
2	March of the Red-Nosed Knights	[4r-5v]	Incomplete manuscript score (paginated 7–10)	manuscript score		26.8x34.3
3		1r-1v	String quintet in F, 25 bars (not by JS)		10	
4	Zorahayda	1r	Unfinished autograph, first ver.	Unfinished 1874 14		26.8x20 (cut)
5	Instrumental Piece, JSV 87	1r	Piece for melody and piano in E minor, manuscript	Piece for melody and piano in E 1888?		28x34.8
6		1r+2v	Various memo and exploration sketches		18	16.7x26.7
7	Symphony no. 2, third mvt. Romance, op. 26	1r–3r 3v	Continuity draft b. 101–end Exploration sketch b.129–144	1876	18	17.4x26.8
8	Poem by Molbech, JSV 025	1v-2r	Autograph score + other sketches	1863		
9	Holberg Cantata + various	1r-1v	Various sketches	1884	22	25.5x29.1 (cut)
10	Holberg Cantata + various	1r–1v	Various sketches	1884	12	26.7x35.1
11	7882e? Book 04:41v-42r?	1r–2r	Various sketches	Various sketches 1875? 12 Pagre		18.0x26.4
12	7882e? Book 04:41v–42r?	1r–1v	Various sketches	1875?	15–16	26.7x35.2
13	Piano Piece, JSV 88	1r-1v	Draft		14	23.0x30.7
14	À sa petite Bergljot, JSV 053	1r–2v	Autograph score		12	26.0x34.7
15	Guldbryllupssan gen	1r-4v	Сору		16	

1 is a short piece of sixteen bars, apparently for piano, in E major. It appears to be complete and is therefore the autograph score for *Piano Piece (E major)*, JSV 88 (1888).

2 is the incomplete and unfinished score for *March of the Red-Nosed Knights*. It may be the original autograph score. The instrumentation is two violins, viola, cello, bass and piano four hands (1874).

3 is apparently a complete score for a short string quintet in F. Judging from the style and handwriting, this was most likely *not* composed by Svendsen but perhaps instead by one of his students.

4 is an unfinished score for the first version of *Zorahayda*. It contains only the orchestral setup and first bars of the first violin line (1874).

5 is the autograph score for *Instrumental Piece*, JSV 87 (1888).

 $^{^{400}}$ My numbering, does not occur in sources.

6 contains fragmentary sketches for unidentified work(s). It is a bifolio folded around a gathering with source 7 inside it, and the paper types of 6 and 7 are very similar.

7 is a gathering of four identical bifolia, sewn together. It contains a large portion of the continuity draft for the third movement of Symphony no. 2 (1876) and an exploration or partial sketch for *Violin Romance*, op. 26 (1881). Interestingly, the latter sketch is written on the verso side of the last page of the symphony draft, though six years separate these two works (see the discussion under *Violin Romance* in chapter 16). On the last page, there is a sketch of only three notes.

8 was discussed under 'Sketches in autograph scores (Poem by Molbeck)' (1863).

9 and 10 contain various exploration and partial sketches, some for *Holberg Cantata*, op. 30 (1884).

11 and 12 contain various sketches, but no work can be associated with them. These sketches might be related to those in Mus. ms. 7882e and book 04:41v-42r. An allegro in alla breve and C major seems to be proposed. I have suggested 18776 as a possible dating of the related material.

13 is a draft for *Instrumental Piece*, JSV 87, the same piece mentioned for source 6 above (1888).

14 is the autograph score for À sa petite Bergljot, JSV 053 (1872).

15 is a vocal score made by a copyist (dated 'Sangfesten i Veile 1893').

Thus the folder in question contains a variety of sketches and autographs spanning three decades and written on various types of paper. Just as in 7882a–j, the physical association of these sources is merely happenstance, yet one likewise readily imagines the rather disorganised office behind it.

The Music Museum, Copenhagen, Ms. 178 (Tre Skizzer) (Table 7.4).

Source	Work identity	Leaves	Description	Date	Staves	Dimentions
a	Before the Battle	1r–2v	Partial sketches	1895	12	26.4x34.5
b	Piano Piece, JSV 86	1r-8v	Autograph	1880	2	
С	Album Leaf (To GABH)	1r-1v	Draft/1st version	1886?	24	34.5x27.0

Ms 178a This source is a bifolio consisting of partial sketches for JSV 93, Svendsen's orchestral arrangement of Edmund Neupert's Before the Battle (1895). The sketches are mainly on four to five staves and contain rather detailed instructions for the instrumentation. On page 2v, there are two partial sketches for Svendsen's extended ending of Neupert's piano original.

Ms 178b is lost but a glass-plate copy of it is stored in the National Library of Norway.⁴⁰¹ It contains the autograph for Piano Piece (D minor), JSV 086 (1888).

Ms 178c Draft for Album Leaf (Til GABH fra S.), JSV 85 for piano (1886?). This source contains a work which was a private declaration of love to the pianist Golla Andrea Bodenhoff-Hammerich. The work exists in two autographs, both at Musikmuseet ms. 189 is the latter draft, while ms. 178c could be considered either the first version or an earlier draft. It is in ink but includes several emendations. On the same page, there are also several partial sketches in pencil that correspond to the final version of ms. 189.

7.3 Sketches in Almanacs and Pocket Notebooks

I will conclude my review of the physical sources with the almanacs and notebooks that partly contain musical notation. Of the sixteen such at the National Library of Norway, only eight of them contain musical notation. Concerning Svendsen's Third Symphony, Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe mention 'seven small theme sketches, inserted in his almanac'.402 Though they probably had the almanac of 1886 in mind, I have not been able to determine the sketches in question.

Ms. 8° 1191:1403 was referred to in the discussion of book 04 in chapter 6. On the pages devoted to 22-24 and 25-27 August, three melody sketches demonstrate a clear link to the finale of Symphony no. 2. The first and third sketch are closely related to the main theme, while the theme sketched in the second does not appear in the symphony. However, it is in F minor (as a possible secondary theme) and contains several melodic

⁴⁰³ Johan Svendsen. Almanakk. (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:1) ([1876]).

⁴⁰¹ Johan Svendsen. [Piano Piece (D minor), JSV 86] (Natonal Library of Norway Mus.ms.a 3391) (1888).

⁴⁰² Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 1990.

and rhythmic features that match those of the main theme. Is it thus an early sketch for the secondary theme?

There are also memo sketches on the pages for 1–9 December, but I have not been able to link them to any known projects. This appears to be an almanac for 1876. On the page for 19-21 October is a written 'GREVINDE D AGOULT / (DANIEL STERN) / DØD I PARIS / DEN 5TE MARS / 1876, 72 AAR GAMMEL / (DANTE OG GOETHE)' (Countess D'Agoult, alias Daniel Stern, died in Paris 5 March 1876, 72 years old⁴⁰⁴). She was Liszt' wife and the mother of Cosima Wagner. Likely Svendsen had met her. In addition the likely settlement for the concert 14 October 1876 (when Symphony no. 2 was premiered) appears on 22-24 October. The symphony sketches, then, must have been written very early in 1876 or late 1875, when Svendsen probably got hold of this book. The symphony was completed in May, so August is a random choice for these sketches.

Ms. 8° 1191:2⁴⁰⁵ could be described as a pocket sketchbook, following terminology often used in relation to Beethoven; as a musical notebook, as well, it could have been discussed in chapter 6. It contains fifteen sketches or inscriptions in music notation and various notations of addresses and so forth. The sketches are mostly memo sketches, phase 1, but some might also be quotes from works by Svendsen or other composers.

On page 4v is the second of the two dates I have found among Svendsen's sketches, namely 25 June 1885, in close proximity to several addresses and names of places in Denmark, which shows that he used this book there.

It is also possible to identify two songs from Svendsen's opus 23 and 24 (1879): op 23, no. 1 *Zuléïkha*, bar 30–32 (1v:13–10, upside down, and also sketched with different ideas in book 04), and op 24, no. 4 *Længsel (L'attente)* (piano introduction) (4r). The latter is actually titled as well, the only instance of titling I have seen in all of Svendsen's surviving sketches. These two sketches may indicate that he used this book in Paris around 1879. The *Længsel* sketch in ink can be definitely associated with an anniversary publication from Carl Warmuth in 1885, which included a piano arrangement of this song. Svendsen quotes the first two bars in the corresponding letter

⁴⁰⁴ She was born in 1805, and thus 70 when she died.

⁴⁰⁵ Johan Svendsen. Notehefte (National LIbrary of Norway Ms.8° 1191:2).

to Warmuth on 2 July 1885. These two inscriptions are in the work's original key of F sharp major, while Warmuth's publication was transposed to F major.

It is likely, then, that the *Zuléïkha* sketch served as a reminder of a song written earlier, so that he used this book only in Denmark around 1885. But, as seen earlier, sketches from years apart can fill the same page.

Ms. 8° 1191:6406 has a musical inscription marked 'Arabique' on page 4v which might be a sketch. It consists of a fanfare-like motive in 6/8 and C major and two parts possibly meant for percussion (is this Turkish janizary music?). The date '2-72' is written on the inside cover.

Ms. 8° 1191:7⁴⁰⁷ contains no music by Svendsen, yet on page 36v there is a twobar example marked 'Corno—Tannhauseroverture'. Below is written 'Nikisch?' On page 42v there is a quote of the theme from *Ride of the Valkyries*.

Ms. 8° 1191:8⁴⁰⁸ contains a number of sketches. A loose leaf folded as a bifolio contains nine sketches, mostly in B minor. At the bottom of '2v' is the same matrix as that mentioned in Ms. 8° 1191:16 below. Otherwise, there are a number of memo sketches with few connections to each other and none to known works.

Ms. 8° 1191:9409 is Svendsen's diary from the journey to Iceland in 1867. Inside it is a leaf with music notation that contains five memo sketches, representing three germinal ideas. Benestad identifies them as three folk melodies given to Svendsen by the organist Petur Gudjónson.⁴¹⁰ The first two ideas do not look very much like folk music, but the last could be an Icelandic folk melody.

Ms. 8° 1191:11411 is an almanac for 1873. It contains no music of relevance to Svendsen's compositional activity, though two pages contain musical notation, following upon an entry for 31 December titled 'Noteringer vedkommende næste Aar' [Notes concerning next year]. There is a scheme of triads for the C major scale and, on the following page, there is a chart of fifth relations. It would appear that Svendsen used this while teaching in Christiania in 1873.

⁴⁰⁶ ———. Notisbok (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:6) ("2 -72" [1872?]).

⁴⁰⁷ ———. Notisbok (Natonal Library of Norway National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:7).

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., Ms.8° 1191:8.

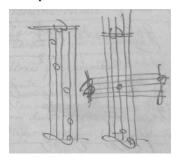
⁴⁰⁹ ———. "Dagbog paa Reisen fra Leipzig til Island." (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:9) (1867).

⁴¹⁰ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 72.

⁴¹¹ Johan Svendsen. Almanakk (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:11) (1873).

 $Ms.8^{\circ}$ 1191:16 Almanak k^{412} contains only one musical inscription, namely on page [95]. It is a matrix of note heads that are cross-related through several clefs according to the anagram of the name 'Gade' (see below).

Example 7.1: Matrix on the name of GADE.



Ms. 8° 1191:3,413 Ms. 8° 1191:4,414 Ms. 8° 1191:5,415 Ms. 8° 1191:10,416 Ms. 8° 1191:12,417 Ms. 8° 1191:13,418 Ms. 8° 1191:14419 and Ms. 8° 1191:15420 contain no music notation.

Conclusion

The sources discussed in chapter 7 are different from those discussed in chapter 6. Loose leaves and gatherings of a few bifolia are easily mixed and misplaced, and their brevity makes them ill suited to longer drafts or collections of many sketches. Still, many of them contain a curiously expansive number of ideas. The almanacs and autographs also contain a fragmentary collection of ideas. Discontinuity is more common than continuity among these ideas; as in the sketchbooks, short sketches concentrating on a few techniques are common. Very often, a germinal idea appears in only one or at most two to three sketches in a row, except in the case of the few continuity drafts to be found in these sources. While exploration sketches in the last halves of books 03, 04 and 06 show several instances of work-concept concentration, it is difficult to discern a similar pattern from loose leaves and small gatherings except in a few cases. Some of the sources discussed in this chapter reveal more compositional activity in Copenhagen that

⁴¹² ———. Ms.8° 1191:16 Almanakk. (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:16) (1894).

⁴¹³ ———. Notisbok (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:3).

⁴¹⁴ ———. [Notisbok] (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:4).

⁴¹⁵ ———. Notisbok (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:5).

⁴¹⁶ ———. Notisbok (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:10) (1869).

^{417 ———.} Almanakk. (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:12) (1878).

^{418 ———.} Notisbok (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:13) (1878).

^{419 ———.} Almanakk (National Library of Norway Ms.8° 1191:14) (1881).

⁴²⁰ ———. Almanakk. (National LIbrary of Norway Ms.8° 1191:15) (1882).

is apparent from Svendsen's list of completed works, although these types of sketches represent the earliest phases of sketching.

While part III approached the material from the point of view of the sources, the following parts IV and V will focus on selections from the musical contents, the progression, quality and quantity of the exercises, work genesis, compositional methods and strategies, loose ends and possible unfinished work concepts.

PART IV COMPOSITIONAL EXERCISES

General Discussions

As demonstrated in part III, sketches and exercises from Svendsen's hand are largely connected physically in the same sources. But is there a relationship between them aside from their physical location? Might the exercises shed light on his sketching techniques, and his artistic, stylistic and aesthetic development? In fact, this idea is not new as such. Already in 1832, five years after Beethoven's death, some of his composition exercises were published by Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried, and, according to Julia Ronge, 'some hoped to glean from them both the secret of Beethoven's creativity and an understanding thereof, or perhaps even gain some knowledge of the ways of genius'.⁴²¹ (This was decades before any of his sketches were published.) Years later, Gustav Nottebohm published a far more philologically thorough study of the exercises in 1873, and most exercise-related research since has been based on Nottebohm's publication. But according to Ronge, Nottebohm added questionable aesthetic judgments and claimed significant insufficiencies from all three of Beethoven's teachers: Haydn, Albrechtsberger and Salieri.⁴²² Ronge herself has prepared the critical edition of the exercises for the *New Beethoven-Gesamtausgabe*.

However, questions concerning the relationship between composition exercises and artistic outcome are not easily answered. A general assumption that *some sort of influence* has occurred is more than reasonable in the case of most composers. But to observe how and to what extent they are related is a more complicated task. In my opinion, a thorough survey of exercises, sketches, working methods and artistic development is necessary to outline any such connections. The preceding part III attempted a philological study of the Svendsen sources and their chronological relationship. In the remainder of this thesis, I will draw upon my studies of Svendsen's musical style from part I to understand how his studies in Leipzig may have influenced his later compositional technique and musical style. An obvious problem is that practically no sketches have survived from his juvenilia, meaning that one cannot lay sketches from this period and from his mature works side by side and compare them. In other words, we do not have direct access to Svendsen's early working methods. On the other hand, as demonstrated in chapter 3, his compositional craft developed

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⁴²¹ Julia Ronge, "Beethoven's Apprenticeship: Studies with Haydn, Albrechtsberger and Salieri," *Journal of Musicological Research* 32, no. 2-3 (2013): 76.

422 Ibid.

significantly during his year and a half en route *to* Leipzig. Thus, based on the autograph scores, some conclusions concerning his capabilities may be drawn, in spite the fact that no preliminary working documents exists.

Looking at the broad picture first, Svendsen changed his focus from dance music to large-scale forms in *Caprice*, but some expansiveness was already signalled in some of the later dances. His string quartet arrangements show an intimate knowledge of art music works, and, as shown in chapter 1, he yearned to compose in such ways already in Christiania. At a more detailed level of bar to bar, my survey in chapter 3 demonstrated the technical insufficiency of his juvenilia, which disappears in his mature works.

What, then, is the actual difference between the last works before Leipzig and his first opus numbers written as a student? *If* he benefited from practicing harmony and counterpoint, how might that benefit be exposed via source studies? How can any such influence be distinguished from the larger fact that he moved from a cultural outpost to a central European city with a rich musical life? Should these aspects even be separated? Likely not: the present study on compositional method cannot explain Svendsen's stylistic development on its own. It should complement biographical studies and analysis in the interests of a broader understanding.

In addition, I do think there is a connection between the *act of exercising*, to be discussed in chapter 9, and the *manner of sketching* that has been touched upon already and will be discussed thoroughly in part V. As an introduction to my position, I will draw upon a few articles devoted to composition exercises.

As mentioned in chapter 6, Edvard Grieg studied at the same conservatory, with the same teachers, as Svendsen. According to Patrick Dinslage, the linearity in Grieg's musical language, which is often overlooked, in Dinslage's opinion, largely stems from his harmony and counterpoint exercises at Leipzig. Dinslage finds that the interaction between horizontal and vertical forces is crucial to understanding Grieg's tonal language,⁴²³ and thus he relates the exercise techniques with Grieg's later stylistic output. I will demonstrate a similar situation in the case of Svendsen.

In addition, there is a deeper relationship between Svendsen's exercises and sketching techniques to be investigated. In *The Study of Fugue*, Alfred Mann devotes a

⁴²³ Patrick Dinslage, "Edvard Griegs Unterricht in Musiktheorie während seines Studiums am Leipziger Konservatorium, dargestellt an seinen eigenen Aufzeichnungen," *Kongressbericht 3. Deutscher Edvard-Grieg-Kongress (Bonn)* (2001): 95.

chapter to Beethoven's studies with Johann Georg Albrechtsberger. Mann undertakes a short yet insightful study of some of the exercises Beethoven wrote for Albrechtsberger and shows how the latter taught his pupils to improve their efforts via a step-by-step development of technical solutions down to the last detail. Mann concluded:

The spirit of strict discipline which speaks from these pages stands in strong contrast to the popular image of the composer's unfettered genius. Yet this spirit never left Beethoven's working procedure. We can recognize it in the ever-changing versions of his sketches and in his exhaustive use of thematic material. An essential part of Beethoven's nature emerges from this conscientious account of his studies, which he concluded with the words: 'Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam / Patience, diligence, persistence, and sincerity will lead to success'.424

Hence, Mann drew the attention to the *act of exercising* as the gradual and repetitious improvement of the same *idea* or *passage*. Albrechtsberger took Beethoven with him on a search for the best solutions by carving out several attempts and evaluating them, and, as Mann suggests, Beethoven carried this *habit* with him throughout his career. In other words, it is not each and every contrapuntal technique itself that transferred to the composer's own style, but the general working method. Ronge agrees that the importance of *routine* was learned from these exercises.⁴²⁵ Arguably, Beethoven did sketch before he met Albrechtsberger, so one should not think that the technique of revision arose with him alone. But the process was *mechanised* and refined during these studies.

Svendsen was not as patient or diligent as Beethoven, as the present dissertation shows. And the influence from Beethoven's music upon his own did not stem from any study Beethoven's sketches (which he probably did not know but possibly had heard of), but from the final works—as he heard them, played them and studied them. The thematic development that is so pervasive in Beethoven's music, and many of his successors' as well, is not just a matter of musical drama or development. Literally, it is the result of a succession of revisions of the same idea (Gedanke), presented one after another. In other words, there is a profound coherence between sketching technique and musical surface. (Evidently, Beethoven was not the first to use thematic development, but he was an extremist in this regard compared to his predecessors.)

Beethoven was not as rebellious to his teachers (Salieri and Haydn, in addition to Albrechtsberger) as is commonly held. According to Ronge, Beethoven consulted his exercises even late in his life and remained an advocate for Albrechtsberger's textbooks

⁴²⁴ Alfred Mann, *The Study of Fugue* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 219.

⁴²⁵ Julia Ronge, "Beethoven's Apprenticeship: Studies with Haydn, Albrechtsberger and Salieri," 79.

as well.⁴²⁶ Ronge also emphasises the self-confidence that grew alongside his studies with Albrechtsberger. The more intensively Beethoven studied under him, the more productive he became as a composer.⁴²⁷

The relationship between Albrechtsberger and Beethoven evokes aspects of Svendsen's relationships with his teachers as well. Beethoven utilised the technique to an extreme, and Svendsen, not so much, but more than he had before. To what extent Svendsen was *aware* of this benefit, I cannot tell. Like Beethoven, Svendsen must have sketched and revised his ideas to some extent before Leipzig, but again, the process was probably *mechanised* there.

Another benefit Svendsen derived from his study of music theory is the virtue of *accuracy.* Errors in pitch and rhythm were frequent in his work before Leipzig but almost gone afterward. Exercises also helped him to cope with the various temporalities of imagining, sketching and performing music. A number of standard compositional techniques were mechanised, and he was able to avoid many time-consuming trial-and-error processes. In addition, he was made more aware of the traditional compositional pitfalls of parallel fifths and octaves, doubling of tension tones and so forth.

Even in the absence of corresponding material between Svendsen's juvenilia and his mature period, I hope to make the case for the preceding claims in the chapters that follow here.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 80.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 8: The Leipzig Conservatory

Less than two years after Edvard Grieg graduated from the Leipzig Conservatory early in 1862, Svendsen enrolled there in December 1863, a few months into the academic year. The two most successful and influential Norwegian composers in the nineteenth century would therefore benefit from the same teachers in composition, harmony and counterpoint. Fortunately, most, if not all, of their exercises in counterpoint and harmony (called *Musiktheorie* at the conservatory) have survived. The backgrounds of the two men were rather different. Grieg, a pianist, came from a wealthy family and was only fifteen when he arrived in Leipzig. Svendsen, on the other hand, had a financially modest background, arrived at twenty-three years old, and, as discussed, had some experience already as a composer, violinist and ensemble musician.

The Leipzig Conservatory was founded by Felix Mendelssohn in 1843, three years after Svendsen was born. Two of Svendsen's teachers, the violinist Ferdinand David and the Thomaskantor Moritz Hauptmann, were members of the staff already then. I will not go into detail on the conservatory's history and organisation but will instead turn to how composition and music theory were taught when Svendsen studied there.

Carl Reinecke (1824–1910) was both Edvard Grieg and Johan Svendsen's composition teacher. In music theory (that is, harmony and counterpoint), they had, in turn, Moritz Hauptmann (1792–1868), Ernst Friedrich Richter (1808–1879), Hauptmann's successor as Thomaskantor, and Robert Papperitz (1826–1903), later the organist at St. Nicholaus Church in Leipzig. The fact that these men were all church musicians largely explains the tradition upon which the Leipzig music theory course rested.

According to Patrick Dinslage, Mendelssohn preferred Leipzig to Dresden as the conservatory's location, contrary to the Saxon government's opinion. Even though a music-educational institution might well have benefitted from being located near Dresden's well-known art academy, Mendelssohn wanted to position it literally in the context of Bach.⁴²⁸ This also helps to explain the conservative path taken by the institution's staff over the course of the century.

⁴²⁸ Patrick Dinslage, "Edvard Griegs Unterricht in Musiktheorie," 94.

8.1 Composition

According to Leonard Phillips's dissertation on the Leipzig Conservatory, 'Musical form and composition are listed separately from the courses in harmony and counterpoint, and it is not clearly stated how composition fits into the total three years' study'.⁴²⁹ Furthermore, according to Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, Edvard Grieg only studied composition with Reinecke in his last year as a conservatory student.⁴³⁰ Svendsen, however, apparently began equivalent studies in his first year. Whereas the pedagogical principles and assignments in music theory are well documented, most sources are rather vague as to the place and character of the education in musical composition and form. It appears, however, that while music theory courses taught craft down to the smallest detail, the composition classes focused on form and composition in large-scale genres. Most likely the individuality and artistic goals of each student partly shaped the tutorials in the latter area.

Counterpoint exercises rarely exceeded ten to twenty bars and concentrated on one or a few techniques at the time. The exercise books document a steady and thorough progression from simple to advanced techniques. Accounts of the composition classes, however, suggest that the students were allowed to compose longer pieces. It seems clear, for example, that Grieg wrote a string quartet in D minor and tried to compose an overture as part of his composition classes. And, as Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe suggest, it is likely that Svendsen's String Quartet op. 1 in A minor, completed less than one and a half years after he enrolled, emerged from the same sort of assignment. An article in *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* in 1871 about Johan Svendsen mentions a comic overture, now lost, on the drinking song *So leben wir*. Did he tease his teacher Reinecke which such a humorous piece? Lastly, the letter Svendsen wrote to his father on 20 September 1865, quoted in chapter 6, states, I have began a symphony under Kapellmeister Reinecke'. In other words, Symphony no. 1 was composed, at least in part, with guidance from his composition teacher.

⁴²⁹ Leonard Milton Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory: 1843-1881* (Indiana University, 1979), 127.

⁴³⁰ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg: mennesket og kunstneren*, 3rd ed. (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1980), 44.

⁴³¹ Harald Herresthal and Ute Schwab, "Edvard Grieg und sein Verhältnis zu Carl Reinecke," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 25 (1999): 161.

⁴³² Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 48.

⁴³³ H.v. Ende (1871): Musikalisches Wochenblatt 31. March 1871

⁴³⁴ Johan Svendsen. to Gulbrand Svendsen (20 September 1865).

Grieg complained that he was asked to write advanced compositions (a quartet and an overture) without preparatory teaching from Reinecke.⁴³⁵ It is strange to think that, even in his last year, he still not had received such guidance.

In his doctoral thesis on Grieg's harmonic evolution from 1858 to 1867, Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe investigates Grieg's theory exercises and free piano compositions from the Leipzig years. ⁴³⁶ It is an insightful account of Grieg's artistic development, but Schjelderup-Ebbe does not say whether the piano pieces were actually written with guidance from Reinecke. Judging from the string quartets just mentioned, however, as well as the known works by the two Norwegian composers from their student years, it is likely that Reinecke gave his students both specific assignments and guidance on their own composition projects.

It is well known that Grieg complained vociferously about the Leipzig Conservatory later in his life.⁴³⁷ Most scholars also seem to agree that Grieg's criticism was unfair. Harald Herresthal and Ute Schwab document the way in which the relationship between Grieg and Reinecke grew increasingly complicated during Grieg's career and portray Grieg as the agitator, whereas Reinecke continued to perform and publish Grieg's music throughout this time.⁴³⁸ Phillips also claims that the pedagogical strategy of the composition courses was criticised for being unstructured and vague, at least under Mendelssohn. Even Hauptmann claimed that Mendelssohn's composition assignments were too difficult and found the division between composition and music theory problematic as well.⁴³⁹ If Reinecke followed Mendelssohn's strategy, Grieg was probably right in this respect, although his own symphony written two years after he graduated proves his already existing capacity for large-scale forms.

It is difficult to discern Reinecke's influence upon the compositions Svendsen and Grieg wrote during their Leipzig studies. Reinecke himself wrote very positively about them in the article 'Meine Schüler und ich', published posthumously in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1911. Regarding Svendsen, he said:

Rarely have I seen someone developing so quickly as Svendsen. After he brought me some small, immature compositional attempts, he wrote his String Quartet (which got the opus number 1), the

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⁴³⁵ Harald Herresthal and Ute Schwab, "Edvard Grieg und sein Verhältnis zu Carl Reinecke," 161.

⁴³⁶ Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, "Edvard Grieg 1858-1867: With Special Reference to the Evolution of his Harmonic Style" (Universitetsforlaget, 1964), 33ff.

⁴³⁷ Leonard Milton Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory*, 210.

⁴³⁸ Harald Herresthal and Ute Schwab, "Edvard Grieg und sein Verhältnis zu Carl Reinecke."

⁴³⁹ Leonard Milton Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory*, 180-81.

String Octet (opus 3), which has become very well known, the Symphony opus 4, etc., pure things that were written with a skilled hand. 440

Which 'small, immature compositional attempts' did Svendsen bring at first? Was it the songs he composed in Lübeck, or his response to the first assignments given by Reinecke? It was less likely *Struggle Leads to Victory March* or *Caprice*, although Reinecke was likely among the 'dry theorists' who disliked *Caprice*. While both of these works might have been considered immature and insufficient in his eyes, he would not have labelled them 'small attempts'.

The experienced Svendsen at the height of his compositional career and eleven years after he graduated from the conservatory expressed a very negative view of Reinecke to Grieg:

I follow your view on Reinecke quite far. In fact, I would go even further and claim that he is not just jealous and bloodless, as you say, but even in the highest sense villainous. Believe it! In London I have with my own eyes seen a letter from him, where he speaks against [the fact] that they have played my Octet several times, I who was only his own pupil. He adds that I wrote the Octet under him: 'dass er mich damit vielfach geholfen'.

The true situation is that the Octet was written, rehearsed and performed before Reinecke even saw a single note of it, and that it is now published completely without any change. What do you think of that? 441

According to Herresthal and Schwab, the conservatory protocols state that Svendsen rarely attended Reinecke's classes. I would think, however, that Svendsen must have gained something from his teaching—after all, my analysis in chapter 3 supports Reinecke's statement to some extent. Comparing the formal structures of *Caprice* to those of the String Quartet, Octet and Symphony reveals significant progress in terms of tonal development and form. The works written in Leipzig follow the tradition of Mendelssohn and the Viennese classic composers in terms of form, but there is no influence from Liszt, as one could suspect in the structurally arbitrary *Caprice*. This progress cannot be explained solely by the music he played and heard—guidance from

⁴⁴⁰ 'Selten ist mir einer vorgekommen, der sich so rasch entwickelte wie Svendsen. Nachdem er mir einige wenige recht schülerhafte Kompositions-Versuche gebracht hatte, schrieb alsdann rasch hintereinander sein Streichquartett, (als op. 1 erschienen), dasdas sehr bekannt gewordene Streichquartett [sic] (op. 3) die Sinfonie op. 4 usw., lauter Sachen die mit gewandter Hand sehr wirksam geschrieben waren'. Carl Reinecke, "Meine Schüler und ich," *Neue Zeitschrift für Music* Jg. 78 (1911): 374.

⁴⁴¹ 'Jeg deler ganske Dine Anskuelser med Hensyn til Reinecke, ja jeg gaar saagar videre, idet jeg paastaar, at han ikke alene, som Du siger, er misundelig og blodløs men endog i høieste Grad nederdrægtig. Tænk Dig! i London har jeg med egne Øine seet et Brev fra ham hvori han drager til Felds imod at man der har spillet min Octett gjentagende Gange, jeg som blodt er en Elev af ham, og tilføier han at jeg har skrevet. Octetten hos ham og "dass er mich damit vielfach geholfen". Sagens sande Sammenhæng er den at Octetten blev skrevet, indstudert og opført førend Reinecke fik se en Node af den, og at den nu foreligger trykt aldeles uden nogen Forandring. Hvad synes Du om den?' Johan Svendsen. to Edvard Grieg (Bergen Public Library 0215132) (15 December 1878).

⁴⁴² Harald Herresthal and Ute Schwab, "Edvard Grieg und sein Verhältnis zu Carl Reinecke," 162.

his teachers must have played an important role in it, and in his subsequent rise to internationally acclaimed composer. Svendsen might be right that Reinecke did not supervise him on the Octet, but his teaching at least prepared him for the task, and he clearly stated in the letter to his father that the symphony was written with Reinecke's guidance as well.

It is generally accepted that the conservatory cultivated a conservative stance in German music life. A composer like Svendsen, who soon came to embrace the music of Liszt and Wagner, would naturally speak against its influence, and according to Vincent d'Indy, the conservatory was in fact a disaster for both Grieg and Svendsen's careers. However, in Svendsen's own practice, he did not choose sides as such, writing both programmatic and 'absolute' music. His symphonies belong to the first age of nineteenth-century symphonies which culminated in the 1830 and 1840s, as described by Carl Dahlhaus, rather than the second age which took shape starting in the 1870s. In terms of music history, this composite nature is one of the more fascinating aspects of Svendsen's work (recall, as well, that the idiology behind his orchestration was as much French than German; see chapter 2). Whether Svendsen accepted it or not, his oeuvre came to represent a mixture of opposite trends.

The quotes above reveal something of Reinecke, Grieg and Svendsen's views on each other's personalities and capabilities. But they bring us no closer to Reinecke's pedagogical strategy—which assignments he gave, how fast they progressed, whether his students used textbooks, which role models he invoked, or, in short, the content of his composition classes. According to Phillips, the conservatory staff members were very disparate in their views on new music, even if they probably shared an admiration for the conservatory's founder, Mendelssohn, who himself included the radical (at that time) Robert Schumann.

Adolph Bernhard Marx's monumental work *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* was published with Breitkopf and Härtel, Leizpig, in several editions starting in 1837, and Marx treated the question of musical form most thoroughly. The conservatory staff obviously knew this work well; one of them, Ernst Friedrich Richter, referred to it in his own textbooks. Richter viewed Marx's opus as entirely too voluminous for the inexperienced student and, with regard to harmony and

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 159.

⁴⁴⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 152-60 and 265-76.

counterpoint, chose to update the strategy of eighteenth-century textbooks, using a step-by-step yet very concise procedure. Richter's textbook on form is also very concise. He claimed that Marx replaced the term *counterpoint* with *polyphony* to make the field sound less old-fashioned and 'theoretical' to musicians. Richter, however, preferred the older term, further expressing his conservatism in his emphasis on the legacy of Bach, whose music underwent a revival in the decades preceding the founding of the conservatory. It is not surprising that Richter, the Leipzig organist and future Thomaskantor, would hold this tradition in such esteem. But, as will be discussed below, the harmonic language expressed in his own examples was up to date in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Richter's textbook covers most of the areas taught at the conservatory. *Die Grundlage der musikalischen Form und ihre Analyse, als Leitfaden beim Studium derselben und zunächst für den praktischen Unterricht im Conservatorium der Musik zu Leipzig was published in 1852.* The reason for such a concise book to be preferred at the conservatory over the work of Marx rests, partly in its subtitle—it is a *handbook (Leitfaden)* for *practical education (praktischen Unterricht)*. Richter's aim in all of his textbooks was to present the material as briefly and concisely, yet completely, as possible. He certainly never hesitated to omit rules he considered to be out of date.⁴⁴⁶ We do not know Reinecke's opinion of Richter's book, or whether he used it himself, but its pedagogical strategy merits a brief review. It begins as follows:

Every musical idea [*Gedanke*] appears in its own form. It is recognizable partly in its structure in relation to the metre, and partly in larger or smaller extent and delimitations. The first is a matter of musical grammar, the latter in application to whole pieces of music an important part of the study of composition, and which will be the subject of our present inquiry.⁴⁴⁷

Richter specifies that the musical idea always has a beginning, a continuation and an ending (that is, it is a *musical object*—see chapter 4.6). His next step is to clarify that '[t]he simplest recognizable division of the musical idea is a musical piece divided in two

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⁴⁴⁵ Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch der einfachen und dobbelten Contrapunkts. Praktische Anleitung zu dem Studien derselben zunächst für das Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1879), 10.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 12-13.

⁴⁴⁷ 'Jeder musikalische Gedanke erscheint in einer eigenen Form. Sie ist erkennbar theils in der Gliederung desselben in Beziehung auf die Taktart, theils in der grössern oder kleinern Ausdehnung und Abgränzung desselben. Das Erste ist Sache der musikalischen Grammatik, das Letzte in Anwendung auf ganze Tonstücke ein wichtiger Theil der Compositionslehre, und soll der Gegenstand unserer gegenwärtigen Untersuchung werden'. ———, Die Grundzüge der musikalischen Formen und ihre Analyse, als Leitfaden beim Studium derselben und zunächst für den praktischen Unterricht im Conservatorium der Musik zo Leipzig (Leipzig: Verlag von Georg Wigand, 1852), 1.

sections [*Theile*], where the first usually ends in a foreign key, and the second always in the home key'. 448 Richter then lays down tools to separate the two sections (namely, cadences), and what each section is build upon, namely, periods (*Perioden*). Different types of periods have different functions that make it possible to extend sections using variations of beginning-continuation-ending. In other words, Richter bases the musical *Gedanke* on the binary form of the seventeenth century and links it to the larger modern forms of his own era. The book proceeds relatively quickly to the form of the simple sonata-allegro and then to overture and the multi-movement string quartet and symphony. While it is easy to follow Richter's reasoning throughout, he progresses much faster here than in his textbook on counterpoint and harmony, and very much faster than Marx's volumes. A beginner might well have had trouble with this pace.

As I discussed in chapter 2, Svendsen usually based his composition on clearly recognisable, regular phrases. Richter's analysis of different types of musical periods is quite thorough and clarifying, and it is tempting to suggest that it could have had a direct influence on how Svendsen later mastered the compilation of his sketched bits, or 'modules', which were mentioned earlier and to which I will return in part V. Richter's pedagogy may have helped Svendsen to link the simplest formal structures of his dances to the large-scaled forms of his later work, which he perhaps still did not see even in the compositional process that led to *Caprice*.

Yet, as mentioned, it is not clear whether Reinecke followed this strategy or used Richter's book. If he did, many of his assignments were probably based on period construction and binary form previous to the complexity of overture and string quartet. If students like Svendsen began the composition course at the same time as the harmony class, they would have been overburdened with the prospect of composing an extended piece with only a moderate knowledge of harmony and counterpoint.

8.2 Music Theory as Compositional Etudes

The pedagogical strategy behind music theory at the conservatory, on the other hand, is well documented, and it appears to be based on voice-leading, chord structures, doublings, progressions and various techniques of counterpoint. Exercising counterpoint and harmony in composition training is like etude practice in instrumental

⁴⁴⁸ 'Die einfachste und erkennbarste Trennung der musikalischen Gedanken ist die Trennung eines Tonstückes in zwei Theile, die jeder für sich, eine bestimmt abgeschlossene Form zeigen, von denen der erste meistens in einer Fremden Tonart, der zweite jedoch immer in der Haupttonart schliesst'. Ibid., 2.

education. The student focused on *one* or a few technical problems at a time, and his or her repertoire of technical devices was gradually expanded as a result. The young composers wrote many exercises of the same kind before they proceeded to the next level.

Whether the music theory courses were conservative or progressive is a more complicated question than one might think. Carl Dahlhaus calls the contrapuntal style taught in Leipzig a 'poetic counterpoint', which he describes as

that one tried to orientate oneself as much towards Bach's fugues, that was understood as character pieces based on a harmonic-motivic polyphony, as to the category of the 'poetic' at the centre of the romantic aesthetics of Schumann and Mendelssohn.⁴⁴⁹

According to Patrick Dinslage, Richter based his teaching on the tradition of Bach pupil Johann Phillipp Kirnberger's books on composition from the 1770s and 1780s, while Hauptmann was oriented towards Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* from 1725, which was based on a Palestrinian tradition.⁴⁵⁰ Curiously, though, Hauptmann was not very interested in Palestrina's music, which he found dry and theoretical.⁴⁵¹

Nevertheless, the two traditions share the pedagogical strategy of *species counterpoint*, most commonly known from Fux's work. While the term species (*Arten*) never occurs in Richter's terminology, the principle of exercising parts moving in the rhythmic relationship of 1:1, 1:2, 1:4 or the like formed the basis of all three teachers' pedagogy. However, all three modernised their strategies as well. Rules, especially in terms of harmonic freedom and the treatment of dissonance, were up to date, as we will see in more depth in chapter 9.

What is most curious about the conservatory's teaching of music theory is what Phillips has called *team teaching*.⁴⁵² Instead of the traditional relationship of master and apprentice, several teachers taught the same topics to every student. Phillips saw this as a pedagogical hazard that could lead to confusion among students, and it is curious, in fact, that after Grieg had studied with Papperitz and Richter for two and a half years, Hauptmann returned him to the most elementary exercises in January 1861.⁴⁵³ But,

⁴⁴⁹ 'Der sich ebenso an Bachs Fugen, die man als Characterstücke auf der Grundlage einer harmonischmotivisch bestimten Polyphonie verstand, wie an der Kategorie des 'Poetischen', die das Zentrum der romantischen Ästhetik Schumanns und Mendelssohns bildete, zu orientieren versuchte'. Quoted from: Patrick Dinslage, "Edvard Griegs Unterricht in Musiktheorie," 95.
⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 94.

⁴⁵¹ Leonard Milton Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory*, 131.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 179.

⁴⁵³ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: I. Harmoniarbeider hos Dr. R. Papperitz. October 1859. II. Harmoniarbeider hos Musicdirector M. Hauptmann. januar 1861 (1859).

Grieg was still making elementary errors, so his teachers probably thought he needed it. In addition, team teaching was a luxury, because every student got an extremely thorough education in this area.⁴⁵⁴ Mature students would also benefit from their teachers' differences rather than be confused by them, as Phillips also acknowledges.⁴⁵⁵

Most topics where taught in classes of eight to ten students in the Mendelssohn era, including instrumental lessons.⁴⁵⁶ This was a different pedagogical strategy as well. It is hard to say how this worked out in music theory, as Grieg and Svendsen began their various studies at very different times of the academic year.

Some sources report that Hauptmann and Papperitz taught harmony, and Richter, counterpoint. But Grieg and Svendsen's exercises indicate that there were few significant differences among the instructors. All three began with simple chord construction, cadence progressions, figured bass exercises and species counterpoint in four parts and progressed to canons, chorale preludes or fugues. All of them seemed to use the simple four-part homophonic *Tonsatz* as their starting point and (particularly in the case of Richter and Hauptmann) had advanced counterpoint as their main goal. Richter's two textbooks on counterpoint also reveal the four-part harmony basis of his philosophy of counterpoint. This would have been valuable knowledge for Svendsen. Judging by his juvenilia, he seems to have been unfamiliar with the fundamentals of the four-part writing that served as a basis for many of the typical orchestral textures of the nineteenth century. This is indicated by the somewhat casual voice-leading, consecutive fifths and octaves and odd doublings in his works right up to Leipzig.

As mentioned, Richter published textbooks in harmony and counterpoint, and his Lehrbuch der Harmonie (1853), for one, became so successful that it was published in at least eight editions during his lifetime, translated to several other languages and widely used for generations, especially in Great Britain and the United States. In fact, its pedagogical strategy can still be discerned in most modern textbooks on common-practice harmony. After a short introduction on elementary music theory, including interval spelling, for example, the book presents its three parts: (1) fundamental harmonic writing (Grundharmonie), based on four-part writing and figured-bass exercises; (2) non-harmonic tones (Harmoniefremde Töne) which, for example, includes

⁴⁵⁴ Dinslage also stresses the luxury of this method of teaching: Patrick Dinslage, "Edvard Griegs Unterricht in Musiktheorie," 94.

⁴⁵⁵ Leonard Milton Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory*, 186.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 179.

on melodic figuration; and (3) the practical use of harmony from two to eight-part textures. Part 3 overlaps with contrapuntal textures to a great extent, because each voice is given great melodic freedom, but it does not encompass the stricter contrapuntal devices, such as canon and double counterpoint. Richter's book progresses steadily and thoroughly to advanced modulation techniques and all kinds of altered chords. In this respect, it must be regarded as rather modern even at the time it was written, which implies, in turn, that a statement from Benestad and Schelderup-Ebbe's biography of Grieg might merit a small correction. They note with surprise Richter's acceptance of the liberties taken in Grieg's chromatic voice-leading, 457 which they saw as inherent in Grieg's signature style. While this might be true—I have studied only Grieg and Svendsen's exercises, and they both used chromatic features quite extensively—Richter's endorsement of them should be no surprise, as the examples in his own books show similar chromatic passages. Grieg and Richter were simply sharing a harmonic language that was common in both music theory and practical composition at that time.

Interestingly, Richter's harmony book does not focus on the use of modal harmony, even though it was enjoying a vogue among composers of the era and Richter would have known of it as a church musician. He founds his pedagogy entirely on modern, advanced, functional harmony.

As mentioned, Richter acknowledged Marx's (and others') textbooks but remained convinced of the need for modernisation and improvement in the tradition of counterpoint. He lands somewhere between conservatism and radicalism in books that were first published in the same decade as Wagner's *Opera und Drama* and Liszt's new genre of symphonic poems. Richter, in turn, always felt a decisive need to link music theory and textbooks to practical composition, which many previous textbooks had failed to do, in his opinion.⁴⁵⁸ Despite this practical aim, however, Richter thought it was crucial that the students build up a solid foundation in music theory, as he wrote in the preface to his harmony book:

It is our object to reach a distant goal; this goal is the actual production of works of art. For this a vigorously exercised, enduring activity is necessary, to comprehend the musical principles, to form that which is won and recognized into structures capable of life. Those will bitterly deceive themselves who, filled with the works of our great masters, gifted with a poetic mind, think to be able to pluck the blossoms, without learning thoroughly to know and prove the technical aids; who are of the erroneous opinion that the consecration of beauty which extends itself over the work of art suffers under the dissection of the material, or that the first natural formations of the

⁴⁵⁷ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, 43.

⁴⁵⁸ Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch der einfachen und dobbelten Contrapunkts*, 11.

latter could never develop themselves to that required beauty. No person of talent has ever, without thorough knowledge $[\ldots]$ risen to that height, upon which alone the achievements of art thrive. $[\ldots]$ The spiritual thought cannot do without form, and it is this that must be recognized and learned.

The relationship between the 'modernisation' in Richter's books and the tradition upon which they rest prompts further discussion of compositional rules and aesthetics. A set of compositional *rules* (in Meyer's sense of the word) or *patterns* should be likened to rules of grammar which evolve over time and inform the stylistic musical features that can be observed in scores. The rules presented in textbooks reflect those stylistic features that never or rarely deviate within a stylistic domain, those aspects that are typical of certain situations and so on. The aesthetics that Richter expressed in his textbooks, then, were those of a Leipzigian church musician in the middle of the nineteenth century who adhered to the tradition of Bach, Kirnberger, Fux and Mendelssohn and was also influenced by Beethoven. Following his own philosophy, each new generation of teachers would be welcome to write its own textbooks in turn.

All reports and quotes I have read about Grieg and Svendsen's teachers in Leipzig seem to agree that Richter was among the 'driest' of the 'theorists'. However, the structure of his harmony book, which ends with a section devoted to practical use, suggests the opposite. Richter also made it clear in his preface that his main interest is in practical composition and 'blooming art', and that all attempts to link musical art with principles of real science or mathematical precision had failed.⁴⁶⁰ The principles laid down in textbooks for students are not science but instead the means of a pedagogical strategy for Richter, so any impression of a dry, strict and theoretically obsessed teacher must have arisen from a lack of personal charisma rather than the content of his teaching. (Was he merely a true Lutheran church musician?). To me, Richter seems to have been well aware of his role as a teacher, and of the fact that teaching in composition had to take place alongside the progression of the musical art itself. One might also speculate that the Leipzig conservatory's association with old-fashioned forms might spring from the fact that, ironically, the concept of institutionalising music education was *new* to Germany. Though the conservatory had to shape an educational system that would work for as many different kinds of students as possible, they tried to

⁴⁵⁹ Cited from the English translation of the fifth edition of ———, *Manual of Harmony: Practical Guide to its Study Prepared especially for the Conservatory of Music at Leipzic*, trans. John P. Morgan, 5th ed. (New York: G. Schirmer, 1867), vii.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

acknowledge each student's individuality even in their simplest exercises in harmony and counterpoint, as the following quote by Hauptmann attests: 'I have taught some hundred pupils [. . .], and I doubt that two out of that number ever did exactly the same exercises: I set them by the thousand but always according to circumstances'.⁴⁶¹

Still, the conservatory staff was thought to be conservative rather than progressive, as mentioned, even though, according to Phillips, it officially remained silent on the debate between Hanslick and the *Zukunftmusik*.⁴⁶² And it is true that, even as new trends emerged from the work of Wagner and Liszt starting in the middle of the century, the Leipzig conservatory remained a fixed entity and was therefore lagging behind by the turn of the century, when Grieg was at his harshest. Still, it seems unfair for Svendsen and Grieg to blame it above all else for what they felt was missing in their own careers.

To sum up, I have tried to present a general view of the compositional studies Svendsen and Grieg followed in Leipzig. While Reinecke's composition classes apparently followed a loose pedagogical structure, the music theory courses did the opposite. This difference is reflected in the source material that has survived. Phillips therefore concludes that whereas teaching in composition at the conservatory had little impact anywhere else after Mendelssohn's generation, its music theory courses set the standard in many countries for decades to come, especially in Nordic and Anglo-American countries.

I have put the conservatory in a more positive light than some other sources because my studies of Svendsen's development, for instance, suggest that he benefitted significantly from his years there. Of course, arriving at artistic maturity in a stimulating musical environment and encountering new trends in music would have been at least as important as the conservatory courses themselves. Svendsen's trip to the new music festival in Dessau during the spring of 1865, as mentioned, was an important influence, as Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe make clear. Svendsen's absence from Reinecke's classes suggests this. Still, a comparison between his juvenilia and mature works demonstrates that his compositional skills at the time of his arrival in Leipzig were ready for guided exercising, despite the complexity of his juvenilia. With regard to my

⁴⁶¹ Cited from: Leonard Milton Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory*, 134.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 187

⁴⁶³ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 51.

discussion of sketches and study of the compositional process in chapter 3, I propose that the relationship between skill and musical style can be illuminated through a study of the composer's exercises in composition and music theory.

The following chapter, then, will discuss the types of exercises Svendsen prepared for each of his three teachers in music theory and analyse a selection of them. In this way, the details of that music theory teaching will emerge.

Chapter 9: A Survey of the Exercises

9.1 Overview

In chapter 6, I discussed the chronology and dating of the musical notebooks stored at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. In the present chapter, I will approach books 01, 02 and 03 again to revisit Svendsen's Leipzig exercises in depth. As mentioned, he studied music theory (harmony and counterpoint) with three teachers, Moritz Haptmann (book 01), Robert Papperitz (book 02) and Ernst Friedrich Richter (books 02 and 03). In chapter 8 we saw that the three teachers overlapped, thanks to what Leonard Phillips called team teaching at the conservatory. Apparently they did not communicate much, however, as students sometimes handed in the same exercises to more than one teacher.

I will analyse exercises for one teacher at a time using Grieg's corresponding exercises as a reference through which to shed light on the quantity and quality of Svendsen's efforts. My hope is to relate these analyses to a broader discussion of Svendsen's compositional development, sketching methods, craft and style.

I have totalled the exercises by the two Norwegian composers and classified them in relation to Richter's textbooks. I do not know whether Hauptmann or Papperitz used those books, of course, and Hauptmann also seemed somewhat sceptical of textbooks in general. He types and succession of exercises indicate that none of the three teachers followed the exact course of Richter's books in any case. From the numbers, it is clear that *quantity* and routine were crucial to a music theory education. Each technique should be understood but also drilled and mechanised before any freedom regarding its principles would be permitted. This philosophy likely prompts team teaching and its built-in redundancy, and, as mentioned in the case of Grieg, the return of students to relatively elementary pursuits even after several years of study.

The music theory courses had a crucial impact on Svendsen's compositional development, as is evident from all of the mistakes he stopped making upon taking up his studies in Leipzig. Their impact upon his compositional craft and stylistic development, however, needs a more thorough discussion.

I have counted all the exercises by the two Norwegian composers. One counted exercise begins with a time signature and end with a final (double) barline. Still, the total

232

⁴⁶⁴ Leonard Milton Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory*, 134.

represents an estimate, because not all of the exercises are finished, some appear as sketches, some are repeated with small variations and some were handed in to several teachers. I generally excluded the unfinished and crossed-out exercises but counted those in pencil that appeared to be complete. Because this dissertation is about Svendsen, not Grieg, my study of the latter's exercises is more superficial. A number of notable scholars have studied those exercises before, but to my knowledge, no one has counted or classified them to this extent. In that regard, the present study might serve as a starting point for an even more thorough study of Grieg's music theory studies.

The total number of surviving exercises from the two composers is as follows:

Table 9.1.

Teacher	Grieg	Svendsen
Papperitz	369	157
Hauptmann	168	154
Richter	394	83
Total	931	394

Table 9.1 indicates a huge imbalance in favour of Grieg. Close to a thousand exercises, neatly fair copied in ink, is quite impressive. Many of them are short (between ten and fifteen bars) but some are much longer. The following table suggests, however, that the difference between the two composers' work is probably not so extreme. In several cases, for example, complete 'series' of exercises only survive in Grieg's hand, though it is likely that Svendsen did at least some of them and they are now lost. If I exclude those types or series of exercises that only survive from Grieg, the totals draw closer together:

Table 9.2.

Teacher	Grieg	Svendsen
Papperitz	288	157
Hauptmann	165	154
Richter	79	83
Total	532	394

Still, there is every reason to assume that the young and inexperienced Grieg worked more on music theory than the elder and more experienced Svendsen. The actual difference between the two probably lies somewhere in between the indications of tables 9.1 and 9.2. I might also add that this imbalance, to some extent, reflects the productivity of their professional careers as well. Even if one excludes the last thirty years of Svendsen's life, when he more or less laid down his pen, Grieg was consistently

more productive, which Svendsen himself noted in a letter to his dear colleague (see chapter 1.1). Another feature of these two collections of exercises is the fact that their respective balances between the major and minor modes evoke those of their finished works. The vast majority of Svendsen's exercises are in major modes, while the minor modes are much more frequent in the case of Grieg. Otherwise, the stylistic signature of each composer is more difficult to trace throughout these exercises, as mentioned in chapter 8. Chromatic harmony was well covered in Richter's textbooks, and Grieg did not indulge it until his more advanced exercises. Svendsen's exercises are likewise chromatic, and without a review of the work of their classmates, it is hard to say whether they were unique in this regard.

As mentioned, an important goal of the following survey is to document the quantity and types of exercises they did. Each and every example may not trigger an extended and fruitful analysis, but it remains worthwhile to bring a number of them to light, and I would have presented more if space allowed. Even though both Grieg and Svendsen's sources are available, they are more difficult to study nowadays, due to aspects such as the old-fashioned vocal clefs, the sheer quantity and a generally fading sensibility regarding the music theory tradition of the nineteenth century. Richter's books may seem obsolete, and counterpoint and common practice harmony is to lesser extent taught, at least in this country. But, many textbooks published in the United States the last couple of decades in fact rests on this tradition, and because Richter's book was particularly popular there, these newer publications might well be a continuation of the Leipzig tradition in particular.

Another important goal is to revisit the ways in which composition was taught to Svendsen at the conservatory. Although Reinecke's composition teaching is almost beyond us, music theory courses make up an important part of the students' compositional skills at a detailed level. It bears repeating that, at a time when the tropes of master and masterpiece were advancing, one of the most important paths to genius was the cultivation of *routine* and the production of *quantity*, as Richter expressed (see chapter 8). A composer did not sit down and wait for inspiration. He kept his craft sharp so he was prepared when the moment struck him. Routine is very important to performers today but seems to have been left behind in some areas of composition education.

I will now present the exercises written for each of the three conservatory music theory teachers.

9.2 Robert Papperitz (Book 02)

Table 9.3: An overview of Grieg and Svendsen's exercises for Papperitz. 465

Exercise	EG ref.	EG .	JS	JS ref.	
	1.100	nmbr.	nmbr.	1 0 107	
Intervals	1r ⁴⁶⁶	21	24	1v-2r ⁴⁶⁷	
Scales Major	1r-1v	25	12	2v	
Triads in major scales	1v	8	12	3r-4v	
Four-part harmony with primary triads (2 staves)	2r	10			
Four-part harmony with secondary triads (2 staves)	2r	2	9	5r-5v	
Scales Harmonic minor	2r-2v	6			
Scales Melodic minor	2v	2			
Triads in minor scales	2v-3r	8			
Inversions of triads	3r-3v	2			
Four-part harmony with inverted chords (2 staves)	3v-4r	8	7	5v-6r	
Seventh chords in major modes	4r-4v	9	12	6v-8r	
Resolution of seventh chords, descending 5ths	4v-5r	5	4	8v	
Four-part harmony with 7th chords (2 staves)	5v	2			
Resolution of inverted seventh chords	5v-6r	3			
Four-part harmony with inverted 7th chords (2 staves)	6r-6v	6	12	8v-10r	
Seventh chords in minor scales	5v	4			
Inversions of seventh chords			4	8v	
Suspensions	6v, 7r, 8r, 9r- 9v	13			
Four-part harmony with suspensions (2 staves)	6v-7r, 7v-8r, 8v, 10r-11r	32	16	10v-12v	
Transcribing 4-part harm. to 4 staves and old clefs	9v	2			
Four-part on four staves with old clefs	11v, 12v	4			
Resolution of dominant 9th chords	12r	15			
1st species, four parts	12v-13r	3	15	12v-14r, 15v, 16r, 16v	
2nd and 4th species combined, four parts	13r-14r	7			
2nd and 4th species 3/2 metre	14r-17r	16	6	14v-15r	
2nd species, cf. and cp. exercised in each voice	17r-19v	21	12	15v-17v	
3rd species, cf. and cp. exercised in each voice	17v-23v	54	12	17v-19v	
3rd spieces exchange	23v-25v	18			
3rd spieces exchange	26r-27r	8			
Organ chorales based on 2nd species	1r-9r, 14v- 15r ⁴⁶⁸	18			
Cantus firmus + motive in imitation, four parts	9r-12r	14			
Modulation: Free imitatory piano pieces	12r-14v	23			
SUM		369	157		

 $^{^{465}}$ I refer to the Fuxian species counterpoint in general as this terminology is more common today than Richter's.

⁴⁶⁶ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: October 1858 (1858).

⁴⁶⁷ Johan Svendsen. [Musical notebook 02] (1864).

⁴⁶⁸ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: I. Harmoniarbeider hos Dr. R. Papperitz. October 1859. II. Harmoniarbeider hos Musicdirector M. Hauptmann. januar 1861 (1859).

Svendsen began his studies under Robert Papperitz in April 1864, and all of the relevant surviving exercises are situated in book 02:1r-19v. As discussed in chapter 6, Svendsen most likely spent less than six months on these exercises. Grieg spent less than nine months on corresponding ones but continued to study under Papperitz for one and a half years in all.469

Papperitz asked his students to start with spelling intervals, the major scales and the triads on each scale step. In other words, the experienced Svendsen was returned to the fundamentals of music theory four months into his studies. Table 9.3 summarises the exercises Svendsen and Grieg prepared for Papperitz.

Then follow exercises in four-part harmony based on assigned bass line (figured bass)⁴⁷⁰ on two staves (piano score). For Svendsen, this work must have clarified aspects of the harmonic practice he had absorbed to some extent to that point as an autodidact. Only a few corrections are to be found from Papperitz. Chords by inversion, seventh chords and suspensions are then added in accordance with common pedagogical strategy. As table 9.3 shows, the number of each type of exercise varied for both composers. Interestingly, the fifteen-year-old Grieg progressed more step-by-step than the twenty-three-year-old Svendsen. Grieg did exercises in chord spelling every time he was to incorporate new types of chords into his 'vocabulary', while Svendsen skipped these steps. As mentioned above, the major modes are over-represented in Svendsen's case (fifteen in minor, thirty-five in major), whereas the major and minor are relatively even in Grieg's case. As suggested, then, the balance between exercises in major and minor reflects to some extent the two composers' works in general. These figured-bass exercises cover roughly the first twelve chapters of Richter's Lehrbuch der *Harmonie*, save for the means of modulation, which Papperitz treated later.

Example 9.1 presents Svendsen's first and last two figured-bass exercises. Papperitz' emendations are inserted in cue-sized notes.

⁴⁶⁹ The last exercise is dated 8 March 1860: ibid., 14v-15r.

⁴⁷⁰ The term *figured bass (Generalbass)* does not appear in Richter's terminology, but they used the same system of indicating chord inversions from the bass note.

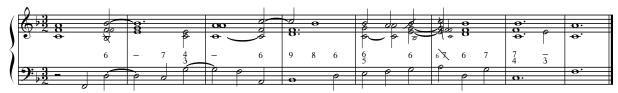
Example 9.1 (a)⁴⁷¹: Book 02:5r:1-2

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		0				•		
1 0.4. 0	•	0	0				0	
7.*C				- 0	0	•		
G V	CIV	CI		eVI	CIV	DM	CI	
G.V	CIV	GI	all	evi	CIV	DV.	GI.	

Example 9.1 (b): Book 02:12v:1-4:3



Example 9.1 (c): Book 02:12v:3-6



After the figured-bass exercises on two staves follow exercises on four staves using old-fashion clefs. The bulk of the exercises for all three teachers is written in this manner, with one voice per staff using the soprano, alto, tenor and bass clefs. Richter argued for such a procedure to improve the student's score reading in general, noting that alto and tenor clefs were (and still are) used in ordinary orchestral scores.⁴⁷² They also used old-fashioned rhythmic notation, with the half note (or the whole note) as the pulse. Thus, most of these music theory exercises have an old-fashioned look, more like sixteenth century *stile antico* notation at first glance. Such a conservative practice probably made it more difficult to translate the students' knowledge into modern compositional practice. (They did not exercise in church modes, only major and minor modes.)

These latter types of exercises (book 02:12v:9–19v) are covered in chapters 17–18 of Richter's harmony book (*Harmonische Begleitung zu einer gegebenen Stimme*), and both Svendsen and Grieg prepared them for all three teachers. In reality, they constitute a combination of a four-part harmony exercise and species counterpoint. The cantus firmus (*gegebenen Stimme*) alternates in the soprano, alto, tenor and bass, respectively. Furthermore, one of the voices moves according to species counterpoint (first to fourth species)—that is, in whole notes (1:1), half notes (1:2), quarter notes (1:4) or with

⁴⁷² Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie: Praktische Anleitung zu den Studien in derselben zunächst für das Conservetaroium der Musik in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1870; repr., 8.), 100.

⁴⁷¹ Full points are written a few places in the analysis below, sometimes between the letter and the Roman number, sometimes after the Roman number. The first chord is mistakenly analysed with V, which is tentatively erased (blurred).

suspensions, respectively. (Some exercises are in 3/2 metre utilizing a 1:3 relationship.) In other words, they functioned as a bridge to counterpoint exercises in the tradition of Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*. Unlike Fux's exercises, though, they did not start with two-part counterpoint but with a four-part harmonic layout. In this way the students came to understand what Richter stated in the preface to *Der Einfachen und Doppelten Contrapunkts*—that contrapuntal skills rest on thorough knowledge of harmony.⁴⁷³

Example 9.2: JS: Book 02:15v-16r, EG: 17r:5-16.474 Papperitz corrections and emendations in cue-sized notes. EG О O **⊕** (• JS O EG \$ JS 8 EG <u>≨</u> JS \$

Example 9.2 shows some exercises of this kind in second species (Richter: *ungleiche Contrapunkt*). I have chosen one where Grieg and Svendsen used the very same cantus

⁴⁷³ ———, *Lehrbuch der einfachen und dobbelten Contrapunkts*, 13. This book was not published until 1872, after Grieg and Svendsen had ended their studies. But, as the preface states, it derives from the practical education carved out at the Leipzig Conservatory.

⁴⁷⁴ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: October 1858 (1858).

firmus, both for Papperitz. To save space and ease reading, I reduced my transcription to two staves with modern clefs.

It is not my intention to set up a competition between the fifteen-year-old Grieg and the twenty-three-year-old Svendsen. Instead, I think it is valuable to observe how technical means and skills lead to aesthetically more flexible and satisfactory solutions within this very limited and strict musical area.

The younger and less experienced Grieg made several mistakes, including various kinds of forbidden consecutive intervals. But what is more interesting is that the second-species voices (the half notes) are arguably aesthetically more satisfactory melodic lines in Svendsen's exercises. He simply managed to coordinate stepwise motion and chordal balance better, partly because he utilised the possibilities inherent in suspensions to create melodic variation. (Interestingly, there are a few errors that Papperitz did not see; for example, the hidden parallel in the resolution of the dominant seventh in Grieg's second exercise, b. 2–3, a type that was not acceptable in this style). It appears that Svendsen had incorporated the means of suspension into his technical vocabulary and thereby increased the compositional possibilities for variation.

I will also quote the last exercises that Svendsen wrote for Papperitz, which are the same type but now in third species (*Contrapunkt in Vierteln*).



Example 9.3: Book 02:19r:9-19v:8.

This texture, with its 1:4 rhythmic relationship, can be viewed as an exercise in one of Svendsen's favourite orchestral textures, discussed in chapters 2 and 3. The combination of a hymn-like slow melody and a lively countermelody will benefit from exercising

third-species counterpoint. Papperitz' emendation in the second-to-last bar in the alto exercise is needed to avoid the leading tone as the melodic peak, but it produces a rare doubling of the third in the final bar.

It appears that Svendsen studied with Papperitz for less than half a year (see chapter 6), unless he continued his work in another source that is now lost—157 exercises of his have survived, while there are 288 of Grieg's of corresponding types.⁴⁷⁵ Grieg continued with Papperitz and included fifth species (Richter: Freie Bindungen) and imitation exercises (the species voice moves from one part to another in every bar), which took him a whole year in total. Then, he continued the following year by writing eighteen extensive 'Figured Chorales' (Figurerede Choraler)—that is, chorale preludes for organ—starting in October 1859.476 They are actually a direct continuation of the preceding work but with instrumentation specified. The difference is that the figuration can appear in any voice at any time, and in several voices simultaneously. In other words, melodic and contrapuntal freedom is increased and the exercises lead into practical composition in a specific genre. The chorales are followed by another fourteen four-part species exercises and then twenty-three exercises in modulation, often to foreign keys. I have counted 369 exercises by Grieg for Papperitz in total. None of the latter types have survived from Svendsen's hand, and it is likely that he did not do such exercises. In fact, all of the surviving music theory exercises for all three teachers seem to stem from his first one and a half years in Leipzig. Perhaps his experience permitted him to drop out of the music theory class in his second half. The question is whether he might have benefitted from continuing, even though he demonstrated great progress in the first couple of years.

9.3 Moritz Hauptmann (Book 01)

Svendsen began his studies under both Hauptmann and Papperitz in April 1864. As discussed in chapter 6, he probably spent about a year with Hauptmann. Grieg, on the other hand, did not study with Hauptmann until two and a half years into his Leipzig studies, after extensive work with both Papperitz and Richter. As mentioned, Hauptmann felt the individuality of each student in his teaching. Curiously, though, the types, quantities and succession of exercises by the two Norwegians line up relatively

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 1r-26v.

⁴⁷⁶ ———. [Arbeidsbok]: I. Harmoniarbeider hos Dr. R. Papperitz. October 1859. II. Harmoniarbeider hos Musicdirector M. Hauptmann. januar 1861 (1859).

completely in comparison to those made for Richter and Papperitz (see table 9.4). Presumably, then, Richter and Papperitz allowed more freedom within their exercises than Hauptmann, who was, as mentioned, somewhat sceptical of textbooks. Although his exercises largely overlapped with Richter's, he altered their order, among other things.

Table 9.4 An overview of Grieg's and Svendsen's exercises for Hauptmann.

Exercise	EG ref.	EG	JS	JS ref.
		nmbr.	nmbr.	
Four-part exercises 1st-4th species, c.f. in bass, old clefs	15v-21v,	83	78	1v-2v:8,
	23r:13-			6v:9-
	27r:8 ⁴⁷⁷			20r:4 ⁴⁷⁸
Double cp. in soprano and tenor, cf. In bass + free alto	22r-23r:12	11	14	2v:9-6v:4
Two-part 1st-3rd species	27r:9-27v	13	11	20r:5-20v
Two-part canons	28r	8	10	21r-22v
Two-part canons + 1 free voice	28v-29v	12	2	23r-23v
Dux and comes exercise	30r-31v	25	18	24r-25r
Counterpoint to fugue themes in simple and double cp.	30v-32r	9	14	25v-28v
Two-part fugues (old clefs)	32r-32v	2	4	29r-30v:6
Three-part fugues (old clefs)	33r-34v:12	2	3	30v:10-
				34v:3
Fugues for piano and organ	34v:15-37r	3		
SUM		168	154	

As the table indicates, both Grieg and Svendsen began with around eighty exercises in harmonic accompaniment to a given voice (Richter: *Harmonische Begleitung zu einer gegebenen Stimme*), corresponding to those given by Papperitz. In other words, the given voice (cantus firmus) alternates among the four parts, and one of them is written according to the principles of species counterpoint. Again, these exercises are written on four staves using the old clefs.

Among them are some exercises in double counterpoint, mostly based on a cantus firmus in bass, a free alto and the double counterpoint in soprano and tenor—that is, three-part exercises (the tenor equals the soprano transposed an octave below).

As mentioned, Richter based his teaching in counterpoint on four-part harmony. Apparently his colleagues shared this view, since the four-part *Tonsatz* dominated their assignments and anticipated all special contrapuntal techniques. Thus, in both Hauptmann and Richter's cases, the two- and three-part counterpoint exercises follow *after* extensive exercising in four-part harmony. Even double counterpoint is first exercised in a four-part score in Hauptmann's case, as just mentioned. Next follow two-

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Johan Svendsen. [Musical notebook 01] (1864).

part species exercises for Hauptmann in both Svendsen's and Grieg's case, then two-part canons on various intervals.

Most of the canons contain corrections by Hauptmann which generally improve harmonic clarity or reduce rhythmic 'overload'.

Example 9.4 (a): Canon by sixths: Book 01:22v:1-4.



Example 9.4 (b): Canon by sevenths: Book 01:22v:5-8.



In example 9.5 below, I have juxtaposed Grieg and Svendsen's exercises in the few instances where they concur. The first two are identical and both are written in pencil. I assume that they are copied from Hauptmann's example. At this point, Grieg had studied for more than two and a half years and was close to eighteen years old. In spite of his increased experience, though, he still came up with simpler solutions than Svendsen, in general. Most of his eight canons are short, and the option of modulation, for example, is sparingly applied. Svendsen's exercises are usually longer and often utilise chromatic harmony and simple modulation (even though Hauptmann sometimes sanctioned his chromatic voice leading in the interests of tonal clarity). Assuming that both were doing their best, it appears that Svendsen's experience and age gave him certain advantages and broadened his palette in canon writing. As discussed above, it has been claimed that Grieg's attraction to chromaticism is evident in his exercises. That might be true, but it depends on which exercises one chooses to highlight—my examples here could suggest the opposite. Thus, such a claim is clearly teleological.

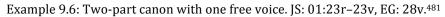


Example 9.6 shows a two-part canon with accompaniment that corresponds to Richter's chapter titled 'Der zweistimmige Canon mit Begleitung' in *Lehrbuch der Fuge*, 480 except that the accompanying voice in Hauptmann's assignments follows strict third species

⁴⁷⁹ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: I. Harmoniarbeider hos Dr. R. Papperitz. October 1859. II. Harmoniarbeider hos Musicdirector M. Hauptmann. januar 1861 (1859).

⁴⁸⁰ Ernst Friedrich Richter, Lehrbuch der Fuge, Anleitung zur Komposition derselben und zo den sie vorbereitenden Studien in den Nachahmungen und in dem Canon zunächst für die Grebrauch am Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1859), 22.

(Richter: *Cuntrapunkt in Vierteln*), while Richter uses fifth species (*Freie Bindungen*) in his book.





As elsewhere, Svendsen managed to include a somewhat richer harmonic palette than Grieg, but otherwise, the number of corrections is the same for both composers. In the third bar, for example, Hauptmann's emendations avoid an open fifth (EG) and open fourth (JS) on the third quarter note. The emendation in bar 4 (JS) is necessary to avoid a consecutive fifth which Hauptmann's correction in bar 3 otherwise would have produced. In bar 7, Hauptmann remarked upon the augmented sixth chord on the last quarter note, which is somewhat surprising in relation to the harmonic language exemplified in Richter's books. Did Hauptmann favour a more conservative harmony than Richter? From bar 8 to 9 (JS), Hauptmann, not surprisingly, called out the rising augmented fourth.

The exercises that follow are preparations for fugal writing. They shed an interesting light on the composers' skills and knowledge of certain genres because they

⁴⁸¹ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: I. Harmoniarbeider hos Dr. R. Papperitz. October 1859. II. Harmoniarbeider hos Musicdirector M. Hauptmann. januar 1861 (1859).

appear to have been something of a struggle, especially for Svendsen but also for Grieg. The students began by constructing fugue themes as *dux* and *comes* (Richter: *Führer und Gefährte*).⁴⁸² The unusually large number of corrections by Hauptmann, especially given how short the exercises are, is noteworthy, as the following example demonstrates.

Example 9.7: 01:24r (see also 24v).



Why was this type of exercise more difficult? In tonal fugues, one often adjusts the *comes* variant to avoid an emphasis on the Secondary dominant (the Dominant of the Dominant) or even a modulation to that key, and thus ease one's return to the Tonic. Richter explained the process thoroughly in his *Lehrbuch der Fuge*. I assume Hauptmann gave a similar introduction to it, if he did not use Richter's book itself, but the procedure is not particularly straightforward, as one must first clarify the harmonic implications of the *dux* and then find an appropriate way to adjust the *comes*, and the individual shape of the theme can complicate this process. It might be that a student would benefit more from an existing familiarity with fugal practice in this case than he would in equivalent situations in previous types of exercises. For example, it might be easier to hold on to the strictness of a canon than the tact required in fugal writing. As revealed in Richter's books, *dux* and *comes* constructions are less describable according to strict *rules* than other contrapuntal devices, and the students' judgement and ability to strategise become correspondingly more important.

⁴⁸² Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch der Fuge*, 45-66.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 51-66.

The preparations for fugue writing continued with exercises dedicated to counterpoints to fugue themes (Richter: *Gegensatz*).⁴⁸⁴ Neither Grieg nor Svendsen exercised stretto (Richter: *Engeführung*) before they proceeded to the composition of complete two-part fugues, but Svendsen made some sketches for his first fugue on the preceding page (01:28v), including a stretto.

The following exercises, then, are complete fugues. One could possibly consider them to be compositions, or self-contained pieces, but I have concluded that the twoand three-part fugues by Grieg and Svendsen written for Hauptmann are in fact exercises that were not intended for performance. They clearly derive from the previous exercises and have little in common with each composer's personal style and artistic aims. As with the previous exercises, the instrumentation is 'neutral' in these fugues as well (in reference to the debate on Bach's Die Kunst der Fuge). Grieg also composed other extended fugues, specified for piano, choir or string quartet, respectively, and those fugues, I would say, are somewhere between compositions and exercises—they contain performance indications and specific instrumentation, on the one hand, and, most importantly, they reveal more compositional intent because of their extensiveness. Thus they are more suitable as performance scores in a nineteenth-century sense. on the other hand, they were written for music theory courses, not for Reinecke's composition classes, and they are outside of Grieg's general artistic profile. How they may be evaluated aesthetically as concert fugues is a different discussion. Because Svendsen appears to have written no such fugues, I will leave the discussion for now.

Returning to the two-part exercise fugues, Svendsen wrote four and Grieg wrote two for Hauptmann. As noted, I do not know whether Hauptmann used Richter's textbooks, but these exercises match Richter's formal disposition of two-part fugues very closely.⁴⁸⁵ I have, therefore, inserted Richter's analytical terminology in boxed text in example 9.8 below to show how the fugues relate to his fugal theory. As mentioned, Richter thoroughly explained each component of a fugue, such as the *dux* and *comes* (*Führer und Gefährte*), the counterpoint (*Gegensatz*), episode (*Zwischensatz*), the stretto (*Engführung*) and the coda (*Schlussatz*) in *Lehrbuch der Fuge*. A two-part fugue should contain three theme entries (*Durchführungen*). In the second entry, the voices should exchange *dux* and *comes* and, in the last, a stretto should be used.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 66-72.

⁴⁸⁵ ibid., 85-98.

Example 9.8: Two-part fugues, JS: 01:29r, EG: 32r. 486



According to Richter, the relationship between the theme and the counterpoint was normally based on second-species counterpoint (*ungleiche Contrapunkt*),⁴⁸⁷ and for exercise fugues he recommended alla breve metre. Both Grieg and Svendsen's exercises follow all of the principles mentioned here. In accordance with Richter's outline, *dux* and *comes* themselves are never moved to pitch classes other than their original ones. Hence

⁴⁸⁶ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: I. Harmoniarbeider hos Dr. R. Papperitz. October 1859. II. Harmoniarbeider hos Musicdirector M. Hauptmann. januar 1861 (1859).

⁴⁸⁷ Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch der Fuge*, 67.

the theme is never subject to a true modulation. In this respect, these exercise fugues differ from the 'professional' advanced fugue. (Nevertheless, secondary dominants and modulatory means are used for shorter periods.)

Hauptmann corrected but *one* clear mistake—the dissonant B natural in Grieg's bar 30 that does not resolve properly—and his other marks instead represent suggestions for improvement, such as the quarter notes in Grieg's bar 4 which would create a sequence with the following bar and introduce more motivic unity in the counterpoint, as well as more movement towards the *comes* entry. The emendation from D# to C in Svendsen's counterpoint in bars 5 and 11 is more difficult to explain. Why did Hauptmann single out the chromatic neighbouring tone at these points when he allowed it in numerous other places? When the countersubject enters again in bar 19, for example, the same chromatic neighbour tone plays an effective role as a statement of the relative key of A minor. Again, it appears that Hauptmann suggested emendations for aesthetic reasons as well.

Because the theme is obviously provided by the teacher, it will be suitable for the various techniques involved in fugal writing, such as stretto or inversion. Within this framework, both composers were successful, and I see no significant difference in skill set between them at this point.

In the following two- and three-part fugues, I see several interesting aspects of their fugal skills. First of all, both composers avoid the challenge of *comes* construction, in that all of their fugues imply a real—that is, not tonal—*comes*. The examples below show their themes:



Example 9.9: Two- and three-part fugue dux and comes. JS: 01:29r-30v:6

Second, Svendsen more or less fails (or takes the easy way out) in all but two (one of which is in example 9.8) of his strettos, while Grieg always applies this technique with success.

Example 9.10 (a): JS: Two-part strettos JS: two parts: 01:29v:3-4 (third bar), 30r:3-4, 31v:3-4 (third bar).



Example 9.10 (b): EG: 32v, 488 two-part stretto.



Example 9.10 (c): JS: Three parts: JS: 01:31v:7-9, 33r:1-3, 34r:10-34v:3



In most of his strettos, Svendsen changes the theme of the first entrance when the second enters. When the stretto is strict it usually violates rules he usually kept under

⁴⁸⁸ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: I. Harmoniarbeider hos Dr. R. Papperitz. October 1859. II. Harmoniarbeider hos Musicdirector M. Hauptmann. januar 1861 (1859).

control at this point (such as the perfect fourths in ex. 9.10 [a]). Arguably, Richter's book allows adjustments of the theme in stretto, but this is not the ideal solution. 489

In appendix 1.1–1.4, I have transcribed two three-part fugues for Hauptmann by Svendsen and Grieg. As in the examples above, Hauptmann's emendations are in cue notes. As mentioned in chapter 6, Svendsen copied his last two three-part fugues from book 01 to book 03 and presented them to Richter. Svendsen incorporated Hauptmann's emendations in the new versions in book 03 (for Richter). I have placed the book 03 variants on ossia staves, which clearly demonstrate this pattern.

In my opinion, these two fugues reveal some quite significant weaknesses in terms of melodic lines. Svendsen based his countersubject (Gegensatz) on eighth notes in both these fugues. The problem is that the lines run more or less accidentally to satisfy the harmonic demands, rather than being melodically satisfactory for more than a bar at a time, or even half a bar. 490 This is probably partly because Svendsen violates tenets from Richter's book. First, as mentioned above, Richter recommended that the countersubject be based on second-species counterpoint (ungleiche Contrapunkt). Svendsen's, however, are filled with third species, and it is much more difficult to compose a constantly moving third-species voice in a melodically satisfactory manner than it is a second (or fifth) species voice. Second, Richter recommended that the countersubject be 'not against the character of the theme'. 491 This is a rather vague advice, of course, and Svendsen perhaps felt that the character of the themes and the countersubject were copacetic. Notably, the combination of slow and fast in third species that I mentioned as one of Svendsen's cultivated compositional strategies above pervades in these two fugues as well. Grieg succeeded better, I think, perhaps because he based his counterpoint on the second species, elaborated with a few eighth notes, in keeping with Richter's book.

These three fugues are the last and most advanced surviving exercises written for Hauptmann and Richter from Svendsen's pen. To my eyes, the fugues discussed above reveal rather good but not especially brilliant contrapuntal skills. The combination of harmonic and linear thinking that constitutes common-practice polyphony works quite well here, but often the linearity of the melody suffers. If

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⁴⁸⁹ Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch der Fuge*, 76.

⁴⁹⁰ My counterpoint teacher Trygve Madsen mockingly called such wandering eighth-note (or sixteenth-note) lines 'tapeworms'.

⁴⁹¹ Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch der Fuge*, 69.

Svendsen was to become an expert fugue composer, that end is not revealed here. The strettos are weak, and he never experimented with the fugue themes in inversion, augmentation or the like—that is, he avoided a number of common contrapuntal techniques. Fugal skills are readily transferrable to polyphonic textures in general, and Svendsen's evident limitations here likely predict his shortcomings later on. It would appear that he closed the lid on his toolbox earlier than Grieg.

9.4 Ernst Friedrich Richter (Books 02 and 03)

Svendsen's surviving exercises written for Ernst Friedrich Richter are collected in the second half of book 02, plus the two fugues in book 03, copied from book 01. Those in book 02 open with the rather advanced technique of double counterpoint. As mentioned, however, Grieg began under Richter just as he did under Papperitz, that is, with figured-bass exercises on two staves with treble and bass clefs. (These exercises by Grieg reveal Richter's thoroughness: after half a year, from October 1858 to May 1859, Grieg went halfway back and started over again.)492 Svendsen either did similar exercises in sources now lost or started with much more advanced exercises. The former is more likely; otherwise, he would not have had music theory until four months into his studies, and, more importantly, he would have begun under Richter with rather complicated assignments at the same time as he began at a basic level with the other two teachers. This would also go against Richter's claim that counterpoint rests on education in harmony. Even though Svendsen was an experienced twenty-three-yearold, Caprice, discussed in chapter 3.3, reveals a composer who did not think much in lines of *strict* counterpoint. Thus he was probably not prepared to begin at such a level of double counterpoint exercises at that time.

Table 9.5: An overview of Grieg's and Svendsen's exercises for Richter.

Exercise	EG ref.	EG nmbr.	JS nmbr.	JS ref.
		-	mmor.	
Four-part harmony (2 staves)	1r-5r ⁴⁹³	76		
4th species 4 parts (4 staves, old clefs)	5v-9v:4	23		
1st species 4 parts	9v:5-13v	27		
2nd / 4th species 4 parts	14r-17r:12	20		
1st species	17r:13-20v	30		
2nd and 4th (+1st) species	21r-26r:4	41		
Chorales: Not figured (1st sp.) and figured (2nd sp.)	26r:5-34r	22		
2 part counterpoint (species) (3/2 metre)	2r:4-16	4		

⁴⁹² Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: bei Herrn Musikdirector Richter. October 1859 (1859). 17rff

⁴⁹³ ———. [Arbeidsbok]: October 1858 (1858).

3 part counterpoint (species) (3/2 metre)	2v-3v:6	11		
4 part counterpoint (species) (3/2 metre)	3v:7-7r	24		
Chorales: Not figured (1st sp.) and figured (2nd sp.)	1r-2r:4, 7v-	9	11	02:44v-
	10r:12			49v ⁴⁹⁴
Double counterpoint	10r:12-	8	4	02:33v-
•	11r:12			34r
Double counterpoint + 1 free part	11r:13-14r:4	15	13	02:34v-
-				39r
4 part counterpoint (species) (3/2 metre)	14r:4-16v:8	15	11	02:39v-
				44r
Two-part canons	16v:9-17v:2	9	10	02:50r-
				51r
Three-part canons	17v:3-11	1		
Two-part canons + 1 free voice	17v:12-	6	8	02:51v-
	18v:9			53v
Two-part canons + 2 free voices	18v:11-	7	8	02:55v-
	19v:8			60v
Chorale Preludes with 2 free voices (three parts)	19v:12-	1	9	02:20v-
	20v:6			28r:3
Chorale Preludes with 3 free voices (four parts)	20v:9-28r:4	8	7	02:28r:4-
				32r and
				61v-65r
Fugue theme entrances	28r:6-29v:12	19		
Stretto exercises	29v:13-30r	6		
Fuga a 2	30v:31v:2	2		
Fuga a 3	31v:3-32v	2	2	03: 1v-
				4r ⁴⁹⁵
Fuga a 4	33r-34v:12	2		
Fuga a 4	34v:13-37r	1		
Fuga a 4 Dona nobic pacem	37v-39r:8	1		
Fuga a 3 Clavier	39r:11-	1		
	40r:12			
Dobbelt Fugen (Clavier)	40r:5-41r	1		
Fuga on the name of Gade	41v-43v:3	1		
Fuga mit 3 subjecten	43v:4-46v	1		
SUM		389	83	

Table 9.5 shows the types and numbers of the surviving exercises prepared by the two composers for Richter. In addition to the missing basic exercises, there is a gap between the chorale preludes and the three-part fugues in book 03, copied from the Hauptmann exercises in book 01—that is, the preparation for fugal writing. Probably Svendsen did write such exercises, but in sources now lost, probably between April and July 1865. If he completed about as many as Grieg, or a number equivalent to the corresponding exercises under Hauptmann, about thirty to forty exercises have gone missing.

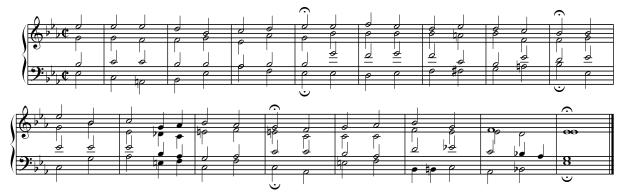
In the following, I will focus on four types of exercises which both composers wrote for Richter: the double counterpoint (1), the canon (2)—both of which they also

⁴⁹⁴ Johan Svendsen. [Musical notebook 02] (1864).

⁴⁹⁵ ———. [Musical notebook 03] (1865).

wrote for Hauptmann—simple homophonic chorales (3) in two variants, one based on first species in all voices (*gleiche Contrapunkt*), the other containing a second-species voice (*ungleiche Contrapunkt*), and chorale preludes (4) in three and four parts. I begin with the simple homophonic chorales (3), a type of exercise that many music students in the Western world battle to this day. Each chorale was harmonised twice, as just mentioned. For Svendsen, with his experience harmonising his own music and arranging it for string quartet, this was probably a relatively straightforward task, especially after completing exercises in four-part harmony. Following the characteristic strictness of Richter's books, each quarter note in the first-species variant is harmonised with new chords (except for the seventh in the last chord but one)—that is, there are no non-harmonic tones. In other words, the principle of *gleiche Contrapunkt* is followed throughout. The next example, then, shows the same chorale harmonised in strict second species (*ungleiche Contrapunkt*).

Example 9.11 (a): Chorale in *gleiche Contrapunkt* 02:46r.



Example 9:12 (b): Chorale in ungleiche Contrapunkt and 02:47v.



Richter commented on the tritone in the voice-leading in the tenor bars 13–14 (a). In bars 4–5 (b), Richter put a question mark on a curious 'backwards suspension', a dissonance on an upbeat tied to a consonance on the downbeat. A number of exercises reveal Svendsen's particular unfamiliarity with the soprano clef, but also to some extent

the tenor clef, as in bar 12 (b) here. The fermata note must be an E flat, not a D, followed by an unnecessary change to the alto clef (see 02:47v).

The double counterpoint (1) was still a very common compositional technique in the nineteenth century, the attraction being that when two parts in a texture swap lines, a pleasing variation occurs. The technique rarely appears in Svendsen's works before Leipzig, yet it is frequent starting around 1865. It is reasonable to believe, then, that he incorporated this technique into his idiom at that time thanks to these exercises.

The following examples show that, like the chorales above and the four-part exercises for all three teachers, both *gleiche* and *ungleiche Contrapunkt* were exercised with the same cantus firmus.

Example 9.12 (a): 02:33v.



In no. 1, bar 7, Richter changed the half note C to a whole note A to avoid an unresolved fourth in the soprano, and similar errors are corrected in all of the exercises. On the other hand, one can readily discern the chromatic voice-leading that was acceptable in

Richter's tentative modernisation of older textbooks. It is important to note, however, that the harmonic language of these exercises was common practice in music a century before this, and it remained so at this point. It is, I would think, roughly the harmonic palette Richter and his colleagues practiced in their church music and taken up by hundreds of composers now lost to oblivion. In any case, one should not expect to find the advanced and radical harmonic features of Wagner—that is, those usually highlighted in music history texts today. Nor would such things have been typical of Svendsen. If his personal harmonic taste *does* appear here, it would be only in a *yearning* or *wish* to achieve chromatic solutions that is similar to what Schjelderup-Ebbe noted about Grieg.

The following exercises were likely especially useful for Svendsen's later compositional technique: the double counterpoint plus a free voice. His own musical textures often consist of melody, countermelody and bass (plus background harmony)—that is, three highlighted lines—which is the technique exercised here.

Example 9.13: (a) 02:34v-35r:4.



Example 9.13 (b) 02:38v-39r



As in the examples quoted above, the same cantus firmus forms the basis for exercises in several species of counterpoint. I also see this as a useful exercise for one of the features highlighted by Eriksen (see chapter 2)—that is, re-harmonisations of the same melodic segment.

I will now spend some time on the canons, because Svendsen often implied imitation in his own works. As importantly, I think canon represents the core of the most commonly used technique in his exploration sketches: the combination of imitation and sequence. Although these features occur frequently in his final scores, especially in transitional passages, they are much more frequent in the sketches. This is one reason why I believe he used the techniques even more to *develop material* than to draft specific passages. In part V, I will discuss this more in detail. A few instances of extensive imitation occurred in his juvenilia, as discussed in chapter 3, but not in combination with sequential patterns. Thus I believe he must have 'discovered', or at least have become very fascinated with, the technique in his canon studies and then used it as a springboard for his own sketching techniques later on. This seems to be a clear example of the continuity between the habits of exercising and sketching.

The idea of basing canons on a sequence may seem rather lazy—as soon as the pattern is established, the canon 'writes itself'. But in this case it is a question of fascination rather than laziness, I think, given the similarity to his own sketches. Sequencing is not the basis of *all* of the canons, but it is in many of them. Some of the

canons also contain rather complicated chromatic harmony even without utilising sequences.

 $Example \ 9.14: Two-part \ canons \ in \ various \ intervals \ 02:50r-51r.$



Looking back to chapter 4's discussion of composers' imaginations versus their acts of sketching, Svendsen must have 'loosely' *imagined* passages based on this technique quite often, without having a clear sense of the actual details. In other words, I think he pictured transitional passages like this as distant from the actual musical surface, meaning that he had a somewhat vague imagination of them. This goes hand in hand with the unusually high frequency of the technique in relation to other techniques in his sketches, in addition to the fact that 'failed' or abandoned attempts occur often—attempts that brought him further along in the process, even though the given sketch did not work out. The use of sequencing in canons is not at all common in the case of Grieg, which reinforces my view that this fascination was unique to Svendsen.

As examples 9.14 and 9.15 demonstrate, Svendsen wrote two-part canons with and without one or two accompanying voices. Apparently, he never wrote three-part canons. Three-part imitational sequencing occurs in some exploration sketches, but they are all abandoned, and he never used it in his final scores, as far as I know. The canons were exercised in various intervals, as they were in his exploration sketches as well.

Example 9.15 (a): 02:51v:4-9. Two-part canon with one free voice.



Example 9.15 (b): 02:51v:7-12. Two-part canon with one free voice.



Example 9.15 (c): 02:53r:7-12. Two-part canon with one free voice (see facsimile at the very beginning of this thesis).



Example 9.16: 'Canon in Tenor und Baß.' Two-part canon with 2 free voices.



Last to be discussed are the *chorale preludes* in both three and four parts. Svendsen and Grieg did this type of exercise only for Richter, and as the exercises by Grieg show, they were written before the fugues. Svendsen's book 02 indicates that he wrote them starting in October 1864, or half a year after his first double-counterpoint exercises. As mentioned, the title *chorale prelude* does not occur in either the exercise books or Richter's textbooks. I use it to recall a genre that is well known through Bach's *Orgelbüchlein* and other 'organ chorales'. In it, a polyphonic two- or three-part texture based on one or a few motives runs continuously, and the phrases of a chorale melody are distributed as a cantus firmus that comes and goes on top (within or below) the contrapuntal texture. In Grieg's exercise book, the title is *Choraler med motiv (opgivet) til*

at gjenemføre med For- og mellemspil [Chorales with motive (given) to be developed with pre- and interludes].⁴⁹⁶ This indicates that the initial motives were assigned by Richter. A selection of these exercises is transcribed in appendix 1.5–1.11.

Although these pieces are music theory exercises, they still represent an established compositional *genre*, just like the more extensive fugues of Grieg. They do not reflect the two composers' styles or artistic projects to any extent, however, and they should probably be considered exercises rather than works.

All chorale preludes contain a number of corrections by Richter. Concerning the melodic lines, the corrections suggest that both composers largely worked on one bar at a time, as there is rarely any melodic development that extends past this length. The rhythmic motive usually changes in every bar in each voice as well. This cannot be held against them, of course, as such a thing would require much experience in such a complicated polyphonic texture. Having said this, I think these exercises suggest that Grieg surpassed Svendsen in polyphonic thinking of this kind. Arguably, there are more corrections by Richter in Grieg's exercises, but Grieg still utilised the assigned motives with more flexibility than Svendsen did. This is most evident in the first three-part exercises by Svendsen exemplified in appendix 1.5–1.7. The motive appear in one part at a time throughout, and the other free voice moves in a more or less rhythmically similar fashion to the cantus firmus, or at least in clear contrast to the motive. Grieg, on the other hand, splits and varies the motives more, which increases rhythmic continuity in the free voices, see appdenix 1.10 and 1.11. Svendsen arguably came closer to this in the three-part chorales in D minor, for example (Book 02:24v:10-25v:9, see appendix 1.8). The difference between the composers is evident in the four-part chorales as well, although somewhat less so. The harmonic progressions are also more unified in the case of Grieg (appendix 1.9 compared to 1.11).

This leads to the conclusion that Grieg's chorales consist of a more *unified* polyphonic web, whereas motives stand out more in Svendsen's case. One might discuss which of these two features makes up the *best* or most aesthetically satisfying result. Nevertheless, it seems that Grieg's are more in line with the musical idioms of the time and therefore represent greater successes.

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 $^{^{\}rm 496}$ Edvard Grieg. [Arbeidsbok]: bei Herrn Musik
director Richter. October 1859 (1859). 18v.

As to why this is so, although Grieg was younger and less experienced at the time, he had studied music theory for about two and a half years, compared to Svendsen's under half a year of study. Perhaps Grieg also benefited from being an excellent pianist. Little is known about Svendsen's capabilities as a pianist, and the few piano parts he wrote do not reflect much imaginative piano-writing. It is likely, then, that his pianistic skills were middling, and it would consequently have been more difficult to test or even imagine these complicated textures.

Conclusions

These analyses of the chorale preludes, fugal exercises, canons and total numbers of surviving exercises (which mostly reflect what the two men actually did, although some exercises might also be lost) lead to a somewhat surprising conclusion: Grieg, whose career focused more on songs and shorter piano pieces, apparently surpassed the symphonist Svendsen in polyphonic flexibility and repertoire of contrapuntal techniques. This is the opposite of what Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe claim:

Grieg, who by nature was not a polyphonist, had regarded the work with these strict Tonsatz-techniques of canon and fugue as true compulsory exercises. Svendsen, on the other hand, found himself comfortable with Richter's strict course, and it took not long before he was set to write fugues. 497

The surviving sources do not suggest any extensive fugal writing from Svendsen's hand at all, in fact, and the many blank pages in books 01 and 03 support this likelihood. Concerning Grieg's contrapuntal ability, other researchers join me in casting doubt on the quote above, including Joachim Reisau's, who states, 'Under Richter's and Hauptmann's guidance Grieg's contrapuntal technique reached a high degree of perfection'.⁴⁹⁸

Arguably, though, Svendsen's mature works reveal advanced polyphonic thinking in comparison to his juvenilia. In Eckhoff's opinion, Svendsen had 'rare talents as a contrapuntist' (see chapter 2.2). Yet Eckhoff added that his polyphony was not particularly 'linear' but suffused with his 'sense for timbre'. What Eckhoff may have meant here is that many of Svendsen's imitations and canons work *within a triad*. In

⁴⁹⁷ 'Grieg, som av natur ikke var noen polyfoniker, hadde ansett arbeidet med de strenge satsteknikkene canon og fuge som et rent pliktløp. Svendsen, derimot, fant seg vel til rette med Richters strenge opplegg, og det varte ikke lenge før han var i full gang med å skrive fuger'. Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup–Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 51.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Unter den Anleitungen Richters und Hauptmanns erreichte Griegs Kontrapunkttechnik einen hohen Grad an Vollkommenheit'. Quoted from: Joachim Dorfmüller, "Edvard Grieg und die Fuge," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 25 (1999): 152.

other words, there is usually a stable harmonic basis that is then elaborated through motives in canon. The other common feature is the combination of canon or imitation and sequencing, which I think Svendsen particularly cultivated in his canons written for Richter. Curiously, the sequences are not as apparent in the canons written for Hauptmann, even though Svendsen probably wrote them at about the same time.

Furthermore, as Eckhoff noted, none of Svendsen's symphonies (or other works, for that matter) contain fugatos. The sketches, on the other hand, reveal a few of them, as I will show in part V. In one of his very few statements of his artistic beliefs (chapter 1), Svendsen condescendingly refers to 'quibbling theories'. Could he have been thinking of the music theory section at Leipzig, among others, when he wrote this? I am not so sure. He made this claim only a couple of years after he graduated, and his letters from Leipzig demonstrate a positive attitude toward his experience there, even as he began to embrace new music trends in the wider world. The canons and imitations of his mature works also indicate an enduring (and Leipzig-bred) fascination with contrapuntal stringency. Was Svendsen not interested in fugal writing and made some half-hearted attempts in the surviving fugues? Enthusiasm, effort and acquired skills are evidently connected. Counterpoint was perhaps not among Svendsen's favourite aspects of composition, but I would think he was keen to learn and master the craft and wanted to achieve the best results possible on this field. On the other hand, his abiding interest certainly paled in comparison to Grieg's, as is clear from the exercises. If he were to have written fugatos later in his career, as a few sketches appear to indicate, it would have been a challenging task. Instead, he developed a few contrapuntal techniques and stuck to them in his later works. Concerning his development of freer polyphonic textures, such as melody with countermelodies, for example, he was obviously dependent on his experience with the music theory exercises.

Thus, I would moderate Eckhoff's statement about his 'rare talent'. Svendsen developed a somewhat limited palette of polyphonic techniques and drew upon it over and over. Would a larger repertoire of such techniques have contributed to a longer career as a symphonic composer? Quite likely. When one compares the quantity of exercises generated by Grieg and Svendsen, it is clear that the former's drive to work surpassed Svendsen's, and this holds true for their later oeuvres as well.

Nevertheless, the music theory exercises clearly influenced and expanded Svendsen's skills, which impacted his textures and, hence, his musical style. Concerning

his harmonic palette, these exercises had less influence at a general level. In this regard, instead, he had marked out his course before he even arrived at Leipzig, then refined and elaborated upon it during the student years. At a detailed level, however, the influence of the exercises is apparent. He mastered some basics in Leipzig, such as the fundamentals of four-part writing, and he became more accurate in his notation. In addition, the exercises gave him tools with which to seek and evaluate more solutions, and the ability to harmonise the same melodic segment differently. Modality or more advanced chromatic features are rarely present in the exercises, although they *might* reveal a tendency towards chromatic solutions, as discussed above.

All in all, I would highlight accuracy, 'free polyphony', the sequence-imitation exploration technique, and the ability to search for solutions other than those that were first to mind as the most important benefits to Svendsen of these exercises. The latter, of course, is important to the act of sketching, as we saw in relation to Beethoven's apprenticeship with Albrechtsberger, discussed in the beginning of part IV.

PART V PRIVATE PANORAMA—PUBLIC OBJECTS ON WORK GENESIS

Overview

In this part I will address the sketches from the point of view of final works, unfinished works and *work possibilities*. I will raise the same two questions that sketch scholars have asked at least since Nottebohm: What can the sketches tell us about the *creative process?* What can they say about the genesis of particular works? As discussed in chapter 4, the problem is to sort out what it is that sketch studies *can* tell us about compositional process and work genesis and what it is that they cannot. I argued earlier that sketch studies can evaluate compositional *methods*, and more precisely *sketching methods*, rather than the compositional *process* as a whole. This is because the latter involves a number of other activities as well, such as playing instruments, in addition to the mental processes that are not preserved in fixed sketches.

As far as I know, no testimony has come down to us concerning Svendsen's working habits, which is not very surprising, because information of this sort was rarely shared by nineteenth-century composers in general. We only know what we can discern in his sketches, and a thorough awareness of the composer's finalised works, musical style and aesthetics is crucial to this endeavour. In Svendsen's case, the sketches are normally goal oriented, meaning that the intentions behind them are usually connected to the production of performable works. Some sketches are 'only' memo sketches, and some might have been written for their own sake—that is, for the purposes of doodling or fantasieren (improvising). But it would appear that this was not Svendsen's main purpose for sketching. Even so, the plan or goal for a sketch often changed during the process, which makes the analysis of sketches in relation to work practice a delicate exercise. My discussion of the work concept in chapter 4 raised the question of when a work becomes a work and how composer's can 'hold on to' a work not yet composed. In principal, a work is never fully conceived and finalised in the composer's imagination, then simply written down in its final form, even though composers with extraordinary musical capacities within their own stylistic domains may have had a very clear picture of what they wrote. On the other hand, composers are not blindfolded when they sketch. Every composer must have a conception of what the work will become and have some kind of aural imagination of it, in order to steer the working process towards a final score. Nicolas Donin described this dialogue between goal orientation and the evolving process as synoptic planning and heuristic ideation (see chapter 5.2).

In addition to my discussion of work genesis, I will illuminate Svendsen's development as a composer, in terms of both style and productivity, through a discussion of his sketching habits and methods. I think there is a connection between his stable musical idiom as a mature composer in periods 2 and 3 and his working methods at that time. This is what Ernst Cassirer would call *Bedingungen der Möglichkeit* ('prerequisites of the possible'; see chapter 4.3) To some extent, Svendsen's methods can explain his stylistic stability, yet of course, the influence between style and method is mutual. Svendsen also chose his methods based on what he wished to achieve in his works. Nevertheless, I think the somewhat limited repertory of exploratory sketching tools to be discussed in part V sheds light on the creative drought that he experienced. In other words, the working habits and methods that he choose, might impacted on his productivity and inventiveness.

A sketch does not find the fixed form we see afterward until the composer has 'completed' it. Even the shortest sketches were inherently emergent and often continued to influence the composer's imagination after they had been caught on paper. To make fixed sketches become *active* again, so they might in turn reflect a creative process, I will consider entire groups of sketches, and I will do so using the philological tools discussed in chapter 5.5. In relating sketches to each other through (a) similarity in musical content, (b) physical position and/or (c) types or phases, aspects of the compositional process begin to emerge. The more sketches I include in this analysis, the more dynamic the composer's process will appear. I will also incorporate a significant number of examples rather than a few isolated ones, to include the reader in my 'experience' and understanding of Svendsen's compositional process.

In chapters 10 and 11, I will discuss the genesis of two specific works representing two different genres: *Two Icelandic Melodies*, presented in chapter 10, exemplifies Svendsen's compositional method with folk-tune arrangements and music based on self-contained melodies in general. Chapter 11 presents the sketches for the finale of Symphony no. 2, representing the genre of symphonic music based on thematic development. Chapter 12 introduces Svendsen as a revising composer through an analysis of two works that partially share their musical content, namely *Zorahayda* and *Romeo and Juliet*. Chapter 13 evaluates his last completed composition, *Prélude*, and chapter 14 looks at several possible plans for a third (or fourth?) symphony. Chapters 12 to 14 together present a panorama of possibly related material throughout more

than two decades of compositional activity. Chapter 15 considers some 'loose ends'—that is, sketches that cannot be connected to completed works or clear work projects. In addition, some sketching methods not previously discussed will be evaluated there. The final chapter 16 is primarily a summary of all other known works that can be connected to surviving sketches. This chapter presents further documentation for my previous arguments but does not introduce new topics as such.

Chapter 10: *Two Icelandic Melodies*

Sources:

S1. Book 03:4r-12v

10.1 On Svendsen's Sources

To recapitulate based on previous chapters, Two Icelandic Melodies, ISV 60, was premiered at Akershus Fortress in Christiania on 3 October 1874, and as my discussion in chapter 6 demonstrated, it was most likely composed shortly before the first performance, in August or September of that year. But the *initial idea* for the work may have arisen in the summer of 1867, when Svendsen, after graduating from the conservatory, accompanied one of Leipzig's leading book publishers, Heinrich Brockhaus, on a backpacking trip to Iceland. In Reykjavik, Svendsen was presented to the cathedral organist Pétur Gudjonsson, and on 25 June he wrote in his diary: 'I asked him [Gudjonsson] to take down some Icelandic melodies for me which he was so kind to promise me to do'.499 We do not know whether Gudjonsson actually kept to this promise, or what the exact source was for the work in question here. Were these melodies passed down to Svendsen orally, did he in fact receive a transcription from Gudjonsson (or someone else), or did he copy a transcription in his own hand? As mentioned in chapter 7, only one of the musical inscriptions in Svendsen's Iceland diary appears to be a folk tune, but it is not one of the ones he arranged. (The other inscriptions in the diary are most likely his own ideas.) The published score for the Danish composer Hakon Børresen's work Nordiske folketoner fra Island og Færøerne (Nordic Folk Tunes from Iceland and the Faeroe Islands) for string orchestra (composed in 1949), interestingly, states, 'The motives for the present composition were transcribed by Johan Svendsen on a journey to Iceland and the Faeroe Islands in the summer of 1867'.500 Børresen was Svendsen's pupil for five years, and it would be interesting to locate Børresen's source and see whether Svendsen had sketched anything there, so as to determine which melodies (and how many) he collected and what his sources actually were.

⁴⁹⁹ 'Jeg bad ham om at optegne nogle islandske Melodier for mig hvilket han var saa god at love meg'. Johan Svendsen. "Dagbog paa Reisen fra Leipzig til Island." (1867).

⁵⁰⁰ 'Motiverne til den foreliggende komposition er optegnet af Johan Svendsen på en rejse til Island og Færøerne i sommeren 1867'. Hakon Børresen, *Nordiske folketoner fra Island og Færøerne*, vol. 116, 3. Serie (Copenhagen: Samfundet til Udgivelse af Dansk musik, 1951).

The Icelandic priest and composer Bjarni Porsteinsson (1861–1938) published the pioneering collection of Icelandic folk music, titled *Islenzk þjóðlög*, between 1906 and 1909. Porsteinsson even refers to Svendsen's composition, noting that its two melodies have the same lyrics, about the German-Roman medieval emperor Friedrich I Barbarossa, starting with the words 'Keisari nokkir mætur mann'⁵⁰¹ [Some emperor is a distinguished man]. Porsteinsson says that one of these melodies (no. 1 in Svendsen's work) was transcribed for him by Sigurður L. Jónasson, whereas the other (no. 2) was transcribed by Gudjonsson, whom Svendsen also met.



What, then, was Svendsen's source? A comparison between Porsteinsson's published version, Svendsen's draft and the autograph score, respectively, may give some clues. Example 10.1 presents my transcription of the three versions. I have used the *first*

⁵⁰¹ Bjarni Þorsteinsson, Islenzk þjóðlög (Copenhagen: S. L. Møller, 1906-09), 497ff.

appearance in Svendsen's sketchbook 03 as my source. For both melodies, the various versions are strikingly similar in terms of key, pitches and rhythm. The discrepancies are so small, in fact, that it is highly unlikely that there were (different) oral sources for Svendsen and Gudjonsson/Jónasson, particularly since the key is identical (arguably, the chosen key has no key signature—that is, it is the most common of them). If one compares Svendsen's autograph score with Porsteinsson's version, there are some minor discrepancies in rhythmic design, in terms of note lengths at phrase endings, and in the first bar in 10.1 (a), for example. But it does appear that Svendsen's drafts seem to position themselves between his autograph and Porsteinsson's version. Thus the differences between the two Svendsen versions likely emerge from his own musical choices. The differences between the drafts and *Islenzk þjóðlög*, on the other hand, are more provocative.

The last three notes in melody no. 1 are rhythmically augmented in Svendsen's autograph and most of his sketched versions, as they are in their first appearance in the draft as well. But, as the ossia staff in example 10.1 (a) demonstrates, the rhythm is identical to Porsteinsson's the second time it appears in the drafts (just below the first, in an alternative harmonisation of these bars, see facsimile in example 10.2). This similarity can hardly be accidental and indicates that Svendsen was still 'influenced' by his sources, even though he had already planned for the augmentation. The augmentation enhances the symmetry of the phrase structure by expanding the last phrase from six to eight bars (in line with the previous four-bar phrases), a fitting choice in Svendsen's compositional idiom. In melody no. 2 there is a significant rhythmic variation in bars 7-9. Porsteinsson presents two versions for this phrase (the ossia version is the alternative version). The rhythm appears differently in most of Svendsen's sketched versions, but none of them are identical to the autograph version (with the grace note). In fact, several of the drafted versions occur with the notes B and A as two quarter notes, which does not add up metrically and thus appears to represent an 'open solution' that anticipates a final decision. The final version, then, seems like a mingling of the alternatives presented in Porsteinsson.

A striking similarity in no. 1 between *Islenzk þjóðlög* and Svendsen's draft is the length of nearly all of the phrase endings and the identical positioning of the fermatas. Another parallel in both melodies is the register used in Porsteinsson and the first appearance in Svendsen's draft. Though one should not exclude the possibility that

Porsteinsson was influenced by Svendsen's published score, I do not think this likely. Porsteinsson would then have referred to Svendsen as a source in such a scholarly work.

Based on these observations, I find it most reasonable to believe that Porsteinsson and Svendsen's version stem from a *common written source* (though several copies might have come between a common ancestor and their respective models). It is also possible that Gudjonsson (in no. 2) transcribed different variants from memory for Porsteinsson and Svendsen, respectively, which eventually led to these minor differences. If, one day, the melodies are found written in Svendsen's hand, it would be more likely that he copied them from a written source than transcribed them from an oral one. Having said this, it might well be that Svendsen transcribed *other* melodies from oral sources—for example, those used by Børresen. None of Børresen's melodies (including one also found in Svendsen's sketchbook 03, see below) are to be found in Porsteinsson's book.

10.2 Compositional Method

Before I proceed to Svendsen's sketching technique and compositional process for this work, I will adopt a teleological point of view and present a few notes on the final work, because the compositional technique used here is very similar to that of other works. In Svendsen's other arrangements of folk music for string orchestra (*I fjol gjett'e Gjeitinn* and *Two Swedish Melodies*), he used a variation technique similar to what Grieg did later in his *Two Elegic Melodies*, op. 34 (1880), which might have been influenced by the second movement of Haydn's String Quartet op. 76, no. 3, *'Emperor'*. That is, a melody is presented several times without any changes such as ornamentation or figuration, thus preserving its 'plain vocal' character throughout (except for changes in register). The accompaniment, on the other hand, presents the true opportunity for variation, in terms of harmony, texture and orchestration, sometimes referred to as *changing background technique*. This technique also plays an important role in Svendsen's four Norwegian Rhapsodies, composed a couple of years later.⁵⁰²

The decision to use this technique in *Two Icelandic Melodies* must have been arrived at early in the compositional process, since *none* of the surviving sketches

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⁵⁰² As mentioned elsewhere, excluding intros, codas and transitions, those works consist of a number of melodies presented one after another using changing background technique, which supplies most of their musical course. Thus, one might argue that such music is more accessible than symphonic music, where the musical course derives from the *development* of themes and motives. The rhapsodies position themselves as hybrids of symphonic and folkloristic music.

contain motivic development or ornamentation of the melodies themselves. This, in turn, paved the way for an expedited compositional process, because the musical course is rather predictable. Exploration sketches, as I have called them, are almost entirely absent for this work, but even though all of the sketches have the layout of a draft, it is reasonable to assume that compositional phases 2 and 3 are merged here. Several characteristics give the sketches a phase 2 character. First, Svendsen sketches one variation at a time, and two consecutive variations never occur one after the other in the same order as the final score. It would appear, then, that he has not decided on the form—that is, the order of the variations—in advance. Hence I do not know when he came up with the rather original, yet identifiably Svendsenian (according to the cultivated textural-formal strategies discussed in chapter 2) idea of presenting the entire melody unaccompanied in tutti unison (except basses) as the opening statement of each piece. Second, several variants of a few bars appear after one another in a couple of places. This gives them some of the character of exploration sketches, in that he seems to be exploring possibilities *on paper*. I will come back to the relationship between these possibilities later on.

These sketches display a phase 3 character as well. Each variation is sketched in entirety each time (however, a true *continuity draft*—that is, a representation of the full musical course of the complete work—does not exist). He does not sketch a couple of bars for a number of possible variations before writing a complete variation (if we consider the surviving sketches to be complete). (Of course, he does sketch some variants of the endings *after* each draft, as mentioned above.) Furthermore, it appears likely that he proceeded directly from these sketches to the autograph. As I will demonstrate, the suggested scoring is so detailed and in such close accord with the final score that it barely seems necessary. In addition, as I suggested in chapter 7, Svendsen probably *composed* his autograph scores by starting with the most obvious choices, such as what instrument(s) would present the melody, bass, and so forth, and wrote the more sophisticated details into the inner parts afterwards. He presumably did not have *all* of the details clarified before he embarked on the full score.

As already discussed in chapter 6, Svendsen, at some point, planned to arrange *three* Icelandic melodies. Among the sketches for the two finalised melodies, sketches for two or three variations of another melody, in C Lydian, appear as well (03:5v–6r). Interestingly, Børresen used this very melody in his *Nordic Folk Tunes*, based on

Svendsen's transcription (or a copy). Børresen called his piece *Bræen* (*The Glacier*). So why did Svendsen abandon this melody? Several reasons present themselves. First, the melody itself is only seven bars long, so his variation technique would either result in a very short piece or the melody would be repeated many times at very short intervals, which might have seemed aesthetically unsatisfactory to him. Concerning the work as a whole, he might have felt that presenting the same 'script' three times in a row would be overkill. But why not utilise other variation techniques, including the motivic development of the melody itself, and thus compensate for the short interval represented by each variation? Børresen, for one, chose this solution. Such a strategy takes more time to compose, however, and if the work was composed shortly before the premiere, as I have suggested, there might not have been time to follow through on this. Nor do the surviving sketches imply that Svendsen had such a strategy in mind. All three melodies have certain challenging tonal/modal characteristics for a mid-nineteenthcentury composer, but they are most daunting in the case of The Glacier, whose Lydian quality suffuses every bar. In the two finalised melodies, the greater distance between the 'alterations' (in comparison to ordinary major/minor modes) makes modulation easier to insert. Another aspect is that the two finalised melodies are united by their common lyrics, which would have made this already exotic work more appealing to its German market (it was published by the German publisher E. W. Fritzsch). But, since neither the surviving autograph nor the published score include this information, I find that possibility less likely. Svendsen was probably more concerned with the exotic quality of the melodies themselves than with the lyrics, 503 and his solution presumably derives from a combination of these aesthetic and practical concerns.

In chapter 6, I discussed the chronology of these sketches to some extent. I will recapitulate and elaborate further here to reveal more about Svendsen's compositional process. The following table summarises the relevant sketches as they appear, one after the other, in book 03.

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 $^{^{503}}$ I have experimented with this possibility and composed a 'finished version' of *The Glacier* using a strategy similar to the other two works; see appendix 2.2.

Table 10.1: Physical position of the sketches for *Two Icelandic Melodies* in book 03.

Sketch	Page	In score	Comments
8	4v	No. 1, B: 16 bars (b. 49)	
9	5r	No. 1, B+17: 4 bars (b. 65)	'1' by JS not in score
10	5r	No. 1, B+17: 7 bars (b. 65)	'2' by JS not in score
11	5r	No. 1, B+17: 6 bars (b. 65)	'3' by JS BAR 4-5 some discrepancy in score
12	5v	The Glacier, 7 bars	Unfinished
13	6r	The Glacier, 6 bars	Unfinished
14	6v	No. 2, B: 13 bars	'1' by JS
15	7r	No. 2, not in score	sixteenth-note countersubject
16	7v	No. 2, not in score	one-bar countersubject
17	8r	No. 2, not in score	Contrapuntal
18	8v-9r	No. 2, not in score	sixteenth-note countersubject. Continuation
			from 03:7r
19	9r-9v	No. 2, A: 13 bars	
20	10r	No. 2, C: 9 bars	'3' by JS
21	10v	No. 2, not in score	
22	10v	Romeo and Juliet	
23	10v	Separate idea	
24	11r	No. 2, not in score	
25	11r	No. 2, C: Continue from 10r	
26	11v	Romeo and Juliet	
27	11v	Romeo and Juliet	
28	12r	No. 1, A: 23 bars	
29	12v	No. 2, not in score	

I believe the sketches were largely written in the same order as they appear, with the exception of folios 7v–8r, which he skipped by mistake and filled in later. It appears that Svendsen sketched one variation (or two to three, in the case of *The Glacier*) of each of the three melodies before he went on to further elaborations of nos. 1 and 2. This technique might have given him an overview of the situation—for example, he might have abandoned *The Glacier* already at this point. Probably it also guided him towards the character he would seek regarding the other variations of each of the melodies.

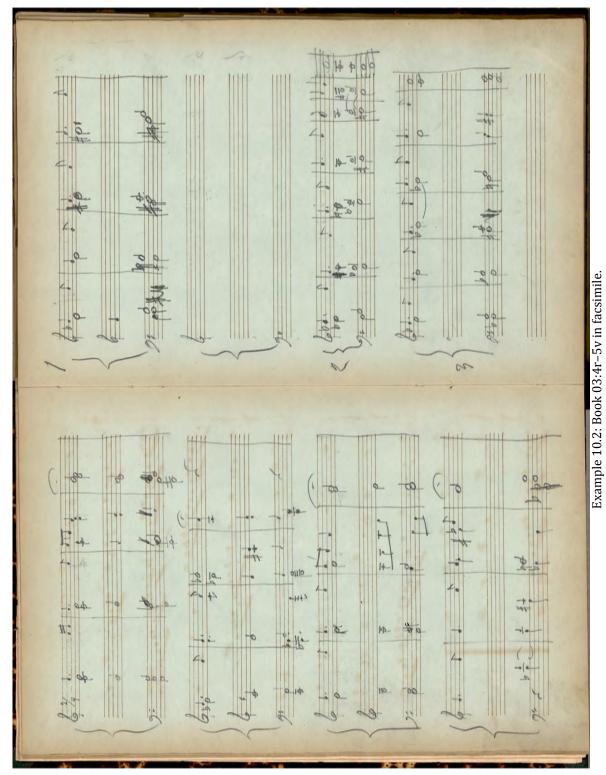
Interestingly, most of the sketches and drafts have a *particella layout*. That is, they are written on three or four staves and reveal a considerable amount of detail in voicings and doublings. But why would Svendsen bother to notate octave doublings so thoroughly, for example, when his principal concern ought to have been the harmonic framework? It would be understandable if he had merely suggested these doublings here and there, but he often writes them out in detail, chord by chord. Even the ordinary octave doubling in the basses is notated fully (rather than via the abbreviation *8vab*). Judging from the stems, as well, these doublings were not added later. This issue is crucial, because we see the same things in continuity drafts for long symphonic

movements as well (see chapter 11 onwards), and it surely slows the sketching process considerably.

A likely reason for this elaboration is that the harmony, texture and timbral qualities of the doublings depended on one another at this stage (in accordance with Godøy's discussion on orchestration mentioned in chapter 2.2). The choice of chord seems to have been dependent on texture and voice-leading at a detailed level, as much as the other way around. It would appear, then, that Svendsen felt the need to *see* this detailed texture. Hence, there is a close relationship between the act of writing and the imagined timbre of each chord here. Example 10.2 is a facsimile of the very first sketch which exemplifies this characteristic appearance.

To ease further reading, I will continue the discussion of each of the pieces separately. Svendsen began with no. 1 and sketched the variation that eventually ended up as the second variation first (rehearsal letter B) (03:4v–5r; see the table 10.1), which is reasonable since the texture in question is quite 'ordinary'. Even though no dynamics or phrasings are suggested here, he likely had the final character of the melody clearly in mind, due to the close resemblance between this sketch and the final scoring. Apparently, the first sixteen bars were written with little hesitation, because there are few cross-outs. The only significant one is a change from authentic to deceptive cadence (Gm changed to Eb) in the sixteenth bar (B+16/b.64). Interestingly, he returns to his first suggestion of the authentic cadence in the final score, most likely because he has by that time used the deceptive cadence at the equivalent place in A+16/b. 40, sketched afterwards (see 12r:7–8:2).

Then, on page 5r, there are three versions of the last phrase (B+17/b. 65). Because they are numbered (1, 2 and 3), I believe they represented *variants* (referring to Cooper's term, chapter 5) as much as they did 'good, better, best solutions'. Supporting this notion is the fact that they are equally complex in harmony, as opposed to refinements of the same progression. I think this is an example of Svendsen's generally energetic approach to harmony, and it works in accordance with Eriksen's analysis of his harmonic techniques—that is, he preferred to choose the one he liked best rather than face a situation where *only one could work*. Neither variant conflicts with the character of its proceeding bars. Arguably, though, version 1 reveals certain doubts and shows a number of cross-outs. The final score is closest to version 3 but has the augmentation of the last notes as sketched in version 2.



Icelandic Melody no. 1, first draft.
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The first variation (12r, rehearsal mark A), however, was apparently sketched only after the other two melodies. Again, Svendsen appears to have imagined its final character in advance, as it is sketched on two staves, both in the treble clef. He did not leave a third stave empty in case of further elaboration, as he often did elsewhere, and the four-part texture of divided violins is obvious even though the scoring has not been spelled out. In addition, the sketch is an almost perfect match with the score, revealing only a couple of minor discrepancies, and there is no sign of hesitation in the choices of chord or voice leading. On the other hand, a clear mistake stands out as well: Svendsen apparently forgot the second phrase and began sketching the third directly after the first (cross-out on 12r:3). This suggests that even though he probably sketched quickly, he was not keeping up with his imagined musical course. When he started on the third phrase, that is, he forgot that the second phrase was not yet sketched. This means that he was sketching according to visual structure at this point rather than what he was imagining. He was thinking about the third phrase before the second was written down, so that the actual musical course and the sketched one diverge. The cognitive process at the time evidently lies somewhere in between structure and imagination. He imagined and sketched music at the same time, but had to rely on visual structure in the slower writing process. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that structure was an important factor in the process, as I discussed in chapter 4.4–4.5. We also see that Svendsen did not write a complete melody first and then an accompaniment but instead composed bar by bar with the texture complete in this case. (In other cases he wrote the complete melody first.)

Melody no. 2 has a more complex genesis. After some initial sketching on the two other melodies, he sketched the variation (on 6v) that eventually ended up as the second one in the final score (rehearsal mark B/b. 27). Above this sketch he wrote the number '1', which might mean one of two things—either he originally intended this to be the first piece or this is 'variation 1'. 'V1' is also written below. In either case, this variation appears to have been intended as the first and has a transparent and lively character, as the compound design of the counter-line suggests. Again, Svendsen felt a need to *see* the imagined scoring: bar 1 suggests an octave doubling of the countermelody; a time-consuming variant of +8va notation can be observed on the third and fourth system; and, most importantly, the counter-melody is written out note-by-note two octaves below the original on the third staff throughout. For once, the pencil strokes clearly

reveal aspects of the compositional process. The somewhat dimmer appearance of the bottom octave reveals that it was written in at a later stage. Evidently, Svendsen had left the bass staff empty in case he needed to insert a third line. But he decided to merely double the upper part as already written, which produced a rather original scoring of two voices doubled in several octaves and played arco and pizzicato, respectively. The layout of this draft, curiously, reflects the double counterpoint exercises Svendsen wrote for Richter (see chapter 9.4). The difference is that this was not intended to be a double counterpoint in the present case, but an octave doubling. The visual similarity, however, might have prompted the idea here and thus impacted the compositional process.

Example 10.3: 03:7r:1 and 8v-9r:2.



Apparently, Svendsen planned to intensify the already lively rhythm after this initial variation, because he continued with an even livelier texture based on sixteenth notes, transcribed in example 10.3. It is clear that he mistakenly jumped the facing pages 7v–8r, because the variation that starts on page 7r continues on page 8v. The intervening pages now contain other textural ideas, but the amount of empty space suggests that 7v–8r were not used in advance. The intended register of the melody is unclear, as it skips an octave downward after two bars. A few bars later, it is likewise unclear whether the

'8va' refers to the entire upper staff or to the upper part alone. Perhaps Svendsen was indecisive here, or perhaps the melody was to be played in the alto/tenor register, accompanied by three to four parts in the treble register. As in no. 1, a four-part violin texture seems to have been the intended scoring. (The textural idea sketched on 7v–8r and 9r:3:1–2 is based on a complementary rhythm with the melody. This idea was abandoned as well.)

Again, the sketching method is surprisingly time consuming, as nearly all of the repeated sixteenth notes are carefully written out. There are few signs of effective shorthand techniques in use here. The strategy for the three sixteenth-note parts is that, whereas two are coupled in parallel thirds (or sixths), the third moves independently. Why was the original version of the last bar crossed out and a new alternative sketched? Example 10.4 demonstrates a possible solution for the first version according to the strategy just mentioned.

Example 10.4: A possible realisation of the crossed out bar at the end of example 10.3.



The upper voice of the first version implies a subdominant chord, which makes a IV–V progression in A minor (or Phrygian cadence). In my suggested realisation of this bar, the IV is a major chord to avoid suggested cross relations g–g# and f–f#. In Svendsen's second alternative, the upper voice (which is the one that he changed) paves the way for an augmented sixth chord on the very last sixteenth note, which increases the closure effect of the final chord of this variation (V of E major) because it is preceded by its dominant.

As mentioned, the intention appears to have been an increasingly lively rhythm between the two variations discussed so far. Why Svendsen then abandoned a practically complete variation (that probably took some time to compose) is hard to say, except that his plans for the piece appear to have changed. He did pursue a related intensification by writing a homophonic variation preceding the one on 6v. Together with yet another homophonic variation, the liveliest is finally flanked by the two variations he sketched last. The procedure is very similar to that discussed for no. 1.

Although no orchestration is specified, octave doublings and voicings are written out in detail and correspond well, though not exactly, to the final score. The final variation is sketched on page 10r (it is marked '3'), and the broad layout of three to four staves suggests the wide-spread register of the orchestration. On staff 10r:7, one can clearly see that Svendsen added the viola voicings later as octave doublings of the violins (they are below the bass staff and the barlines are extended further), which is yet more evidence that he planned and wanted to see crucial aspects of the orchestration in his draft. This technique suggests that he preferred the slower process of writing things out in musical notation to the process of suggesting things with words, which lines up with the fact that words rarely appear in his entire sketch production. Having said this, not every note is notated. In some bars, the scoring is very detailed, in others, sparingly suggested—he sketched what he needed to see rather than composing a particella for other eyes than his own. The third variation (letter C/b.40) reveals another similarity to melody no. 1, in that the concluding phrase is sketched thrice in detail, whereas the third comes closest to the final score. Does this suggest that he took special care with concluding phrases, or that the slow sketching process prevented him from keeping the imagined sound alive, so that he, to some extent, lost track of the musical course?

Lastly, a few notes on the abandoned melody follow. It is sketched on 5v-6r, directly after the first sketched variation of no. 1, which might suggest that it had priority for no. 2 at some point or was intended as the second piece. The four last notes are not written anywhere, but judging from Børresen's work they are four sustained C notes, which results in the following melody:

Example 10.5: *The Glacier*



Except for these last four notes, an entire variation is sketched on 5v. The scoring might suggest a sense of *growth* in the work's compass, for example starting with violins only, then including violas and then cellos. A curious situation appears on the facing page 6r. At first glance, the particella suggest *one* variation, but in fact it probably represents *two*. The brackets frame only three staves, whereas the barlines were extended from three to six at some later stage. Clearly, several suggested countermelodies are written on staves 4–6 on each system. Still, the combination of four of the six staves (melody on stave 1, accompaniment on staves 2–3, countermelody on staves 4/5/6) would result in an

unusually compound texture in Svendsen's music. The accompaniment on staves 2–3, for example, is written out with octave doublings and represents a rather thick texture in and of itself. The most likely situation, then, is that the same harmonic framework could be used for either a homophonic texture or a texture containing a countermelody—or both. (This is why I split this draft into two variations in my realisation; see appendix 2.2.)

To summarise, in section 10.1, I discussed the possible sources Svendsen used for melodies no. 1 and 2, concluding that the most likely possibility is a written source that shares an ancestor with Porsteinsson's source for *Islenzk þjóðlög*. Alternatively, Pétur Gudjonsson wrote down at least melody no. 2 from memory, which explains the few discrepancies between *Islenzk þjóðlög* and Svendsen's draft. When it comes to *The Glacier*, the source situation is less clear.

In section 10.2, I presented the compositional method for this work as an example of the model used in Svendsen's folk tune arrangements in general. The self-contained structure of the melody allowed him to focus on harmony, texture and timbre simultaneously early in the sketching process, and thus phases 2 and 3 merge. Apparently, these factors interacted to such a degree in Svendsen's practice that he came to prefer a slower and more detailed sketching method over abbreviated suggestions for chords. Furthermore, I noted points where visual structure in tandem with aural imagination governed the sketching process, and, as discussed in chapter 4, these alternatives interacted to generate a more complex cognitive process.

The potential imagined harmonic variants depend on the melodic structure, as well as the other way around. If *The Glacier* were abandoned due to its pervasive Lydian character, it is because its melody lay on at the edges of Svendsen's stylistic possibilities. The harmonic structures that this melody would have 'dictated' conflicted, perhaps, with Svendsen's imaginative possibilities, or, in other words, his aesthetic preferences. Lastly, the alternative scorings of some phrases and emendations probably resulted from experimenting with the sketched material at the piano.

Taken together, these observations demonstrate Svendsen's delicate balance between imagined complexity and visual structure, as realised through his rather advanced harmonic language and sophisticated scoring.

Chapter 11: The Second Symphony: Narrowing Down a Finale

Sources:

S1: Book 01:34v:5-36r:1.

S2. Book 03:32r:5, 33r:7, 34r-34v:6, 45v:9-67v:8.

S3. Book 04:1r–26r, 42v–43r, 51v–54v, 56v:1–3, 57r, 57v:5–6, 58r, 59v, 60v:1–4, 61r–64r:9, 64v:7–8, 65v, 66v:1–4, 67r:1–6, 67v:1–2, 68r:3–69r:4, 69v–70r:7, 71v–72v.

S4. 7882c:1r:1-4

S5. Ms. 8° 1191:1: 22-27 August

11.1 General Considerations

The compositional method that will be discussed in this chapter might best be described as *narrowing down* an intraopus style and structure of a movement as much as the traditionally used metaphor of growth from a single germinal idea. Possibilities are explored and constraints are established through a relatively meticulous act of sketching, as well as other compositional activities that are now out of reach. It is often difficult to establish an accurate chronology of the sketches, particularly in the earliest phases of a work—for example, a possibility could have been rejected at one point but reconsidered again later. Drawing upon Carl Dahlhaus' metaphor of music history as a panorama as much as a timeline, we might frame sketches the same way, as a panorama of possibilities as much as a chronology of decisions.

The sketches for the finale of Symphony no. 2 in Bb major, op. 15 (1876), comprise the most comprehensive group of surviving sketches for a large-scale symphonic movement by Svendsen, and they include a substantial number of *exploration sketches* and *drafts*.

'Group', or 'collection', is a problematic classification when it comes to sketches, and there is no finite number of sketches that 'belongs' to the finale of Symphony no. 2. Even though some ideas must be considered dead ends, these might still have affected the compositional process and paved the way for other possibilities. Sketches for other works in progress, previous or in parallel, might have influenced this process directly as well. In other words, a sketch with no apparent link to this finale might still have impacted its genesis. Having said this, there are so many sketches and drafts with clear links to this very project that it is possible to achieve a fair understanding, if not of the compositional process as a whole, at least of the sketching activity involved in that process, and the sketching *procedures* in particular.

The following survey raises questions concerning thematic unity and musical coherence, large-scale plans versus local details, planned versus realised orchestration and so forth. In order to produce a clear picture of how the work was sketched (as part of how it was composed), one must allow the sketches to illuminate one another. A single, short sketch reveals little about its intention, but the more sketches it relates to (by physical position, musical content or the like), the clearer patterns emerge, until the sketch takes its rightful place in a retrospective conception of the compositional process. Furthermore, a sketch's relationships to a specific planned project (a symphony finale), Svendsen's musical style (the likely possibilities for the sketch) and Svendsen's aesthetics (his preferences for one possibility over another) can help to develop an understanding of the process too. In this particular case, we cannot dismiss our awareness of Svendsen's ultimate solution—the final score. But it is nevertheless true that this score was not necessarily the 'best' possible result. Other potential final scores could be equally good or better. As discussed earlier, a composer works with a certain set of regulatory strategies and constraints, meaning that not all possibilities will be considered all the time. Choices are also altered constantly and sometimes radically changed during the process. As discussed in chapter 4, the composer does not discover his work, but he makes *discoveries* along the way which are partly provoked by changes in constraints or strategies, and partly by the *fulfilment* of subsidiary goals.

As mentioned in chapter 6, Svendsen apparently sketched and drafted the four movements of this symphony in their performance order. That is, he may have orchestrated all of them after having drafted the finale, but drafts for the first two movements, now lost, were written before drafts for the last two, which have survived. Though no sketches for the two first movements have survived, a few inter-movement motivic relationships in the sketch material clearly imply this order. Most likely, movements 1 and 2 were sketched and drafted before or around August/September 1874, when book 03 came into use as sketchbook (see chapter 6.4).

It appears, then, that the initiative for the finale was not any 'novel musical theme' but rather *the need for a finale*, combined with a rather general sense of its supposed character. I build this assumption on the following observations. On the one hand, the explored motives represent diversity in terms of shape and form over the course of many pages. Certain features or archetypes reoccur many times and seem to form a few lasting germinal ideas, but in a variety of shapes and side-by-side with a

number of other approaches. This speaks for a 'vaguely' imagined, or constantly altering, musical identity. On the other hand, the alla breve metre (sometimes 2/4) and the key of Bb major are evident throughout. It appears that 4/4 or 6/8 metres were not considered—the former would probably have generated a somewhat 'heavier' and slower finale (in relation to Svendsen's other 4/4 allegros), while the latter might have generated an 'up-tempo reminiscence' of the first movement (in 3/4 metre). Nevertheless, a Haydnesque ideal appears to be intended, with the finale capturing wit and high spirits (and the first movement being the 'weighty' and intellectual one). Otherwise, there is no sign of a *synopsis sketch*, either for this movement or for the work as a whole (and nothing suggests that Svendsen ever wrote such sketches).

Hence, all of the sketched motivic ideas were goal oriented. Their musical character (which often cannot be determined from the sketches themselves) at every point was intended to fill a role in a finale that should complement the three movements already drafted with extroversion and high-spirit rather than monumentality, for example. Having said this, their intentions probably changed along the way, as was the case for the sketch on 01:35r:7–10, which eventually found its way to *Romeo and Juliet* (see example 6.3 [a]).

It is difficult to establish the exact order of the sketches, especially since the memo and exploration sketches form such a chaotic pattern in this case. Coherence between more than a couple of consecutive sketches is rare. In fact, each sketch is often surrounded by remote or completely unrelated ideas. A general chronology appears to be as follows: Svendsen filled book 03 consecutively with sketches for the third and fourth movements. The first appearance of a sketch in Bb and 2/4 is 03:32r:5, and there is another on 34r–34v:6 (Bb major and 3/4 on 34v:7–12). Pages 35v–45v:8 contain *only* sketches and drafts for the third movement. From 45v:9 to 64v, sketches certainly connected to the finale overwhelm the few other ideas on these pages. These sketches are either connected by key and metre or by motivic similarity, or very often both, and they all reflect phase 2 (exploration). (Sketches for the intermezzo appears again from 65r [or even 63v] onwards). Then, after book 03 was full, Svendsen continued the exploration in book 04 but going *backwards* (and on its very first page, 1r–1v:2).

It is likely that Svendsen did not sketch intensively over long hours at a desk in the earliest phases of his process by meticulously writing down numerous variations and possibilities for the same germinal idea, one after the other. It seems instead that he sketched more sporadically, and that most of his process actually took place apart from these sketches. Otherwise, similar sketches would have appeared in an even more concentrated fashion. Supporting this view is the fact that many of the exploration sketches contain both key signature and metre. If he had written them in sequence during the same spell of work, why would he bother repeating this information? This pattern seems to hold true for many works, as well, because his memo and exploration sketches are generally dispersed. But, since exploration sketches for the finale *to* are physically quite concentrated, it suggests that they were highly present in his imagination for a *somewhat limited* period of time. Otherwise, they would probably have been even more spread out and even more interrupted by unrelated ideas. When we arrive at phase 3 of this work, however, the sketches do appear much more coherent. It is likely that he *reserved* certain pages for the finale at this stage, because his main concern would have been the musical course, and he would have needed many successive pages.

I will emphasise again that the lack of continuity in the exploration sketches in the sources suggests a similar discontinuity in the sketching process of phase 2. This is a general feature in many sketch sources that reveals certain aspects of Svendsen's compositional habits. If Svendsen did not write exploration sketches meticulously through concentrated hours of work, as suggested, but instead more sporadically, returning to them every now and then, I presume phase 2 was quite a struggle for him, and the sketching proceeded more effectively in phase 3. This does not mean that he did not concentrate. It may well be that his continuous work instead took place at the piano or in his mind, and therefore he sketched only every now and then. Either way, this method would partly explain why he barely composed in Copenhagen. In the first case, the heavy burdens of his conductor duties would have prevented him from finding the energy to struggle with the earliest phases. In the second case, a spell of 'mental compositional exercises' would more likely be ready prey to interruptions (by others or his own thoughts), than strategic continuous writing. After all, the surviving phase 2 sketches express disorder in physical coherence but structure themselves by type of sketching techniques. If he had developed a more condensed *sketching method* (which is not the same as *compositional method* or *process*) early in his career, it would have been easier to produce sketches for the sake of sketching itself. This eventually could have given rise to valuable ideas which again would 'automatically' have been developed, and

it recalls Svendsen's own observation (see chapter 1) that the amount of work he was doing as a conductor prevented him from composing.

With all of this in mind, I will now proceed to a discussion of each of the sketch phases for this finale.

11.2 Memo Sketches: Phase 1

Given to the finale's goal, as mentioned above, there is no sketch that represents any given 'starting point', nor is there a single germinal idea that stands out as the basis for the movement as a whole. Nevertheless, there is a small number of sketches that can be considered actual memos written at different points in the process, as we will see. It is likely that some of them were never intended for the movement in question, but I think it is worth including them to describe the diversity that presumably governed early phases of the process.

Example 11.1: Book 01:36r:1.

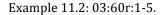
As discussed in chapter 6.2, book 01 contains a few sketches connected to Bb major/minor and a duple metre within a limited physical space. Although they seem musically remote from one another, all or some of them might have been connected to the planned finale (see 01:34v:9-36r:1). The first, on 01:34v:9, could be a suggestion for a lyric secondary theme, for instance. Nevertheless, the two most interesting sketches are on 35r:7-10 and 36r:1. As demonstrated, the former found its way into Romeo and Juliet (closest to b. 288) (see example 6.3[a]), but its combination of imitation and descending line might have influenced one of the most important themes in the symphony finale as well—namely, the one presented from b. 89/C+17 If this were true, there would be a remote and perhaps conscious (but not intentional) link between *Romeo and Juliet* and the symphony finale that is impossible to discern in the final scores. The latter sketch (01:36r:1, ex. 11.1) reflects characteristics of the main theme of the first movement, such as the ascending octave leap beginning on a downbeat, as example 11.1 demonstrates. (The final version of the main theme in the fourth movement begins with an octave leap from an *upbeat*, so a connection to the first movement is not particularly striking.)

The different metres of these two sketches (2/4 vs 2/2), however, suggest that they were written at different times or intended for different works. These examples

therefore shed some light on abiding questions of unity and similarity in composition. Unity in nineteenth-century symphonic music is often achieved via thematic similarities. But without some overarching syntactic coherence, similarity alone does not constitute unity. Among the short sketches, of course, no such coherence is evident, but it could have been anticipated in the work-to-become by the composer. Thus two similar and even 'connected' ideas in the sketches can still find their way to different works. This will be discussed further in chapters 12–14.

I will also mention a few other memo sketches *possibly* intended for this movement but written at a later stage. One is situated on the very last page of book 04 (04:72v:1–6). It could have been considered a possible secondary theme due to its key and positioning among other sketches for the movement. Another possible memo for the secondary theme can be observed at 04:61v:3–8 (crossed out). This idea *did* in fact end up as the secondary theme, but it is difficult to say whether this sketch is a memo or an exploration. The triplets resemble a 'planted' gesture towards motivic coherence with other motives sketched at the same time, but they were later removed from this theme.

Example 11.2 and 11.3 demonstrate another two possible memo sketches, that both also share some motivic archetypes with the third movement in their last bars.





11.3 Exploration Sketches: Phase 2

I have referred to Svendsen's exploration sketches many times and will here present a close study of this type, which in symphonic music usually characterises phase 2. The overwhelming technique in use here involves motives in sequence and/or two-part imitation. In the following survey, I will adopt the rather 'Nottebohmian strategy' of separating a number of these sketches from their physical surroundings in the sketchbooks and presenting them in transcriptions. I have two main reasons for doing so. First, these sketches appear in a rather disorderly physical context, and they have already been discussed from a source point of view in chapters 6 and 7. Thus, I seek to study certain compositional *paths* and *aspects* of the sketching process, primarily based

on *musical content* rather than physical placement. Hence this method does not present the chronology of the compositional process but rather certain ideas and methods to which Svendsen returned within the time span of, say a year (1875) or less. During this time, a number of ideas and projects occupied his mind, and I have selected some that I find most relevant for the finale. Second, this method paves the way for a concentrated study of a special aspect of exploration sketches, which is that they are a particularly important part of Svendsen's sketching method in general. I also prefer to highlight a certain quantity of such sketches in order to better demonstrate patterns in the compositional work. Single or small numbers of sketches are not very telling, and there is never *one* example that stands in for the rest. One must draw a broader picture in order to observe the complexity, constraints, strategies and relationships among notated sketches, germinal ideas and planned works.

The first group of exploration sketches that I will show is written on 03:34r–34v:6. They were clearly written during the same session, and probably within a few minutes of each other, due to their musical similarity, their physical concentration and (as is clearly observable in this case) their relatively light pencil strokes in relation to the sketches that appear directly before and after. Example 11.4 is a Nottebohmian transcription of this group.

The common motive in these sketches opens with three repeated quarter notes, followed by a descending stepwise motion that begins with a dotted eighth note, a sixteenth note, and then more quarter notes. This description applies to most of the sketches that I will characterise as *germinal idea 1* (GI-1). This idea appears to have been tested in Bb major and Bb minor, although the accidentals are often implicit rather than written out.

Example 11.4: 03:34r-34v:6.



A note on the sketching technique: the first sketch features imitation (34r:1–3), the second features sequence (34r:4–5) and the third features a combination of them (34r:7–9). The fourth (34v:1–6) reveals a different strategy, using the same motive to construct a longer melodic curve. Due to the factors mentioned above and the simple compositional methods, it would not have taken much time to write these out. Then Svendsen apparently left GI-1 for a while, because it does not recur until many pages later, and then in various other guises, including 2/2 metre. In other words, after a few minutes on GI-1, Svendsen became occupied by something else, perhaps the sketches for the third movement that are written in equally light strokes on 35v:1–6 and 36r. It is therefore possible, as well, that these GI-1 sketches were intended for a third movement in Bb major and 2/4 at some point.

The next group of sketches to be considered appears on 03:45v:9–11 and 46r:4–47v. A new germinal idea, GI-2, is brought forth, and 46r:4–7 even appears to be a memo sketch. For reasons that will become clear in this chapter, this idea might have been

intended as the main theme for a finale at some point (but not necessarily at the time it was written).

Example 11.5: 03:46r:4-7, GI-2.



The metre is now alla breve, which seems to hold up, and there is a dominant rhythmic emphasis on the second beat which characterises many other sketches as well. Svendsen then promptly explores this idea (see next example) by harmonising an altered version of it. There might well be a latent link between the altered version and the third movement, sketched on the previous pages, where a similar motive occurs but in much faster sixteenth notes. Nevertheless, the sketchbook clearly reveals that the imitation on the upper staff (in ex. 11.6) was added later, due to its shared staff with the sketch above, and to the spliced barlines. The theme below remains an important source for many exploration sketches—that is, its elements are tested through various imitation and sequence patterns. As mentioned, this may even be an intended main theme.

Example 11.6: GI-2: 03:46r:8-10.



At the bottom of this page, a new variant with a doubled harmonic rhythm appears, as would be necessary for the closer imitation to add up harmonically.

Example 11.7: GI-2: 03:46r:10-12.



Note the slurs (which are generally rare in Svendsen's phase 2 sketches) that frame octave leaps, an interval that characterises many succeeding sketches, the final score and the main theme of the first movement. The two last sketches (ex. 11.5 and 11.7) appear to be linked by the marking # and are crossed out with steep waves. The first is

crossed out twice—once probably before he wrote the second, and then again together with that below.

On top of the following page, he has sketched another altered version of the germinal idea (ex. 11.8).

Example 11.8: GI-2 46v:1.



This version ends with a dotted rhythm, a latent link to the first group of sketches (ex. 11.4) I discussed, and it begins with an octave leap (which was slurred in the previous sketch). Two exploration sketches follow that tease out different musical features of the previous sketches:

Example 11.9: GI-2 46v:2-7.



Example 11.9 also features the dotted rhythm in the phrase ending. Furthermore, a stretto imitation is tested in a four-bar sequential pattern, even as the harmony progresses chromatically ($Edim-F^7-F\#dim-Gm$). The same strategy occurs on 47v:1-8, but here the harmonic progression is diatonic, and the musical content reveals a more complicated rhythmic design of descending stepwise gestures in triplets followed by ascending gestures in dotted rhythm and chord arpeggios (see sketchbook, no example).

Example 11.10: GI-2 (a) 03:46v:8-9 (b) 03:46v:10-12.



In example 11.10 above, the upbeat is explored using a similar technique, but one based on two-bar sequences. The first is diatonic; the second, chromatic. That is, he systematically explores possibilities atop the same bass sequence. (The identical bass line and the key signature placed in the bass clef [see sketchbook] reveal that the bass was the initiative for the exploration).

One earlier sketch belongs to this group as well on 45v:9–11 (ex. 11.11). The most interesting feature of this sketch is its remote key of C# minor, which it shares with a couple of other sketches in very different places. Otherwise, Bb major is the dominant key for the exploration sketches. The sketched key of C# is interesting because it appears as a tonal goal in a couple of places in the final score as well, implying that tonal plans could emerge early in the process. If he could sketch in 'any' minor key, one might have expected Bb minor or G minor. Otherwise, the by now familiar technique of imitation is explored.

Example 11.11: 03:45v:9-11.



Then, on 47v:10, 48r:9–12, 48v:3–8, 49r:4–10, 49v–50r, 50v:4–51v, 55r:1–3 and so forth, various aspects of the above-

discussed features of GI-2 are further explored in sketches of about the same length (four to ten bars). In parallel, another germinal idea, GI-3, first appears on 48r:1 in alternation with GI-2. GI-3 eventually merges with the latent GI-1 (first sketched many pages earlier), and all the three germinal ideas *exchange* details in rhythmic and melodic interval successions. For example, 48r:1–4 shows an exploration of the presumably new germinal idea, GI-3, though it might also be influenced by the descending scales on the opposite page 47v. This idea, in turn, might have influenced 04:60v:8–11, which eventually becomes the basis for a long transitional passage in the recapitulation of the final score (see case 4 under the discussions of phase 3 below).

Example 11.12: GI-3 (a): 03:48r:1-2, (b): 48r:3, (c): 48r:4



As GI-3 begins on the first beat with two half notes, its rhythmic design is less intense and hectic than that of GI-2. Its descending stepwise motion also differs from the

pervasive leaps of the other. Having said this, there are obvious similarities as well, such as the dotted rhythm in the first staff and the quarter note upbeat that is slurred with its previous note in the third and fourth staves (in the source), which at the point of sketching might have represented either intentional or latent links. Apparently, the sketch on 48r:1-2 is a memo, while the others are explorations based on it.

I will next evaluate some consequences of the imitation-sequence technique in detail. Svendsen tests two strategies based on this technique: a canon at the octave and a canon at the fifth. The technique clearly evokes the canon exercises he wrote for Richter (see chapter 9.4), which were also filled with sequences. The canon at the fifth (last staff above) requires the motive to be raised a whole step from the fifth note compared to canon at the octave. Svendsen realises this *before* he writes it, as there is no sign of correction.

I include these details as examples of the complexity of exploring musical ideas on paper. Svendsen works with contrapuntal designs at a detailed level at this point, before he begins to consider continuity, form and syntax. He uses a limited number of techniques and small alternations to ensure agreement between motivic ideas and contrapuntal rules. And it is clear that work on paper plays a significant role in this part of his compositional process.

Nevertheless, GI-3 is temporarily abandoned, and more variants of GI-2 appear. I will show a transcription of folio 48v (ex. 11.13) to exemplify a crucial point concerning a highly important aspect of nineteenth-century music. Thematic unity (in this movement) does not merely arise because all of the themes have a common ancestor (one germinal idea), but because Svendsen seeks to *create* unity by altering different motives to become more similar and coherent. On folio 48v, for example, Svendsen uses GI-2 and highlights the combination of arpeggiated chords and the familiar quarter-note upbeat, yet adjusted by half a bar, so that it arrives at the end of each bar. (Previously, he

had used both features but not in combination). He writes one memo, tries it out in imitation, then writes a variant of the first memo, which eventually brings him quite close to the main theme of the *Eroica* finale.



This is evidently an accidental similarity, but it could have represented a serious challenge to the autonomy of this work if Svendsen based his movement on this variant. Motivic unity is as much a goal as a result of a compositional method based on melodic seeds (that is, it is both), but a sense of thematic unity would in this case be supplanted by a sense of an undesirable *similarity*. This variant does not recur.

On 52r (ex. 11.14), a reminiscence of GI-1 occurs again, now in 2/2. These particular sketches have a clear structural approach. First, the five versions are numbered and aligned on the same page to be compared. Second, there are not a single accidental. Is the intended key A minor? In that case, an unusually modal sequential pattern occurs. Given their distinctive and tidy look, I interpret these sketches as arising more from a visual structural scheme than from Svendsen's aural imagination. We recognise the rhythmic/melodic elements from previous examples, and the stepwise dotted rhythm (which first appeared in leaps or note repetitions) foreshadows important features of the final score. I think this derives from GI-1 but is also influenced by GI-3, as both feature half notes succeeded by faster rhythms. The sketching technique should be familiar by now:

Example 11.14: GI-1 (GI-3) 03:52r.



There are also examples where Svendsen tries to combine previously explored ideas in a continuous thread like in example 11.15:

Example 11.15: 53r approaches a short continuity draft.



The misurato (measured string tremolo) bears mentioning, because it appears in a number of other exploration sketches and later in the draft and score (where the thematic material has changed significantly). This suggests that some orchestral characteristics are realised which otherwise would be difficult to interpret from these sketches. (If this is arguably a completely ordinary device, it is nevertheless remarkably persistent in the sources in

question. One would not think that Svendsen had to write such an ordinary accompaniment if it were not important to him.)

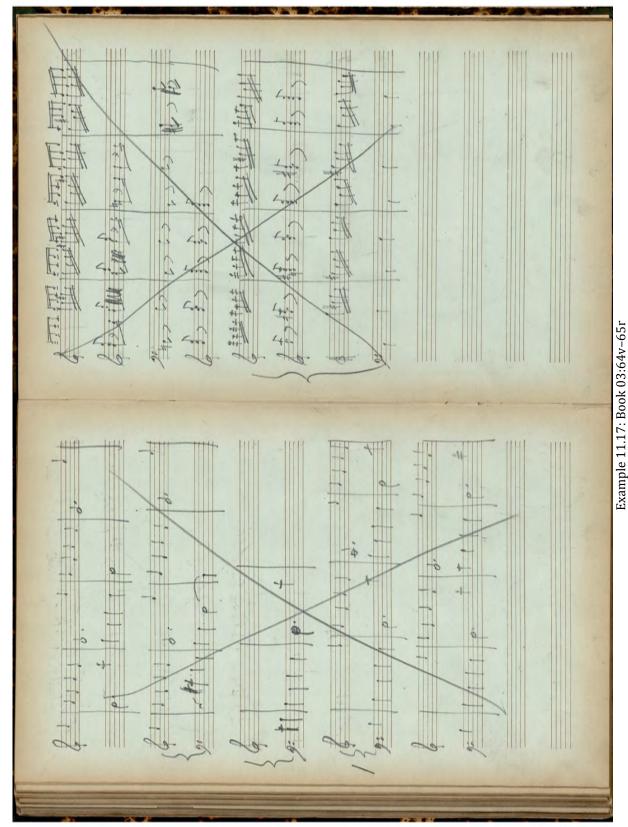
Note also the chromatic descending variant of GI-1 in the last six bars of example 11.15, which could easily merge with the motive in example 6.3a (transferred to *Romeo and Juliet*). A similar variant is also present on the very first page in book 04, explored in the familiar imitation-sequence pattern. (The gap in time between them is difficult to estimate. Svendsen may have obtained book 04 before he filled up book 03 and made a few sketches on the first page).

The nine sketches on 54r:1–6, 55v:4–9, 56r:1–6, 56v:3–10, 57r:7–10, 57v:1–9, 58r:1–6, 62r:7–8 and 63r are all very similar variations on the following strategy:

Example 11.16: GI-1 58r.



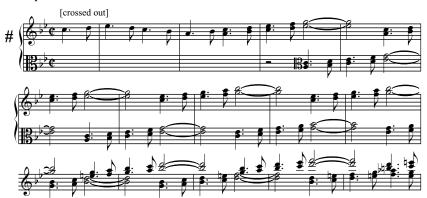
The difference between them involves the interval from which to imitate, the distance between the entrances (one or two bars) and the number of half notes that anticipate the descending quarter notes, which means that the contrapuntal technique itself is more important to Svendsen than the exact shape of the thematic material. Again, the number of these types of sketches indicates his need to *explore on paper*. In parallel, the same technique is used to explore GI-2, which in several sketches is split into two separate motives, such as folio 64v (double neighbour tone) and 55r:1–3 (octave upbeat). The sketch on folio 64v (ex. 11.17) has another interesting aspect, in that it is the last exploration sketch on this material in book 03, and in fact sketches for the third movement appear on its facing page that reveal a visual similarity between these motives. Is this an intended inter-movemental link that was later neglected? Did the visual shape of this sketch renew his interest in the intermezzo, or is this merely a coincidence to excite sketch scholars and no one else? I will return to this issue below.



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Thus far, it has been possible to track two pervasive germinal ideas, GI-1 (possibly merged with GI-3) and GI-2, even when their features are all mixed together. I have excluded some intervening sketches so as to emphasise this pattern, some of which will be discussed further down. But I have also excluded a number of examples that would strengthen this pattern, which continues in book 04, though *backwards*. The interesting yet bewildering thing about book 04 is that several, though related, thematic 'paths' for this very movement intertwine over the course of about twenty-seven pages between 59v and 72v.

Example 11.18: 04:72v:8-12.



On 04:72v:8–12 (ex. 11.18), we meet with his exploration technique again, which is not surprising in itself, but Svendsen here cultivates the dotted rhythm which

was suggested in the book 03 sketches. The two layers, both in parallel thirds, seem to foreshadow several passages that utilise a similar texture in four-part strings, although the choice of musical material is different (see rehearsal mark I and P+14 in the score, for example).

Example 11.19: 04:69r:5-8.



A separated sketch on 69r:5–8 (ex. 11.19) suggests the same textural idea with yet another motive, indicating that certain textural ideas can develop 'independently' of the motives, although the latter consumes more paper. These two sketches were probably not sketched one after the other, due to the combination of both physical position and motivic diversity.

On 04:71v:1–7 (ex. 11.20), we find a number of versions of GI-2 (sequential thirds in quarter notes), yet this time triplets and dotted rhythms appear.

Example 11.20: 04:71v:1-7.



The facing pages 69v and 70r contain sketches with the dotted rhythm, but it is not as dominant as it is in the examples 11.18 and 11.20, and their shapes evoke those drawn in book 03 instead. Examples 11.21 and 11.22

below demonstrate this:

Example 11.21: GI-1 04:70r:1-6.



Example 11.22: 69r:1-4.



The sketch on staves 70r:1–2 (ex. 11.21) looks most similar to several examples drawn from book 03 above, though there are *three* repeated half notes instead of four or two. In addition, Svendsen's 'mechanical sequence canons' for Richter come to mind again. Staves 4–7 reveal a variant that approaches two themes in the final score. The third half note is changed to a dotted quarter note, which is in the final score (b. 91/ C+19), and the arpeggio figure in the third bar foreshadows the main theme itself. The rhythmic and melodic shape in bars 2–3 is very similar to bars 1–2 in the main theme. 69r:1–4 (ex. 11.22) demonstrates another variation. From a teleological point of view, one would assume that this was written earlier, since it differs more from the final score than 70r:4–7, but neither physical position nor pencil stroke can confirm this. Both sketches

are marked with # and crossed out, but the # is found in many places on these pages, so it is difficult to determine the meaning.

Book 04:68r:5–7 (ex. 11.23) reveals a three-part contrapuntal design combining elements of GI-1, just discussed, and features of GI-2 that appeared in sketchbook 03. Note also the so-called 'Grieg motive', which features quite prominently in Svendsen's music as well.

Example 11.23: GI-1+2 04:68r:5-7.



Example 11.24: 04:68v.



Examples 11.24 and 11.25 highlight a dotted rhythm that is quite similar to the final score, but since they appear in alternation with the features discussed so far, it is difficult to claim that they were written afterwards and that the final shape of the themes emerges step

by step. It is more likely a matter of many possibilities being present within the same time span. The pencil strokes in the sketchbook clearly suggest that staves 68v:1–2 and 3–6, respectively, were written at different times, because the latter are significantly lighter.

Example 11.25: 04:63r:5-10.



Example 11.26: 04:59v.



The sketches in 11.26 are most probably written either shortly before the development section, after the first drafts in the beginning of book 04, or in preparation for the development section (note the alto clef in comparison to

the prominent violas in the score).

Finally in example 11.26, we can see the way in which very small adjustments in the material that linger over many sketches can have a significant effect on the process. The rhythmic/melodic elements in 11.26 reveal a small but significant difference to previously discussed sketches. The eighth note is now a neighbouring tone, and that is a new feature. It has thus far featured either as anticipation, a passing tone or a chord tone (that is, a repetition of the pitch of the dotted quarter note). This tiny detail tips the balance towards the final iteration of the actual main theme, the other relationships of which are already established, whether we look at two consecutive notes, a whole bar or two consecutive bars. I cannot tell when this last tweak happened (likely not at the desk), or whether this sketch or the drafted theme at the beginning of the book represents its first appearance. But it exemplifies what I believe most artists experience from time to time—that a minor adjustment can open up a host of new possibilities and take the working process in a new direction. I could have made this claim based on only a few examples, but the thorough demonstration above reveals the range of possibilities even within certain constraints that could have led to a rather different finale. This tiny change occurred favourable to him, for reasons we cannot tell. It is not necessarily the 'best choice', but it appeared as favourable to Svendsen and expanded his material by drawing upon another intraopus rule (inclusion of the ascending neighbouring tone). It therefore enabled new strategies that, to Svendsen, probably struck the right aesthetic balance between unity and variation.

But is this assumption correct? Can it be claimed on the basis of meticulous sketch studies? What if another sketchbook taking a different path were found? What if the main theme of the final version were found in a different key in a source written ten

years earlier? Several aspects encourage me to stay the course. First of all, I certainly do not claim any exclusive insight into any 'Eureka' moment on Svendsen's part. I cannot tell *how* or when he came up with this idea. Second, I do not claim that Svendsen was even *aware* of this new detail in his material. Although he must have experienced the difference at some point, I do not know *when* he did, in relation to this sketch. Perhaps it was much later. Third, if the main theme were to be found in an older source, I would then assert that he must have been *unaware* of the similarity between the sketches throughout sketchbook 03 and many pages in 04.

Another factor, in this respect, is the group of three sketches notated in almanac 1191:1 and mentioned in chapter 6 (ex. 11.27). They reveal other close connections to the main theme, but *not* the neighbouring tone.

Example 11.27: Almanac 1191:1 22-24 August and 25-27 August.



Example 11.27 contains the three sketches, all on the same two facing pages in the almanac. On the lowest level there are no new motivic elements in the first sketch. But two rhythms have exchanged places: the dotted *quarter note* rhythm appears *before* the dotted *half note* rhythm. The second sketch in F minor shares a key with the final secondary theme. It also shares the structural idea of moving the second phrase up a third with the first appearance of the secondary theme in the draft (but not the final secondary theme). It even shares the ascending arpeggiated seventh chords with the final main theme (and some examples given above). I do not know when these sketches were written, except that it was almost certainly *before* the draft, and most likely *before* those sketches discussed above in example 11.26. As stated in chapter 6 and 7, these sketches must have been written *early* in 1876 or very late in 1875. They were not written on the days on which they appear in the almanac, because the final autograph is dated earlier, in May of that year. This means that the entire draft and score were written during the winter/spring of 1876.

Another interesting point is that *none* of the preceding exploration sketches were wholly transmitted into the draft. But some of the latest had a close to direct influence

upon it, as I will demonstrate later. The exploratory process in phase 2 also follows a different strategy than the imitation-sequence technique discussed so far, namely through construction themes as melody with accompaniment. This technique, however, is not as paper consuming. I will include a few examples however.

In book 03:50v:4–12 (ex. 11.28), there is a sketch for a theme (GI-2) based on a melody and accompaniment lasting for fourteen *or* seventeen bars (depending on which 'path' one chooses).

Example 11.28: GI-2 03:50v:4-12.



could have turned into a longer draft, as a comparison with the beginning of book 04 (04:1v:3 onwards) suggests. We also observe striking textural similarities between these two sketches: and the final score: the repetitive quarter notes in the bass that establish a pedal point, the supposed string misurato and the register of the melody. The significant difference is the melodic line itself, whose motivic elements were described above as GI-2.

Another, less-elaborate example is 59v:5–8:

Example 11.29: 03:59v:5-8



Again an imitation-sequence pattern is exposed, but this time as a response to or development of a previous ascending melodic curve. This combination of a head motive and a response has the potential to form a longer passage. Had it become the main theme instead of the self-contained one that Svendsen finally chose, it would have been a starting point for a very different movement. Related attempts can be observed on

03:61r:1-6, 04:63r:1-6 and 67r:1-6, the latter in Db major (key signature Bb) and characterised by slower rhythms (no triplets or dotted quarter notes). Could it be an intended secondary theme? But the most decisive thematic sketches appear at the beginning of book 04, on page 1v. Example 11.130 is a transcription of most of this page.

Example 11.30: 04:1v:1-10 (identical to examples 6.10).



The theme notated on the two first staves is familiar from previous sketches, while the one on the following is related to the main theme in the final score. With regard to the discussion above of *when* the neighbouring eighth notes first appeared, we see that there is no time signature on the third staff (second theme) here. This *might* suggest that these sketches were written directly after one another, because Svendsen usually writes both key and time signature even when they are self-evident to him. If the pencil strokes were very different, it could suggest a gap of time between the two, but they are not, which means that they *could* have been written in sequence. A likely interpretation, then, is that Svendsen intended to compare two possible themes and chose the latter. The sketch from staff 3 in example 11.30 could be considered a memo sketch and might even be the first sketched version of the theme. It also works as a kind of *synopsis sketch* for the main theme. It is a self-contained sixteen-bar melody, and it contains all of the four-bar phrase structures that make up the various versions explored on the following pages (with one exception for the final version). I will resume this discussion under section 11.4, case 1.

I will wrap up my discussion on the exploration phase with a note on intermovemental thematic relationships. Rolf Sævik finds only one clear example of this

phenomenon in his dissertation on Svendsen's Second Symphony,⁵⁰⁴ but he does not discount the possibility of others. In reference to Eckhoff's demonstration of such relationships in the First Symphony, one would expect to find this feature in its successor as well. In chapter 5, I referred to the debate about whether sketches illuminate work analysis or not. As I claimed there, it is immediately problematic to claim that either there *is* a certain relationship in a score or there *is not*. Such relationships are not 'brute facts' but rather subject to interpretation. A *similarity* does not create *unity, coherence* or a *relationship* if it appears to be a coincidence. But if it is perceived to be intentional, it suggests unity and the like. In other words, a relationship between two themes, for example, whether one of unity or of contrast, must be experienced and interpreted. It works on the level of laws (Meyer, see chapter 2.1). In this sense, if a relationship is pointed out to a listener or analyst by another and accepted by him/her, it becomes a reality (to him/her). The preceding discussion exemplifies the complex balance between unintentional similarity and intentional unity.

From the sketches, we might venture a guess that Svendsen explored several possibilities for inter-movemental relationships, but they eventually faded and perhaps even vanished during exploratory sketching in favour of other thematic features, such as those discussed above. The one Sævik points out (see below) seems to have been planted rather late in the process, probably while Svendsen drafted the exposition in phase 3. Let me present a few examples that *could* have created inter-movemental thematic relationships.

In two places, the main theme from the first movement is quoted and adjusted to 2/2 metre. Both appear to be isolated incidents, and there is no clear indication that these ideas were immediately followed up on (ex. 11.31).



Both sketches include several systems in order to fill in their musical texture. There are two likely possibilities. Either Svendsen is exploring the possibility of *quoting* the first

⁵⁰⁴ Rolf Sævik, "Johan Svendsen: Symfoni nr. 2 i B-dur op. 15 : (en analyse av verket)" (University of Oslo, 1963), 53.

movement at a certain point in the finale, or he is experimenting with new initiatives for a theme based on an inter-movemental relationship. The draft for the recapitulation reveals an example of the former. The latter might have actualised an intervallic framework for the main theme of the finale (ex. 11.31 [c]):

Example 11.31 (c): Comparison of the first and the fourth movement's thematic structure.



Svendsen also tests the potential relationship to the third movement. Example 11.32 contains a motive very similar to the passage around letter B in the Intermezzo.

Example 11.32: 03:49r:11-12.



Any eventual relationship is not very obscure since motives starting with three half notes already where circling in the

finale sketches (GI-1 and GI-3). These similarities are clearly audible and visible in the sketches but less evident in the final score. But if one takes a look at b. 107/D-14, for example, the sketch above seems to have bridged some ideas between the two movements. This same combination of pitch and rhythm appears many times throughout the movement, in fact.

The last example was demonstrated in the example 11.17 facsimile. A common characteristic of GI-2 is its descending thirds sequenced by seconds in quarter notes, which could be characterised as incomplete double neighbouring tones. The main theme in the intermezzo consists of a similar pattern, yet sequenced an interval of a second *higher* and rendered in *sixteenth notes*. As mentioned above, the similarity is perhaps not audible due to the different speeds and is never explored, since this feature fades away in the finale sketches. Interestingly, the two facing pages appear to represent a *transition* from finale sketching back to intermezzo sketching that fills the rest of book 03. Thus the link may not have been intentional at first but might have reminded him of the intermezzo and led him back to his work on this movement.

As to the exploration sketches, then, I would emphasise that two germinal ideas seem to dominate, GI-1 and GI-2, but they often exchange motivic features and otherwise intertwine. Thus it is not two distinct *motives* or *themes* that are explored, because the contents of these germinal ideas are constantly changed and altered, often

significantly. Nevertheless, one can speak of a sense of duality of ideas, or of two paths that are followed. These two germinal ideas are not in fact reflected in the duality of the main and secondary themes in the final score. Instead, they represent the two passages discussed in case 1 and 2 in 11.4 below, both of which belong to the main theme section. Yet whereas features of GI-1 are recognisable throughout (repeated half notes followed by a descending figure in faster rhythm), the link between GI-2 and the final score is much more complex. However, it would be misleading to claim that GI-2 developed into the main theme and GI-1 into the theme from bar 89, respectively, because they exchange features so many times during the process and even take on new features. One might wonder what Svendsen in fact managed to achieve through the exploration sketches in book 03 and the last pages of 04, because if one looks at individual sketches, any coherence with the final score seems almost incidental. But when we look at the broader picture by considering many sketches, it comes clear that Svendsen actualises a vast number of possibilities through a *limited* number of motivic elements. One sketched idea does not necessarily exclude another, a repertoire of possibilities remains considerable for a longer period of time.

Svendsen continues to look at thematic possibilities in phase 3, but in a *syntactical* situation—that is, not to test *any* possibility but to test those that would further the work's musical continuity. Another explanation is that Svendsen more or less consciously chose a limited amount of motivic elements based on his stylistic rules. These elements operate within a complex relationship between imagined sound and visual (sketched) patterns and are, in turn, explored and developed through relatively few compositional (learned) devices, as discussed elsewhere. At times during this process, Svendsen happens upon new motivic variants that generally increase the number of possibilities. It is an important difference between the possibilities that Svendsen considers and those literally endless ones, because he is here governed by his goal of creating aesthetic unity. (If we compare the facing sketches 04:64v:1-6 and 65r:1-6 we can interpret them as an instance which could bring one thematic idea to a completely different work concept. 65r could find its way to the finale, 64v could not, but their similarity and physical closeness is striking.)

The limited amount of techniques he exercises is both curious and striking. No doubt counterpoint was important to Svendsen, but there are many techniques he never appears to consider, such as fugatos, longer canons and canons by augmentation,

diminution or inversion. Nor are there any 'free polyphonic textures', in which independent melodic contours govern the periodicity tested. Recalling chapter 9, I would suggest that this limited contrapuntal repertoire reflects what he exercised (which again may be rooted in a lack of interest in fugues in Leipzig, for instance). Even 'pure harmonic' exploration is relatively uncommon in phase 2, although a few examples of it do exist, especially in combination with sequential patterns. But Svendsen generally reserves harmonic exploration for the next phase, as we will see.

I find the lack of harmonic explorations in phase 2 curious. What Asbjørn Eriksen described as an 'instinct' for the right harmonic choices (chapter 2) and the formation of a relatively stable harmonic palette in Svendsen's juvenilia, discussed in chapter 3, might have become a hindrance in his professional stylistic development. His harmonic confidence, that is, might have prevented him from exploring and challenging himself while sketching.

11.4 Drafts: Phase 3

Svendsen's goal in phase 3 is to create the musical course of the work, which is why such sketches are often called *continuity drafts* (see chapter 5). But a significant difference between Svendsen's drafts and Beethoven's, for example, is that Svendsen's focus on texture and orchestration in great detail, in addition to the musical course. On the one hand, this procedure slows down the writing process and often disrupts the continuity of the draft, which in turn seems to increase the clear four-bar periodicity in the movement. On the other hand, it clearly indicates that Svendsen had to balance continuity with orchestral ideas (texture and timbre), because his sense of the musical course depended on considerations based on the orchestration. Nevertheless, there are no extended one-line drafts in his hand. The fallback is three staves, which from time to time increases to four or decreases to two. Svendsen generally composed *particellas* in phase 3.

Concerning the appearances of phase 2 versus phase 3 sketches, the significant difference between the beginning and the end of book 04 is that the pages are filled consecutively one after another in the beginning, where a musical course can be followed throughout several pages, but more haphazardly in the last part, where all of the sketches are short and none involve page turns.

What, then, signals the transition from exploration sketches to longer drafts? The sketchbooks give no clear answer. There is no gradual transition, most likely because

the invention of the main theme prompted Svendsen to take a 'leap' in the compositional process and abandon many of his phase 2 variants. Sketches for *Romeo and Juliet*, to be discussed in the next chapter, suggest that sometimes exploration sketches could be extended and transferred into longer drafts. This might be the case for the finale witnessed on page 04:1v as well, as discussed in section 11.3.

The complete draft for the finale, which consists of a number of 'sub-drafts', is physically disposed as follows in book 04:

Table 11.1

Position in 04	Section
1v:3-3v:4	Main theme, explorations
3v:5-8r	Exposition 1st draft
8v:1-11r:6	Exposition 2nd draft
11r:7-13r:6:4	Development section, original draft
13r:6:5-28r	Recapitulation and Coda
28v-51r	Various other works and ideas
51v-52r	Development section, extension
52v-54r	Introduction

Each section in the sonata-allegro-based structure can be divided into sub-sections in which each passage is often sketched several times before Svendsen moves on to the next one. As revealed in table 11.1, the extension of the development section and the introduction are separated from the rest by sketches for *Romeo and Juliet*, a few songs, *Prélude*, and a number of unidentified ideas. Thus, as mentioned in chapter 6, it is clear that the extension of the development and the introduction are written at a later stage than the others, possibly after all the sketches in between.

The draft as a whole demonstrates the interchangingly part—whole process at work in the interaction between the details and the large-scale structures. Because the chronology of the sketches is so clear in this phase, we can observe how details in melodic contour and phrase structures change as a result of to decisions concerning large-scale form, and vice versa. What governs this process is the *goal* of working out a movement that balances unity, variation and contrast, rather than notating a completely preconceived movement. The process is based on trial and error, and it does not appear to be the case that the shape and order of passages are determined in advance, except that the principles of sonata-allegro form and some *sense* of the supposed continuity inform them. As mentioned, each passage is often sketched several times in succession, which means that one attempt or variant is evaluated before the next is written. Presumably this evaluation involved testing things at the piano. We cannot actually

observe it in the sketches, but in light of what Mozart and Beethoven stated (see chapter 4), it is a reasonable explanation.

The following survey describes five topics that highlight the most striking parameters of Svendsen's working method in this phase:

- 1. *Melodic adjustment:* Details in a melodic contour are changed. This is a continuation of the exploration sketches of phase 2, but the purpose is not to explore any possibilities, but syntactical syntonisation with the preceding and intended succeeding passage.
- 2. *Re-harmonisation:* The harmony is changed to either smooth out the musical course or change the tonal direction. The reason is presumably the same as in 1—that is, to dovetail with previous and succeeding passages, and it is probably also a result of mismatches between written and performed music. I must emphasise here that this mismatch rarely stems from a misinterpretation of a chord. Svendsen rarely writes stylistically impossible harmonisations. But the slow speed of his sketching seems to push him to work faster or more abruptly with tonality than he does in a revision stage.
- 3. *Textural adjustment:* Changes in implied orchestral texture. This often takes place between draft and score.
- 4. *Temporal expansion/compression:* Changing the *duration* of a theme, a passage or a complete formal section. Expansion is more common than compression. In other words, Svendsen often finds a passage to be too short. The mismatch between time of sketching and time of performance plays an important part in this as well. Through the slower process of sketching, the imagination is more likely to loop or otherwise activate the sound, whereas the performed duration of the sketch can be shorter than expected.
- 5. Replacement of the musical material within a given duration: The length of the period/passage remains, but different musical material is pasted into the slot. Combinations of 4 and 5 also occur—for example, by expanding a four-bar slot to eight bars.

What follows is an analysis of various passages in the finale with reference to the five topics above.

Case 1: The main theme (04:3r-4r, 04:8v-9r:6:4, transcription: appendix 1.12)

Example 11.30 above shows the (apparent) first memo/synopsis of the main theme. Several variants of the theme are sketched on the pages that follow. In other words, Svendsen explores various possibilities for a theme, and we might call this phase 2 activity. But the variant that starts on 04:3v:5 becomes the first draft for the exposition. As well, the final version of the theme, corresponding to the score, begins on 8v and continues into the second draft for the exposition, which otherwise also matches the final score in terms of musical course and content.

In appendix 1.12, I have performed a *comparative transcription* of the various drafts for the theme. Svendsen's main concern is not to find its *character* (although one

might conclude that minor adjustments occur in that respect) but its viable length and form. Hence, he works with *continuity* and *musical syntax*. How long should the passage containing this theme be before the music moves into a new one? It is clear that he is dependent on sketches—that is, visualisation on paper—to decide this question. In other words, even though it is a self-contained theme and a relatively short passage, he does not work it out only in his imagination or at the piano. He explores it on paper as well. Thus, a combination of visual structure, aural imagination and presumably piano playing form the basis for his judgment. The theme is made up of distinctive four-bar phrases, each consisting of the same two one-bar rhythms. Svendsen's method is to play around with their *order* as though they were pre-fabricated construction bricks. There are only three different *melodic* construction bricks (types of melodic phrases) in the synopsis sketch. The first implies harmonic stability on I, the second modulates to III and the last implies a IV–V–I (or IV–II–V–I) cadence. In the synopsis, the first melodic construction brick is repeated as the third phrase, presumably intended to have a V/IV harmonisation.

The limited selection of phrases makes it difficult to extend the duration of the theme without being monotonous. Hence, in the second variant (overlapping with the first) Svendsen adds two more bricks (one implies modulation to the Dominant and the other remains entirely in III, the Dominant's Submediant key), which significantly expands the possibilities.⁵⁰⁵ In the third and fourth variant in my transcription (I have excluded the one on 2v:3 and so on), Svendsen experiments with inserting a harmonic deadlock, which puts the musical course on hold and creates a moment of expectation.

I will concentrate on the last three variants, those that include an accompaniment. The first of them (system 4 in the transcription) has the inserted harmonic deadlock after the modulation to III and V. These contrasting bars eventually provide Svendsen with the opportunity to repeat the entire sixteen-bar theme, replacing the 'half closure' phrase to V with a IV-II-V-I cadence. Hence, he performs a temporal expansion (category 4 above) in relation to the synopsis, and sixteen bars become thirty-two, plus the four-bar deadlock. In this attempt the modulation to III comes at bars 7–8 (second phrase), as in all of the previous attempts.

⁵⁰⁵ The number of *mathematical* possibilities is not the concern here, of course, because so many would be aesthetically unfit, due to their harmonic and tonal development, for instance.

In the next attempt (system 5), some phrases swap places, so that the modulation to V comes before the one to III, which is then delayed. Hence, the tonal course is changed, so that the most ordinary modulation (to V) comes first and his stronger move (to III) is saved until later. The number of bars up to the harmonic deadlock is the same as the previous attempt, but the musical course, then, is altered. In other words, a replacement, or swapping, of musical content has taken place (cat. 5). As indicated (by a frame) in the sketchbook and transcription, Svendsen seems unhappy with the way the D minor modulation works, and the harmonic deadlock is not written out but rather suggested as an insertion in the fifth attempt (see 04:4r, though it is written out as cuesized notes in my transcription). Probably, he is deciding whether to use either the deadlock or a repetition of the D minor phrases. Nevertheless, he continues composing an entire exposition, which I think leads him, in the end, to the final solution for the main theme, which is abandoning the deadlock again. In other words, his knowledge of the rest of the exposition reflects back on the shape of the main theme. Also, the harmonic deadlock included in the first exposition draft anticipates the contrasting effect of the following passage (b. 89 in the score), which in itself consists of two alternating and contrasting ideas. In addition, the harmonic deadlock appears again at the end of the exposition, leading back to the repeated exposition (repetition is marked in both exposition drafts—the decision not to repeat was apparently made as he composed the score). Thus, Svendsen considers the anticipation of contrast and the recurring deadlock to be unsatisfactory. This exemplifies how a sense of the higher structural levels (the exposition as a whole) influences the lower structures, and eventually the main theme itself.

The last variant discussed above (system 5) implies a theme of forty-four bars if both deadlock and repetition are played (or thirty-six to forty bars if only one of them is played). The final solution consists of twenty-eight bars—that is, it is a temporal compression from attempt 5 to attempt 6. The interesting turn in this last version (system 6) is caused by a minor harmonic adjustment which eventually has many consequences, I think. The key of D minor is now approached through a *plagal* cadence (as opposed to authentic in the previous variants), using the phrase structure of the first phrase (altering Eb to E natural), which smoothens the tonal shift. On a larger level, it implies that not every modulation is performed by authentic cadence, which again decreases the sense of distinctive four-bar blocks. In other words, Svendsen increases

the effects of continuity and expressive stability and saves the contrast for the following passage (b. 89 and so on; see case 2 below), which in and of itself is based on alternating (contrasting) motives.

As to texture and orchestration, no instrumentation is specified, but voice leading is notated in detail (a four-part texture with inner parts sometimes doubled at the octave). Eighth-note misurato is apparently indicated more or less throughout, which over such a long period must imply strings. In the final score, on the other hand, this misurato is replaced by repeated quarter notes in the woodwinds. Apparently Svendsen either planned a softer string-based orchestration (with some wind doublings) or a loud one that blends orchestral groups in both melody and accompaniment. Eventually, though, he switched to a loud orchestration that contrasts melody and accompaniment (strings versus winds).

The most important gesture towards coherence between all of the drafts and the final score, however, is the notated octave in the foreground. I find this to be the norm throughout drafts for many works. The octave of the melody rarely changes from draft to score, which means that Svendsen most likely followed through on his intentions concerning the foreground orchestration. Background textures and voicings, however, can be suggested in great detail in drafts but still be significantly altered in the score.

In all, the draft is rather detailed. Differences in the look of the pencil strokes suggest that Svendsen wrote the melody for a period first and added the accompaniment afterwards. The fact that numerous sketches in all of the sketchbooks contain a melody with two or three empty staves lined up also supports this. He eventually sets up a particella in case of further textural elaboration as well. Having said this, the intended background must have an impact on how many bars of melody he could write before he suggested the accompaniment. In this example, the harmonic possibilities are limited by the diatonic melody (although he finds a new turn in the last variant). In chromatic and polyphonic passages, though, the situation is more complicated, and the melody and the lower parts are mutually dependent. In addition, he never sketches the foreground for very long passages first, and thus his drafts never reflect the long on-line continuity drafts that are well known from Beethoven's compositional method, as mentioned above.

Case 2: Transitional passage between the main and secondary themes (04:4r:7:3–5v and 04:9r–9v, transcription: appendix 1.13)

The next case concerns the passage following the main theme and introduces quite different compositional challenges. Appendix 1.13 is a comparative transcription of the eight attempts on this passage. Attempts 1–7 are in the first exposition draft, while attempt 8 is in the second. Whereas the main theme is a self-contained melody featuring expressive stability, the following passage's function is a transition towards the secondary theme in F minor (Dominant parallel). Even though we do not know the prospective continuations of the first six attempts, this is certainly the *approximate* goal (we cannot know whether Svendsen had the secondary theme on hand before he composed the transition). In addition to changes in harmony and phrase structure (the temporal adjustment), motivic changes and even the replacement of musical material is tested through these attempts.

We can discern motivic elements of GI-1 from the exploration phase in the two or three half notes that repeat the same pitch, then, descend in quarter notes. In many of the exploration sketches the descending line was made up of stepwise quarter-note triplets. This seems to have been abandoned here, perhaps because (arpeggiated) quarter-note triplets are intended to follow. An underlying premise (or intention) appears to be the alternation between two contrasting ideas (textures): an initiative (inherited from GI-1) followed by a response. Most surprising is the complete replacement of the musical content of this response that takes place in these sketches (cat. 5). Variants 2, 5, 6 and 7 contain ascending chord blocks in an arpeggio in quarternote triplets that end in a chromatic appoggiatura. A similar idea actually occurred in an early exploration sketch on 03:47r:3-8, which implied a II-V-II-V harmony that could function as a transitional or epilogue theme. The arpeggio triplets are explored the most during the eight attempts, and we can only speculate how they might have affected the overall movement had this gesture finally been chosen. More polyphonic textures are tested in variant 1, 4 and 8, with rather different musical characters—the latter, in fact, is a novel cantabile canon, unlike any of the others. The variety of characters revealed in these eight attempts suggests quite strongly that Svendsen only had certain assumptions regarding the movement as a whole before he wrote the draft. It is not merely a matter of finding solutions in details but of experimenting with the whole musical course

through this draft. In other words, his imagination must have been quite blurry for the entire movement before he composes it through.

Concerning the cantabile canon, for example, its predecessor exists in attempt 7 but only *after* the alternation of two contrasts. He eventually abandons attempt 7, probably due to its disagreement with the rules of counterpoint in the fourth bar (a parallel fifth and an unresolved fourth). Variant 8, then, contains the same idea, yet in inversion.

I will now detour back to the exploration sketches. The cantabile idea *may* have been influenced by the two sketches on 04:71r:1–6 and 7–8, which have interesting similarities: 71r:7–8 is in E minor and also has similarities with the secondary theme of the unfinished symphony sketches in book 06. I am not suggesting that Svendsen also had that work in mind at this point, but it might *exemplify* a complex intentional and unintentional (silent) relationship between germinal ideas and works.

Concerning the relationship between the cantabile canon in attempts 7 and 8, I should mention three other exploration sketches as well: 04:56v:1–3, 56r:1–4 and mus.ms. 7882c⁵⁰⁶ all contain variants of the inverted version in attempt 8. The sketch on 04:56v:1–3 may be the oldest of them, because it consists of only a single melodic line. The sketch on 04:56r:1–4 explores imitation at the fourth. It is also harmonised with chords (presumably) in the violas, which makes it more similar to the final score. The sketch on 7882c explores imitation at the octave, like the final score, but not in strict canon, which the score does. It is likely that these three sketches were written in parallel with the draft as *partial sketches* rather than explorations. That is, Svendsen explored a number of inverted variants of the cantabile canon in attempt 7 while he composed the second draft for the exposition.

As to the temporality (cat. 4) in this transitional passage as a whole (the phrase length), its tendency is to expand from four-bar to eight-bar contrasting 'blocks', which again exemplifies the problems inherent in the slower act of writing. Svendsen realises that the first idea must last longer before its contrast arrives, partly because the first idea already represents a contrast to the preceding main theme. The third attempt addresses this problem first. Here, he also tries a rather different strategy based on a part-writing texture and equal quarter notes. (Note this texture's similarity to the

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⁵⁰⁶ Johan Svendsen. Mus.ms. 7882c [Skisser].

pervading texture of the secondary theme section.) Only in the last attempt 8 are the two contrasting ideas balanced in equally long eight-bar periods. Crucially, what interpreters of the final score might see as a balance in the periodicity was not necessarily self-evident to Svendsen during the act of composition. On a higher structural level, attempt 8 also seems to suggest temporal compression related to 7, because the 'cantabile canon' *becomes* the responding theme, as opposed to introducing it afterwards.

Different strategies for tonal development are also explored. Whereas the first attempt emphasises the Dominant relative key (D minor), the second states the Tonic (Bb) and would apparently proceed to the Dominant (F) through the secondary dominant chord at the point when this sketch breaks off. The fifth attempt, however, progresses towards the secondary dominant (C) first and then the Dominant relative (D minor), while attempt 6 progress towards the Dominant (F) and then the Tonic relative (G minor). The two last attempts progresses towards the Dominant (F) and then the Secondary dominant (C) (which culminates in a tutti C major chord in both drafts). All of these alternatives are possible roads from the main theme in Bb to the secondary theme in F minor (or F major, for that matter) because 'tonal detours' are common in such transitions—the music usually 'encircles' the new key rather than heading straight for it.

Taken together, these eight alternatives may comprise an underlying search for a balance between complexity and simplicity—unity, variation and contrast. The many parameters that are activated makes the process both complicated but also selective and, to some extent, random. I have tried to evaluate why he chooses one possibility over another, although it is usually based on a complexity of parameters. The attempts imply very different musical results within the underlying structure of a sonata exposition and in tandem with a bounded area of relevant rhythmic and melodic material. His imagination of the musical course changes through each attempt and is evidently affected by the act of sketching and presumably through tests on the piano. The first statement of repeated half notes, however, is never questioned here (although it is varied: two or three notes [or four in the explorations], unison or chordal). As we have seen, this idea is very important in the exploration phase and appears to be the longest surviving motivic idea in this sketching process. If sketch studies can influence performances as well, this observation might alert a conductor of the special importance of this motive. It does not imply a particular interpretation, like play these notes as loud

as you can, or the like, but that their number of appearances in the score (it is not the most exposed theme there) does not reflect its significance in Svendsen's imagination during the sketching process. It also probably influenced the beginning of the secondary theme that involves syncopated, repeated half notes tied across the barline, which eventually plays a significant part in the long transitional passage in the recapitulation (see case 3 below). Thus, it influences other thematic ideas more indirectly, and in this perhaps creates more thematic unity.

Case 3: The secondary theme section (04:6r-8r and 04:10r-11r, transcription: appendix 1.14)

The subject of this case is the remainder of the exposition—that is, the entire secondary theme section and epilogue theme. A comparative transcription is presented in appendix 1.14. As in the previous cases, temporal revisions, and especially expansions (cat. 4), are in play. In addition, we can clearly see that Svendsen composes phrase by phrase, including textural details, instead of in extended one-line continuity drafts. Even though he writes the melody first, he composes the background down to the details after four or eight bars, for example. As suggested, this compositional method works towards a 'classical syntactic script' that governs the periodicity of much of his music (see chapter 2.1–2.2). The method is probably inherited from his juvenilia, which mainly consisted of self-contained eight-bar periods. In other words, the combination of an attraction towards classicism and his compositional methods produces the structural result. Had he developed a method of composing continuity first and texture later, the distinctiveness of the periodicity might have been different. (As mentioned in chapter 4.4, Wagner drafted the entire *Das Rheingold* on *two* staves—one for the singers, the other for the orchestra.)

The memo sketch for the secondary theme appears to be in the back of book 04, at 04:61r:3–8. Here, the intention seems to be to modulate from F minor in the first eight bars towards Db major. (This sketch also contains the quarter-note triplets.) The first attempt in the draft (see appendix 1.14, first system) also modulates towards that key, but here it goes through Ab major (04:6r:5–6:3) by moving the second phrase up a third. The Db major phrase is then sequenced a third lower, in Bb minor, which eventually leads to a cadence in that key. The reason why Svendsen abandons this solution is perhaps its emphasis on Bb flat minor, which, according to common practice, will be the

tonality of the equivalent passage in the recapitulation. In other words, his draft 'happens' to steer towards the 'wrong key'. Another reason is that the tonality progress very quickly away from F minor to Ab major, and Svendsen may have preferred to maintain F minor (the goal key of the previous passage) for somewhat longer.

The second attempt (from 6v) takes back the 'original' plan of the memo. The third and fourth phrases take the tonality through Bb minor and Gb minor and let him cadence in F minor (though this is changed to Ab major in the final attempt). These differences exemplify a clear connection between choices of tonal development and temporality. When the second phrase is in Ab major in the first attempt, the music seems to progress faster, but when it is lowered to F minor again, the phrase is repeated (eventually with altered orchestration in the final score) and stability is maintained.

My next concern is bar 29 onwards in the transcription, and again, temporal expansion is the main issue. Attempt 2 in the transcription consists of a sequence of four one-bar segments. In the attempt 3, Svendsen sketches a slower descent using two-bar segments. As we can observe, attempt 2 leads directly to a cadential progression (bars 37–40) which is identical to the closing cadence of the entire exposition in both of the following attempts (bars 55–58) and the final score. Does this mean that Svendsen intended to end the exposition much earlier in the first attempt? Probably not, but perhaps he delayed the cadence because it communicated a strong sense of closure *too* early.

Another example of temporal expansion appears in the attempts 3 and 5 (bars 35–38) in the transcription. Svendsen here inserts the harmonic deadlock again, based on the upbeat of the main theme, first for two bars, then expanded to four bars.

As to replacing musical content, attempt 3 reveals an intention to round off the exposition with the secondary theme in F *major* (not minor), contrapuntally combined with the epilogue theme (bar 59 in the transcription). In the final score, however, he uses a similar strategy as the last culmination in the coda. In other words, an abandoned idea from the exposition seems to have surfaced again in the coda. To close the exposition, he finally decides to bring in a new motive, one which is in fact related to the inter-movemental link that Sævik observed. Interestingly, the most evident version of this link, the 'quote' from the second movement, has not been composed yet—it appears in the slow introduction that is sketched many pages later. Thus, we do not know whether Svendsen was aware of the link at this point in the sketching process or not.

Case 4: Recapitulation—a long transition to the secondary theme: a second development section (04:15v:9–19v:6, transcription: appendix 1.15)

In the following case, I will consider the transitional passage between the main and secondary themes in the recapitulation. Its first part is almost identical to the equivalent section in the exposition discussed above, but after the cantabile canon (which again ends in C major), Svendsen devotes many pages (more than eight, though the final draft is lost) to solving a transition that leads to Bb minor, rather than F minor. Over the course of several attempts, it actually becomes almost as long as the previously composed development section, and thus functions almost a second development section in the final score. This eventually leads Svendsen to expand the original development section later, which will be discussed in case 5.

The passage in question is progressive and polyphonic, driven by sequential imitation between celli/basses and violins. Svendsen produces at least four drafts of various parts of this transition, which all have the same goal (the secondary theme presented in Bb minor) but take somewhat different paths to it. His main concerns are firstly with the harmonic development and length of the sequential imitation passage itself, and secondly with what musical material should follow after this polyphonic passage. Appendix 1.15 presents a comparative transcription of the drafts present in book 04. The final draft, which corresponds to the score, is missing, but there are several corrections in ink in the last book 04 draft revealing that this is the final draft up to bar 27 in my transcription (letter N-8 in the score; 04:18v:10:4 in the sketchbook). Svendsen's final strategy appears to be a combination of ideas from several of the attempts.

There is a closely related exploration sketch situated on page 04:60v:8–11 (crossed out), where the imitation-sequence pattern in question is established. But the motivic identity (of the secondary theme) is not present in that exploration sketch, as it is only made up of half and whole notes. Thus it has certain similarities with GI-3, and I think it suggests a sophisticated relationship among several germinal ideas, themes and motives that emerges in the rather meticulous sketching procedure we have observed for this movement.

Example 11.33: 04:60v:8–11. Exploration sketch for the imitation-sequence pattern used in the long transitional passage in the recapitulation.



It should be noted that this sequential pattern does not correspond to the first drafted attempt. One would think, then, that it was sketched between the first and second drafts, but that would make it very rare example of Svendsen sketching the harmonic framework, or reduction, of a passage without including its motivic quality. I believe it was composed separately from the plans for the passage in question in advance. It shares strikingly similar motivic features with the sketches on its previous page 60r, and was probably originally linked to then. While he composed the draft, then, the sketch in example 11.33 proved useful. In any case, it is one of few surviving close bar-by-bar links between exploration sketches and the draft for this movement.

I will look at the imitation sequence first. This is one of very few passages in this movement where Svendsen comes close to dissolving the four-bar periodicity (although the regularity of the imitations still supports this pattern). Example 11.34 is a harmonic reduction of the various solutions, where one quarter note represents one bar (each bar in the example represents four bars in the drafts). The reduction is otherwise a significant simplification.

Example 11.34: Comparison of the harmonic structure of the variants for the transitional passage.



The first attempt is based on an ordinary sequential pattern of ascending seconds using secondary dominants, and it is thus an example of affinity by function. All the following attempts have less predictable sequential patterns and combine affinity by function with affinity by substance, drawing upon the pattern suggested in the exploration sketch. Apparently, Svendsen found the attempt 2+3 too long. Attempts 4+5 therefore shows a faster harmonic progression in its latter part. Yet it still appears to lack direction or goal—it ascends, then descends. The final solution, which has not survived in draft, ascends to a cadence in C# major, where it remains for eight bars before descending via a new harmonic device to another cadence in F# major. Through yet another harmonic device, chromatic third relations with the pivot tone A#/Bb, it finally reaches Bb minor, where it then cadences. First, Svendsen strengthens tonal centres in the final solution,

through cadencing in and stabilising the keys of C# and F#, respectively. Second, he thus implies a greater variety of harmonic devices, which is preferable in such a long passage. Thus, the passage demonstrates a greater complexity of harmonic adjustment and elaboration than we have seen previously in the movement. We can only guess how attempts 2 and 3 would have turned out if they were finalised, but they do not suggest the same variety as the final score demonstrates. Nevertheless, the insertion of more harmonic devices is apparently accompanied by the extension of the transition as a whole. The first attempt would turn out to be rather 'ordinary' and predictable in comparison to the others, so Svendsen experiments with refining an overall, if somewhat vague, plan. I cannot say whence arises the self-criticism that lies behind this act, but I believe the *technical ability* to seek for variation at a detailed level with larger structural consequences is largely a product of music theory courses—he exercised his ability to *see* other possibilities within certain constraints under Hauptmann, Papperitz and Richter.

Svendsen's other main concern is with the musical material that will succeed the sequential imitation. Attempt 3 combines the head motive from the main theme with the four-part violin texture used in the secondary theme section. (This four-part texture was utilised in the exploration sketch on 04:72v:6–12 with yet other motivic content.) For those familiar with the final score, it is important to note that this very combination of four-part violins and the main theme appears as a new invention at this point in the composition process, but it functions as a reminiscence of the development section in the final score (see case 5 below). Attempt 4 reveals an augmented version of the intermovemental motive, which is also a new idea at this point in the sketches. It seems, then, that Svendsen finds two new ways to develop his material rather late in the continuity draft, which eventually leads to the revision of previous passages.

Case 5: The revision of the development section (04:11r:7–13r6:4 and 04:51v–52r, transcription of the first version: appendix 1.16)

Although the development section originally was composed before the transition discussed above, the latter had tremendous implications for its revision, as mentioned. Appendix 1.16 is a transcription of the first draft for the development section. This draft

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⁵⁰⁷ In relation to *Caprice*, I argued that *fewer* harmonic devices would have been preferable, but that was within a very short musical course.

and final score (04:11r:7–13r:6:4) correspond bar for bar (with a couple of exceptions) until letter H-2 in the score, and from K+12 onwards (sixteen bars before the recapitulation), but the intervening section is about twice as long in the score. The new draft covering this section appears on pages 04:51v–52r, following many pages of sketches for *Romeo and Juliet*, songs, *Prélude* and various unidentified ideas (as well as some for Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3). It also appears right before the draft for the slow introduction to the movement and then the 'exploration section' of book 04 discussed in 11.3 above. Likely then, the revision of the development section took place after the sketches for the other mentioned works were written.

The rather long four-part violin section in chromatically descending seventh chords in the development section was originally a new initiative in the composition of the transitional passage discussed in case 4 and is thus an extension and further elaboration of that passage. But in the final score, it is the other way around—the passage in the recapitulation functions as a *reminiscence* of the equivalent passage in the development section. The same is true with the other new idea, the augmentation of the inter-movemental theme. Hence, the 'two development sections' of the final score refer to each other and add fresh material to the entire movement. They enhance the more subtle and sophisticated qualities of a movement that is otherwise mostly joyous and extroverted in character. In addition, appendix 1.16 clearly shows how the original development section was *only* based on 'pre-fabricated' four-bar blocks or textures stitched together. The revision expands the scope of this section significantly.

Case 6: The beginning of the recapitulation (04:13r:4:5–14v:4:2), transcription: appendix 1.17)

My final, and short, case in this discussion on the finale of the Second Symphony concerns the beginning of the recapitulation. Appendix 1.17 is a comparative transcription of Svendsen's various attempts. I will not go into detail here but rather discuss some general aspects. As mentioned several times, I believe the slowness of the writing process can have lead Svendsen to produce more complex textures and a more compressed temporal musical course than he wanted to if he lost track of the temporality of performance or got 'bored' by his ideas. Hence, he often went about elaborating them without a completely clear image of the relationship between the amount of information presented and the performed speed. In other words, his

imagination of the musical course was obscured by the slow act of writing. There are many such examples in Svendsen's drafts, but he is often very careful to simplify textures, expand passages or otherwise revise what he found too complex or compressed. The beginning of the recapitulation is a good example. The course of the main theme is preordained. It has not been presented in its entirety since the beginning of the exposition, but Svendsen evidently feels a need for variation. The transcription in appendix 1.17 (of 04:13r:4:5-14v:4:2) shows several solutions for the accompaniment and orchestration. Here, a fast harmonic rhythm is combined with various suggestions for countermelodies and spectacular textural elements that all together suggest great complexity. The most interesting is the fact that Svendsen implies the main theme from the first movement in the bass, starting in bar 9 in my transcription (13r:12 and 13v:4). As discussed towards the end of section 11.3, this inter-movemental idea was suggested in a couple of exploration sketches. It could have been a novel moment at which to recapitulate the main theme from both outer movements simultaneously, if it had worked out, but it is not a good fit aesthetically (for Svendsen) within the intraopus style and probably not within his idiom as a whole either. The final solution in the score is very similar to the exposition, yet with reorchestrations on every other phrase. He abandons other intricate textural ideas as well as he continues to search for a balance between complexity and clarity. Novel contrapuntal or colouristic textural ideas must retreat for clarity.

Conclusions

I have here presented a thorough and detailed survey of the sketches and drafts for the finale of Symphony no. 2. Most of my survey is arguably concerned with details. One might find each detail either self-evident or without interest in terms of the larger picture, which involves the core mechanisms at work in the sketching process of this movement in particular and Svendsen's symphonic works in general. In addition, I do not discuss this movement's aesthetic qualities to any great extent. We cannot know how much effort Svendsen put into *what* to express in his music, as opposed to *how* to express it. But it is clear that he invests a significant amount of work in the latter. The choices of detail might seem self-evident from a teleological point of view, but they were not so at the time of composing. Some ideas might seem banal in the sketches, as well, but we do not really know what they would have become had they been pursued. It is clearly the case, though, that the *how* of music creation merits close examination.

The development of musical ideas (*Gedanken*) that listeners experience in a symphonic movement like this is reflected in the composer's work to create and realise it. A bundle of thematic/motivic elements arises during Svendsen's exploratory phase. The elements are combined and varied through a limited number of compositional devices, most notably the combination of sequence and imitation, or one of the two, in sketches that do not present beginning and ending but instead focus on progressivity. It is difficult to understand why Svendsen is so fond of this technique, but it seems clear that he primarily explores harmonic and textural possibilities in phase 3. He generates motivic unity by selecting a few pervasive features early in the process. But, as indicated, the material could have developed in many directions as new features were added and others taken away during the process. Thematic unity is as much a goal for the compositional process as a result of it.

We have not seen a particularly smooth transition between phases 2 and 3. The material explored in the former is not transmitted as passages to the latter, although other sketches may now be lost. Nevertheless, the main theme drafted in the beginning of book 04 might represent a transition between the two phases. In phase 3, Svendsen focuses on continuity, syntax and structure, but orchestral texture, harmony and melodic material develop alongside these. This combination means that Svendsen usually sketches relatively short passages in phase 3, then splices them. As soon as he finds a good enough solution for one passage, he moves on to the next. Through a comparison of his various attempts at each passage, we can understand a good deal about his imagined musical course. The symphony movement is created as Svendsen proceeds through the draft, as he evaluates details and large structures against each other. It is not simply a matter of writing out what he has imagined in advance. Having said this, it is clear that he has some kind of understanding of what the movement will be, as is clear from the evident continuity of metre and certain germinal ideas and motivic elements. But the 'actual imagined' musical course emerges and changes significantly throughout. We cannot know whether formal 'scripts' other than the sonata-allegro, such as rondo or theme and variation, were considered. But neither Svendsen's 'symphonic habits' nor the sketches themselves suggest this possibility.

A classic metaphor for the creation of an artefact is *growth* from initial ideas to complete works (like seeds into plants). I have used the metaphor of the *germinal idea* for those musical elements followed through in the earliest sketches, but beyond that,

the metaphor breaks down: there is no DNA sequence to determine the growth of those germinal ideas. Svendsen has a clear *goal*, which is to compose a symphony finale, but he goal is not programmed in the musical germinal ideas. Instead, they are chosen and shaped to meet with this goal, which must be 'expressed' through an ever-changing aural imagination formal structure.

The working method we have observed through phases 2 and 3 suggests another way of interpreting the compositional process—that is, as a matter of narrowing down stylistic constraints. The collection of phase 2 sketches expresses nearly indefinable possibilities concerning intraopus style. In this phase, any lines separating the intraopus constraints of this movement from Svendsen's stylistic idiom as a whole remain fuzzy. This is a crucial point that will be clearly illuminated in the following chapters, where we see musical material moved from one work to another, for example. So how can we define which sketches 'belong' to this movement? Strictly speaking, we cannot, though there are several marginal cases. The combination of key (Bb major), metre (2/2), motivic similarity and physical position in the sketchbooks represents my method for encircling the sketches intended for this work. This is all based on knowledge of the final score, and the three previous movements that precede this one. In chapters 14 and 15, we will deal with situations where no final scores exist.

Gradually, Svendsen's stylistic intraopus constraints are narrowed down and clarified, but certain 'leaps', such as the sketches on 04:1v, seem to disrupt the flow. This process of narrowing the number of possibilities continues in phase 3, but at the same time there is a shift of focus towards what Meyer calls intraopus *structure* (see chapter 2.1). That is, Svendsen assigns syntactical functions to musical events, establishing the musical *course* and laying the foundation for the rejection of certain possibilities and the cultivation of others. In phase 3, every event has a syntactical function that leads to the next. As relationships between them are established, they are further 'adjusted' to respond well to each other, which can again be viewed as a continuation of the narrowing down and clarification of an intraopus style. Thus, in addition to the metaphor of growth, we might use the formation of a shoal of fish, a flight of birds or a swarm of insects. A large number of individuals gather in a higher-level entity, in which every specimen finds its place and function.

Chapter 12: The Revising Composer: Recomposing *Zorahayda* and *Romeo and Juliet*

In this chapter, I will consider two works that were substantially revised after their first performances. Both works have been mentioned a number of times in this thesis, because their sketches and autograph scores are central reference points for understanding the chronology of the sources discussed in chapters 6 and 7. To recapitulate, *Zorahayda*, op. 11 (JSV 58), was premiered on 3 October 1874, and its autograph is dated less than two months before—in August of that year. In several letters to Grieg, Svendsen expresses his dissatisfaction with the work, 508 and he revised it extensively in 1879. The revision is published by Warmuth. *Romeo and Juliet*, op. 18 (JSV 68), was premiered on 14 October 1876 (two years after *Zorahayda*), and the autograph for this version is dated only three weeks earlier than the premiere, on 27 September. It was then revised in 1880 and published by Breitkopf & Härtel.

12.1 On Revisions and Versions

While sketches represent something unfinished and incomplete, revised works exist in several finalised and completed forms, or, more precisely, in several significantly different scores. Sketches surpass scores in their 'openness' and possibility, while works (as represented in scores) represent 'narrowed-down' intraopus styles. Scores are public documents consisting of instructions for musicians, and the number of possibilities have necessarily been limited and the intentions expressed more clearly than in sketches. One might say that a revision of a work is a further narrowing down, but as a starting point, I think it is more appropriate to see it as a shift of focus or a rearticulation, which brings up the principal relationship between an 'original' and its 'revision'. It is certainly difficult to define which kinds of revisions constitute new versions of a work, versus revisions of the same version of a work, versus altogether new works. The notion of 'versions' can also be misleading, and one might instead speak of stages or states in a composition's genesis. On the other hand, that description is also problematic, because it specifically positions the first version as subordinate to the revision. Again, the 'original' represents an intentional finalisation—an expression of the

⁵⁰⁸ Johan Svendsen. to Edvard Grieg (11 November 1874). and ———. to Edvard Grieg (Bergen Public Library 0215136) (15 February 1879).

work in its own right. The revision represents a *new* initiative, as much as a continuation of a process.

Jim Samson calls Liszt's Transcendental Etudes (1852) 'recompositions' of the earlier Grandes Ètudes (1837), which in turn are recompositions of Étude en douze exercises (1826).⁵⁰⁹ Of course, the recompositions received new or at least revised titles, and in tandem with their revised content, they border on new works. While recomposition might well be a suitable description for the Svendsen works in question here as well, what should we call the first completed score? Samson compares Chopin and Liszt's revising activity of their respective piano etudes as follows: 'Chopin endlessly refined and perfected a single version, Liszt channelled new thoughts into new versions'. 510 To support this view, one must go into the material of the specific works. Nevertheless, Samson applies the notion of the 'version'. For one thing, 'version' is often used to describe alternative instrumentations of a work (especially when done by the composer himself). For example, Mozart's Symphony no. 40 in G minor exists in versions with and without clarinets. Svendsen made a piano four-hand version of his First Symphony, although I would prefer *transcription* or *arrangement* in this particular case. One often speaks of first and second versions of works, which I find suitable to the two works in question here as well. The reasons for calling recompositions new versions rather than revisions of the same versions or new works will be the subject of the present chapter. The point is that we find a substantial revision of the musical contents, even as the works' 'identities' are maintained. The extra-musical reference remains the same as well, while the titles are slightly, yet interestingly revised.

Several aspects make the two works interesting to discuss in tandem. First, they are substantially revised because Svendsen was dissatisfied with them (this is the most likely reason for the revision of *Romeo and Juliet* as well). In comparison, *Norwegian Artist's Carnival*, for example, was significantly revised due to its *altered function*—it went from being an occasional work accompanying a tableau to an independent concert overture. Second, their original versions were both completed shortly before their premieres, so there was probably some pressure upon the final stages of the compositional process. Third, their extramusical references are linked to ill-fated love,

 $^{^{509}}$ Jim Samson, Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 103ff.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 104.

but their compositional approaches is rather contrasting. Anne Jorunn Kydland Lysdahl discusses Svendsen's orchestral works under the umbrella of 'programme music' and concludes that, strictly speaking, only *Zorahayda* is true programme music, as it is Svendsen's only work accompanied by an articulated programme in the score.⁵¹¹ Interestingly, the programme is not included in the first version (or perhaps it was in a programme note; its title was *Zoraidée*). In addition, the programmatically important 'baptise scene' (the christening of the main character) was written for the second version. The connection to the programme, which was based on Washington Irving's reinterpretation of a Moorish legend, is thus strengthened in the second version. *Zorahayda's* structure is unique in Svendsen's oeuvre, as it is made up of a number of 'episodes' and not any classical script, which (for Svendsen) makes knowledge of the programme more required. What might have prompted his dissatisfaction with it is the loose thematic connection between the episodes. The thematic transformation technique utilised by Liszt, for instance, is not particularly evident in *Zorahayda*.

As Kydland Lysdahl notes, the musical course of *Romeo and Juliet* does not clearly reflect Shakespeare's drama either. The Molto allegro section obviously evokes a sonata allegro preceded by a long introduction. The first version was subtitled 'Symphonic Introduction to Shakespeare's Drama' and thus recalls Svendsen's earlier 'Symphonic Introduction to Bjørnson's Drama', *Sigurd Slembe*, op. 8. The version published in 1880 has no subtitle, whereas the 1895 edition is subtitled 'Fantasy for Orchestra'. Thus, Svendsen distances it from Shakespeare's drama by drawing upon the freer conceptual genre of fantasies, as the label 'introduction' might be associated with 'overture' unlike the fantasy. This change of subtitle can also be attributed to the fact that the second version moves further away from the sonata allegro script than the first, as will be demonstrated in this chapter. The extramusical reference in the main title of *Romeo and Juliet* is most clearly rendered in the recurrent 'dialogue' between violins and cellos, either in imitation or unison (octaves), a harmonic language and orchestration that seems to recall *Tristan and Isolde*, and the work's *morendo* coda, which seemingly represents the couple finding unity in death.

Hence, these two works have very different structures and handlings of extramusical references, but they connect on another level: their thematic materials

⁵¹¹ Anne Jorunn Kydland Lysdahl, "Programmusikken og Johan Svendsen," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 25 (1999): 280.

come together in a rather complex relationship. From the look of the private documents (the sketches), the similarities and even overlaps between the two works are not suppressed but instead cultivated. But for the public, the creation of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1876 prompted a revision of *Zorahayda*. As discussed in chapter 6, thirteen bars from *Zorahayda* (1874) are copied into *Romeo and Juliet* in 1876, then replaced by new material in *Zorahayda* in 1879. It would have been difficult to accept such thematic intertwinement within the framework of a nineteenth-century aesthetics of work autonomy. In two 'programmatic' works, where the musical material is supposed to refer to extramusical stories, it would be particularly problematic if the 'exact' same musical material were referring to different narratives. With the realisation of *Romeo and Juliet*, then, the first version of *Zorahayda* had to be discarded.

I also suspect that other works can have been in question for some of the material that eventually developed into *Romeo and Juliet*. In that case, we should speak of not only top-down revisions of the content of works but bottom-up revisions of the goals for the musical material (which is very common among composers). In part, we can already state that such bottom-up revision has taken place, since the thirteen bars had a different function at the end of *Zorahayda* than they did at the beginning of *Romeo and Juliet*, and because (as discussed in chapters 6 and 11) sketch 01:35r:7–8 was once intended for the finale of Symphony no. 2 but ultimately found its way to *Romeo and Juliet*. In addition, similar matters will be illuminated in the next chapter 13. The *narrowing down* of thematic material discussed previously occurs as part of a much more complex process in the works to be discussed below. A panorama of musical material seems narrowed down not to *one* but to several works.

The latter part of this chapter encompasses the recompositions of each work, but I will first begin with a discussion of the surviving sketches for *Romeo and Juliet* in books 03 and 04, in relation to the first autograph score of *Zorahayda*. These aspects were discussed in chapter 6, but will now be subjected to a more thorough discussion concerning compositional method, process and intended goal (work) for the sketches.

12.2 Preliminary Sketches for Romeo and Juliet

Sources:

S1: Book 03: 1r, 10v:5-8, 11v, 13v:8-11, 14r:6-15r:8, 15v-18r

S2: Book 04:26v-28r

No exploration sketches or drafts have survived for the first version of *Zorahayda*. As mentioned above, the first autograph score for this work was dated August 1874, and as

thoroughly discussed in chapter 6, the earliest surviving sketches for *Romeo and Juliet* were written during that autumn—before December 1874 (book 03). A few more sketches appear in book 04, after the continuity draft for the finale of Symphony no. 2, as discussed in the previous chapter.

As observed in chapter 6, some of the sketches from autumn 1874 contain material strikingly similar to the 'coda' of *Zorahayda* (1874 version), but not the thirteen bars that were copied (transposed) into *Romeo and Juliet*. These bars are to be found in the sketch on 04:26v with a rather different continuation (see ex. 12.4). Hence, the act of copying—that is, the direct connection between the works—happened in 1876, probably in the spring (and definitely sometime before 27 September, the date of the autograph). In chapter 6, I wondered whether Svendsen was aware of the similarity even eighteen months *before* this—during the autumn of 1874. At that time, he had recently completed *Zorahayda*. When the first similar sketch was written (intertwined with *Icelandic*; see chapter 6), he was about to perform it. The rest might have been written before or soon after the premiere, and most certainly before 13 December. In other words, *Zorahayda* was fresh in his mind while he embarked on the new project in E major. The following example recapitulates a reduction of the thirteen bars from *Zorahayda* and one of the first *Romeo and Juliet* sketches in book 03.



Example 12.1 (a): Zorahayda (identical to ex. 6.4 [a]).

Example 12.1 (b) RJ: 03:11v:3-10 (identical to ex. 6.6).



The similarity is curious, but if Svendsen had not copied these thirteen bars in example 12.1 (a) into another work, or we had not noticed one way or the other, would we hear this instead as simply an expression of Svendsen's stylistic idiom? I will return to similar problems in the following chapters. The syncopation JJJ is a very common rhythmic feature in Svendsen's music, and it was especially cultivated in Romeo and Juliet, if less so in *Zorahayda*. Here, then, we can emphasise some differences as well, such as the key and the underlying harmony. In the *Zorahayda* example, the harmony is sustained below the melody, whereas the bass suggests a harmonic rhythm on the whole note in the *Romeo and Juliet* sketch. Both have a *Seufzer*⁵¹² in the fourth bar anticipated in the third, but only Zorahayda has the ascending quarter notes in the third bar. As discussed, this sketch was most certainly written before the premiere of *Zorahayda*. I will now consider some of the sketches written between the last Icelandic sketch and the first March of the Red-Nosed Knights sketch in book 03—that is, sketches that may well have been written between 3 October and 13 December.

Example 12.2: 03:15v:11-16r:6 (identical to ex. 6.7)



(The 'Oboe' seems to foreshadow the secondary theme in the final score.) In this sketch, the melody is somewhat more remote in relation to Zorahayda (the Seufzer in the fourth bar is missing), but the accompaniment is relatively similar, both in terms of harmony (the sustained dominant chord) and texture (the misurato or tremolo). Another similarity seems to arise after some more sketching on the material in E major—first

⁵¹² Usually understood as a melodic gesture descending half-step from accented to unaccented beat. Hugo Riemann and Wilibald Gurlitt, Riemann Musik-Lexikon, 12th ed., vol. 1 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne), 543.

descending consecutive quarter notes in stepwise motion, and later ascending (more similar to *Zorahayda*).

Example 12.3: 03:15r:4-7 and 15v:1-8.



Could it be that Svendsen, dissatisfied with *Zorahayda* after its premiere, is here about to acknowledge a connection between two works with programmatic references to ill-fated love, and, following, a new potential for some of the musical ideas? A definite connection is spelled out through the copying of twelve (not thirteen in the transposed sketch in book 04) bars some eighteen months later, as mentioned. But at this point it is a possible association rather than a hard fact.

In the copying process, Svendsen adds eight bars before the twelve and suggests a new ascending sequenced melody to follow it, which is not yet very close to the final score for *Romeo and Juliet* (ex. 12.4). It is very likely then, that the similarity initially arose along the lines of broader stylistic motivic features and then was narrowed down and developed further. Whether it was intentional from the beginning is harder to determine.

Example 12.4: 04:26v-27:6.



In chapter 11, I discussed the pervasive sequence-imitation pattern in the exploration sketches for the finale of Symphony no. 2. Such sketches are present here as well, but they seem more blended with phase 3 experiments. Imitations are often added to already existing composite melody-harmony textures. Different thematic 'bricks' of two or four bars are often placed one after another in an attempt to establish a musical course. In several places, specific but short passages from the final score (up to b. 97) are recognisable, spliced into continuities with other thematic ideas that are not in the autograph score. Here are some examples:

Example 12.5: 03:10v:5-8.



Example 12.5 above is a transcription of the first sketch in book 03 that can be linked to

Romeo and Juliet. This suggested theme did not find its way to the final score, though the

third and fourth bars have similarities to bars 5–7 of the main theme in the Allegro molto section (see, for example, bars 110–112). Hence, apart from the shared key, it is difficult to link it to any plans for *Romeo and Juliet*. But on pages 11v, 15r:4–7 and 18r, the ideas are spliced into shorter continuity drafts. Judging from these examples, it is quite possible that Svendsen planned an allegro in which the two ideas represented in examples 12.1 and 12.5 above functioned as contrasting statements (similar to GI-1 and GI-2 in the previous chapter). It is quite clear that Svendsen plans a symphonic work in E major at this point, but it is difficult to say whether he has Shakespeare's drama as its inspirational source or not.

The sketches on 03:14v (ex. 12.6) are among the few that represent sequential-imitation explorations without a connection to continuity. That is, they are sketches that focus on shaping material in counterpoint outside of any apparent syntactic purpose.

Example 12.6: 03:14v.



The sketches at 15v clearly foreshadow the passage from bars 51 to 65 (B-4–Allegro) in the final score, see example 12.3.

The melodic line in the first four bars, the double-deceptive cadence to C and subsequent rare and imaginative texture is very recognisable and followed by a suggested melody (the similarity to *Zorahayda*) are very similar to the score. Hence, Svendsen drafts a specific climax and transition that are seemingly distinct from a longer musical course. The originality of the texture following the double-deceptive cadence in example 12.3 above suggests a programmatic intention at this point, since such picturesque orchestral ideas are rare in his 'absolute music'. One might also recognise the four bars 47–50 in the final score in 03:16v:1–4 (ex. 12.7) (melody and bass only), but they appear in the opposite order in score and draft, and are not connected to a

musical course in the draft. The bars before these in the final score (b. 39–42, letter A) are sketched on 03:16v:5–6, yet with a different continuation.



Hence, these sketches seem like a combination of explorations and drafts. Sequences or imitation appear often, and most sketches are very short, yet there are ongoing attempts

to create more continuity. In retrospect, it seems like Svendsen sketches shorter 'open' segments and then experiments with splicing them in various ways, as he did with Symphony no. 2 but with a more detailed texture. Ultimately, some of the segments prove more useful later or elsewhere. Unlike the phase 3 sketches in the symphony finale, the attempts at continuity do not appear to be part of a broader musical syntax. Thus these *Romeo and Juliet* sketches blur two compositional phases that were more clearly distinguished in Symphony no. 2. An interesting question is whether these relatively slight differences in appearance reflect differences in compositional 'attitude' or 'goal' and finalised musical course, such as the degree of clarity and contrast in the musical course. The following chapter on *Prélude* will return to this question, and to the question concerning 'revised goals' for musical material. Similarities, and perhaps intentional links, between musical materials in the key of E major appear in sketches and both finished and unfinished projects over the course of more than two decades starting in 1874, and possible links can be even be traced back to two of his juvenilia marches discussed in chapter 3. Rumours about a third symphony in E major circulated in Christiania and Copenhagen in the 1880s and 1890s, of course. I am not suggesting that Svendsen worked on this symphony throughout his whole career but do hasten to acknowledge the possibility of some underlying musical *Gedanken*, rephrased in various ways throughout many years, sometimes popping up in finalised works. Neither do I suggest that any grand idea was fostered in his youth and feed throughout years and eventually crumbling before he managed to finalize a third symphony (or in the fire). But it might be certain more or less unclear musical 'Gedanken' fetched out now and then. The similarities and connections, striking or otherwise, intentional or otherwise, will be discussed in the final chapters. First I will move on to the 'articulation' and 'rearticulation' of Zorahayda and Romeo and Juliet.

12.3 Recomposing

The tight time schedule between finalisation and premiere of these two works (and especially *Romeo and Juliet*) might have rushed their completion and thus guaranteed Svendsen's dissatisfaction with them (taking the copying of parts and rehearsals into account), even though work on *Romeo and Juliet* had been going on for two years (nobody knows how long he had been working on *Zorahayda*).

In the following I will compare the first and second versions of these works. In doing so, I have categorised the types of changes and revisions as follows:

- 1. Dynamics and phrasing adjustments
- 2. Rescoring 1: balance and timbre adjustments
- 3. Re-harmonisations
- 4. Melodic elaborations
- 5. Re-rhythmatising the accompaniment
- 6. Rescoring 2: continuity vs. contrast in timbre
- 7. Replacing the musical content in two-, four- or eight-bar 'slots'
- 8. Temporal expansion—increasing the duration of a passage (temporal compression occurs too, but not very often)
- 9. Substantial recomposition of a passage

Categories 3, 4, 7 and 8 recall my discussion of continuity drafts in chapter 11, and a similar process occurs in these revisions as well. Categories 1, 2 and 6 involve orchestration in particular, and this is not that evident in drafts. Category 5 is similar to 4 (changing accompaniment instead of foreground). Category 9 is equivalent to almost the entire sketching process that anticipates a finalised score.

Categories 1–5 imply smaller changes, where each change does not impact the overall structure extensively. It takes a certain number of these changes to significantly alter the work, and to produce a new version. It is probably a revision process such as this that Samson has in mind concerning Chopin. To some extent, this is also the case with categories 6–8, but fewer such changes are needed to suggest a new version, because they have a greater impact upon the work as a whole. Category 9 is more definite because it involves new and unrecognisable passages. Particularly in the case of *Romeo and Juliet*, such a revision, I would say, changes the entire *plot* of the work, as I will demonstrate below. Many of the revisions are pencil sketches below the contrabass in the first autograph scores, especially categories 3–5 and 7–8.

Category 1 changes occur each time a work is performed. Musicians take liberties with both phrasing and dynamics, within certain limits. My first examples therefore concern category 2.

Example 12.8: Cat. 2: Romeo and Juliet, letter D, b. 138–141, Trombones.

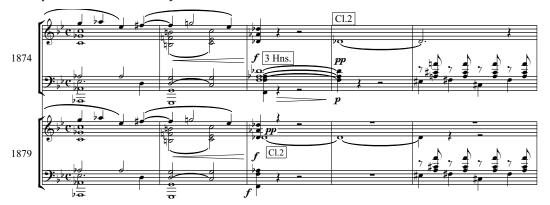


Here Svendsen rescores the trombones. Version 2 is 'heavier', due to the deeper bass trombone but less dense in its open position. It is not clear why Svendsen makes this rather subtle revision in a tutti passage, where the trombones will blend in anyway.

Perhaps the first trombone covers the syncopation in horns and trumpets, and perhaps he prefers to highlight the B-A# alteration?

Following is a more decisive change from *Zorahayda*.

Example 12.9: Cat. 2: Zorahayda Letter A First and Second version.



In the first version, Svendsen seeks a gradual fadeout from the *forte* chord, with three-part horns overlapping a solo clarinet. In the second version, the horns are omitted and the clarinet gets two bars on its own, which creates an effect of *fp* rather than an orchestrated diminuendo. There are other reasons for this change as well—for one thing, the original solution is given little time to work in comparison to the simplification in the revision. There are fewer components in the same number of bars. The revision is also easier to execute and probably has a more surprising effect, since it takes some time before the reverb fades and exposes the clarinet. Thus, Svendsen abandons a fancy and complicated effect for a simpler solution, just as we have seen in several examples in the previous chapters.

Another interesting rescoring is the final chord in both works. The first versions both end with divided strings spreading out from the bass to a very high register. Yet they are both compressed to a range between mid-register and bass, which seems like both a 'plainer' and a more 'ordinary' solution (and easier tuning). I would interpret the effect as 'morendo' rather than 'ascent to heaven' in both cases.

Especially in *Romeo and Juliet*, there are several rather subtle reharmonisations (cat. 3) that basically do not change the chordal functions in the musical course. Another common reharmonisation is to slip a secondary dominant chord into a progression, which increases the chromatic voice leading. The following example extends the chromatic voice-leading in time. In the first version, the harmonic development stops in the third bar, whereas the revision helps building tension gradually towards the climax by delaying the E# one bar.

Example 12.10: Cat. 3, b. 94-97. Molto allegro-4.



Melodic elaboration (cat. 4) might be only for variation, as in these examples:

Example 12.11: Cat 4. Romeo and Juliet rehearsal mark E+4, b. 162–169.



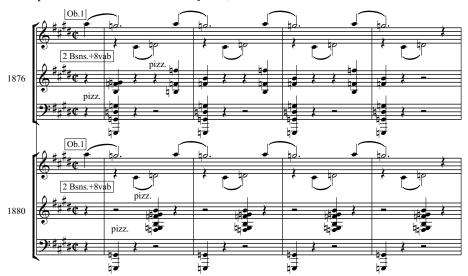
Example 12.12 Zorahayda violin solo, rehearsal mark D+2.



Or it might be to increase the harmonic tension via more non-harmonic tones. In such cases, it increases the tension, which again might have a greater impact on the musical course as a whole. I will demonstrate an example of this later.

Re-rhythmatisations (cat. 5) have a tendency to be a matter of simplification. The original rhythm is more complicated and busier than the revision, as example 12.13 demonstrates.

Example 12.13: Cat. 5. Romeo and Juliet, Letter G.



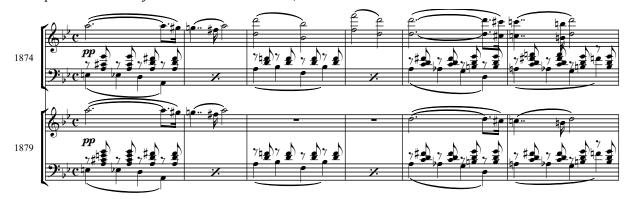
Starting with category 6, the revisions are much more substantial and decisive for the work as a whole. Now Svendsen is making changes in the *function* of a passage as opposed to simply refining and elaborating upon it. Category 6 (Rescoring 2, continuity vs. contrast in orchestral timbre) has a greater impact on the musical flow. Thus, Svendsen does not adjust or refine the orchestral balance as such, but changes its concept. By removing the 'string carpet' in the example 12.14, he reinforces contrast to timbral continuity.

Example 12.14: Cat 6. Romeo and Juliet, E+13 (b. 170 etc.)



A similar operation can be observed in *Zorahayda*. Here, Svendsen even removes a motive in the woodwinds in the third and fourth bars to highlight the contrast, but also to give the solo clarinet more space. In this way a sense of clarity and transparency increases as well.

Example 12.15: Zorahayda. First version b. 27-33, second version b. 23-29.



In category 7 (replace musical content in a 'slot'), Svendsen changes musical content but preserves a passage's formal and syntactical function; he also usually keeps more or less the same orchestration and timbre. Hence, one could categorise this operation among the earlier ones. Yet I think it has a more decisive impact on the work than categories 1–5. The reason why he makes such replacements is usually to create more motivic/thematic *unity*, as we saw with a number of examples in the draft for the symphony finale in the previous chapter as well.

Example 12.16: Cat. 7 Romeo and Juliet, H-8-H-4.



As this example shows, Svendsen removes material that is not particularly striking in terms of the identity of the work overall (fifth to eight bar). He replaces it with the principal motive of the introduction, which is used throughout the work. Thus, one might say that he narrows the intraopus style even further, as the quarter-note triplets are removed from the score.

This observation recalls one of the more crucial points of chapter 11: a common assumption regarding classical/romantic art music, especially after Beethoven, is that the whole work emerges from *one* initial idea, which again privileges unity and autonomy. Composers were well aware of this ideal, of course. A composer could have a number of different, unconnected ideas, then shape them so they become more alike. The original rhythm here, for example, might have been more prevalent in earlier sketches for the work but later lost its importance and identity.

Category 8 recalls another point made previously, related to the problem of making music by sketching. As demonstrated with the symphony finale, the slower process of writing can introduce mismatches between the sketched, imagined and performed musical course. As Svendsen's continuity drafts are surprisingly detailed and appear more like particellas, they would appear particularly vulnerable to this possibility. He appears to have written the foreground melody first, but only in snippets. His three- to four-stave drafts do not allow for the possibility of composing extended passages in the same area, on a single sheet or facing sheets. This might explain why Svendsen usually expands rather than curtails already written passages, and why he often simplifies what he has composed. This tendency also seems to have strengthened the clearly symmetrical periodicity of his music, as the example in appendix 1.18 and 1.19 from *Romeo and Juliet* demonstrate. Example 12.16 above is also in fact a small temporal expansion.

An example of temporal compression, however, does occur at the very beginning of *Zorahayda* (ex. 12.17). The notes in the opening unison phrases are diminished, which equalises the phrase lengths to a more symmetrical and 'balanced' phrase structure. This revision can be observed as a sketch below the contrabass in the first autograph.⁵¹³

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⁵¹³ Johan Svendsen. [Zorahayda, op. 11]. (1874).

Example 12.17: Reduction of opening Zorahayda.



The last category (the substantial recomposition of a passage) is the most interesting and radical. In *Zorahayda*, two especially significant revisions of this kind take place. First, the 'Baptism scene' (from bar 122 in the recomposition) is entirely new, as mentioned earlier. The first version continues directly from the 'Scene at the fountain' to the 'unveiling' passage (bars 114–120), then leads into a joyous coda in G major. The other category 9 revision is the replacement of this jubilant ending, mentioned many times before in this thesis, which does not share a single bar with the first version. The new coda is more than twice as long, so it also represents temporal expansion (cat. 8). The insertion of the 'Baptise scene' implies a significant change in the plot and structure of the work, but the replaced ending is less of a change, because the replacement fulfils the same general function—the resolution to a passage in G major that builds to a climax and then falls quietly to rest. Hence, the main reason for the latter seems to be connected to the fact that the musical content, in the meantime, was moved over to *Romeo and Juliet*.

In *Romeo and Juliet*, there are also two long recomposed passages, both occurring in the last third of the work. These two revisions alone necessitate mention of a second version, I think. A comparative transcription of the first category 9 recomposition is presented in appendix 1.18, which starts at K+9 in both versions (b. 292 in the 1880 version).

The first version cadences in B major (dominant key) rather bombastically, then moves via a series of different sequential patterns to a dynamic low point in G major (b. 29 in the transcription), then continues the same sequential techniques above a G pedal point on the way back to B major, where it meet with the second version. The first version here is rather technical rather than artistic, as its sequential patterns are rather predictable and extended, as though Svendsen simply pasted exploration sketches into the score and moved on. In many ways, it recalls the long transitional passage in the recapitulation of the finale of Symphony no. 2, discussed in chapter 11. But, unlike that considerably worked-over example, this seems more like a result of a compressed schedule rather than about self-doubt. I also suspect that this suggests that material for

at least some parts of *Romeo and Juliet* had a different goal as well, as there is no particular emotional climax during the closing minutes of the first version of this work. Especially when we compare it to the second version, we can say so.

Technically, the revision utilize some of the same motives, although it is more varied in that respect. It also goes to G major at a dynamic low point (b. 99 in the transcription, and G minor in b. 91), but only after an extended passage circling around A flat minor and G flat major. It is substantially expanded and contains a series of dramatic semi-climaxes, and it slows to half speed in the key of G minor/major. In all, then, it enlarges the dramatic curve of the work significantly. The emotional range of Romeo and Juliet, the deepness of the drama and their despair, seems much better expressed here.

After a build-up and climax in accordance with the first version, we arrive at the next revision of category 9, which also involves a significant expansion of its emotional power (N+9 in the 1876 version/0+17 [b. 436] in the revision). Appendix 1.19 is a comparative transcription of the two versions for this passage.

Compared to the original, the second version shows melodic adjustments (cat. 4) in the first bars of my transcription that increase the tension through syncopated approgram approach appropriate the subtle harmonic adjustment in bars 9–12 in appendix 1.19 in the bass from 1876 to 1880. The revision comes closer to the equivalent bars in the beginning of appendix 1.18. Svendsen, then, highlights similarity (unity) to variation here. In 1876 these bars were followed directly by a climactic cadence in E before the coda was launched. The revision, however, progresses via sequences to another semiclimax, then supplies the true emotional climax of the whole work in fff four horns in unison and violins in an extreme register before finally approaching an expanded cadence in E. Three soft timpani strokes follow, probably signalling Romeo and Juliet's destiny, before a coda that corresponds relatively closely to version 1 closes the work.

This newly composed, emotionally huge climax towards the end of the work corresponds to Meyer's description of the 'romantic plan' discussed in chapter 2.1 and, together with the very long introduction (nearly one hundred bars), moves the work further away from the classical sonata-allegro script.

In summary, the musical content of these two works is profoundly distinguished in the final versions. The revised public faces show clear borders between their intraopus styles. But in the 'private sphere' of the sketches and early versions, these borders fade. If Svendsen had destroyed the first version of *Zorahayda*, the obvious link between these works, as well as the complexity of the genesis of *Romeo and Juliet*, would remain hidden to us now. Instead, we are able to ask questions about the musical work and its musical content, about intraopus style and personal stylistic idiom, and about a work's 'autonomous identity' in public versus in the composer's imagination and working documents. The exchange of musical material between works beneath the radar has been observed in many composer's sketches, including Sibelius's⁵¹⁴, Beethoven's⁵¹⁵and Boulez's⁵¹⁶. (Mahler and Ligeti exposed such inter-opus links rather than hiding them.) Guldbrandsen suggest a concept of works in transformation as much as works in progress, 517 as a result of musical material passing through several works. Obviously, the musical syntax is as important as the 'material'—at what point a theme is presented in the musical course, and how it relates to its surroundings. This, in turn, lead to questions concerning a work's Grundidee versus its Gedanke, a distinction that Liszt, Schoenberg and many others drew attention to⁵¹⁸—what the composer wishes to express and how he expresses it. This again connects to Goehr's discussion of the 'Idealist view' on the work-concept. Musicians interpret a score and seek the underlying idea in the work. When do such ideas take shape in the compositional process? These matters will become increasingly significant in the remaining chapters here, in terms of situations where a final score either does not exist or is clearly very different from a previous intention in the sketches.

⁵¹⁴ Timo Virtanen, "From Heaven's Floor to the Composer' Desk: Sibelius's Musical Manuscripts and Compositional Process," in *Jean Sibelius and His World*, ed. Daniel M. Grimley (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 62–65.

⁵¹⁵ Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony."

⁵¹⁶ Erling E. Guldbrandsen, "Tradisjon og tradisjonsbrudd," 168.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work*, 109ff.

Chapter 13: Prélude: Transformations Into a Composer's Postlude

Source:

Book 04:37r:1-3, 37v-41r.

Prélude, JSV 95, dated 10 December 1898 in the autograph score,⁵¹⁹ is apparently Svendsen's last completed work, twelve and a half years before he died. In chapter 6, I argued that its surviving sketches were written as early as 1876. Since *Prélude* is an occasional work composed for the 150th anniversary of the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen on 18 December 1898, the 1876 sketches obviously had a different initial goal. In other words, he used twenty-two-year-old sketches as the basis for his last composition. The question is, what was their original intention? One could argue that Svendsen was merely writing down certain ideas in 1876 without any specific work in mind. But these sketches reflect the relatively late sketch phase 3, and therefore I think a specific plan lay behind them. I will discuss some possibilities in the next two chapters. (I discuss these sketches in their own chapter because they ended up in a single finalised work.)

The title in the autograph score is *Fest-Præludium* (*Festive Prelude*), and it is unknown whether Svendsen himself approved *Prélude* as the final title. Nevertheless, the title *Fest-Præludium* is rather ironic. As both critics at the premiere in 1898 and scholars Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe observe,⁵²⁰ the work's character is far from festive and extroverted. In fact, it is quite the opposite of what we might expect from Johan Svendsen's hand on such an occasion. It is slow and marked by sincerity and solemnity. One of the critics described it as having a 'weakened, sorrowful tone'.⁵²¹ Its character almost symbolises the compositional swansong it turned out to be.

Before considering possible intentions Svendsen might have had for this music around 1876, I will discuss his working method and the sketches' relationship to the final score.

Prélude (the final work) is based on an ABA' form with an introduction. The A sections are in E major and the B section is in its subdominant parallel key, A minor. This key relationship, although very common, will be important in the further discussions of work relationships in chapter 14. The surviving drafts (04:37v–41r) relate only to the A

⁵¹⁹ Johan Svendsen. Fest-Præludium (National Library of Norway Mus.ms. 7873a) (1898.12.10 1898).

⁵²⁰ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 243.

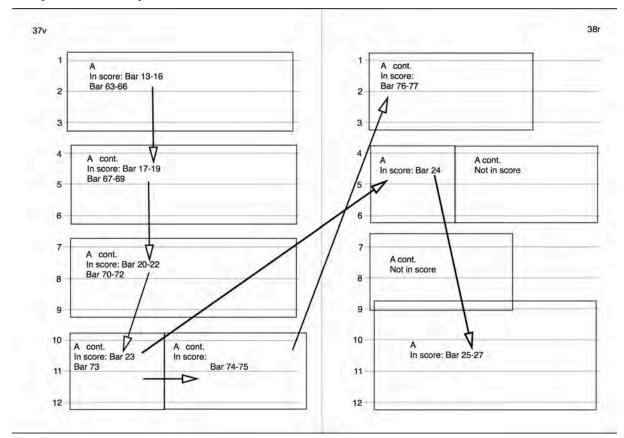
⁵²¹ Ibid.

sections, save for one single memo sketch of the B motive, positioned on the previous page (37r:1–3). In addition, there are some interesting similarities in Mus.ms. 7882d:1v–2r in a very different key. Svendsen may have proceeded directly from the A section drafts to the score. No such draft exists for the B section, only the memo on 37r, as mentioned. Neither are there any sketches for the twelve-bar introduction, which is in E minor and based on a *Seufzer*—a descending half step (presumably derived from the first bar of the A section) that sets a grave opening tone.

The A section clearly recalls the *Prelude* to Wagner's *Lohengrin*, beginning with a four-part violin texture, chromatic harmony and homogenous string-based orchestration that gradually broadens its scope downward, towards the bass. Orchestration, harmony and phrase structure undermine any inherent contrast and instead create a musical 'stream' or a 'gradual' but coherent musical development. (Arguably, the melodic structure is based on four-bar periodicity, but this is not supported by contrasts in the orchestration.) Its 'Lohengrinian' character was most likely intended in the 1876 sketches in book 04 as well. No orchestration is specifically indicated there but there is a close textural coherence between score and drafts.

It is interesting to see that a musical course that enforces homogenous continuity and lacks contrast was generated through the chopping up and moving around of shorter parts of the continuity represented in the draft. This relationship between compositional method and musical continuity clearly evokes that of Romeo and Juliet, discussed in chapter 12. Example 13.1 below visualises certain aspects of the sketches on 04:37v-38r that demonstrate the relationship between the musical course in the final score and the physical position of the equivalent bars in the sketchbook. The numbered horizontal lines 1–12 represent music staves. The rectangular boxes represent musical continuity on each system. 'Cont.' means that this 'box' is a musical continuation of the previous one (on the system above) in the sketchbook, but the boxes are separated to mark the discontinuities in the score. The bar numbers refer to the final score, and the arrows show the musical course of A and A' in the score. This shows that Svendsen drafts a continuity that runs from the top of page 37v to the first system (staves 1-3) on 38r. Then a 'new sketch' on 38r:4-9 appears to start in the middle of a continuity. The last system (staves 10-12) seems like another sketch (or a new continuity), but it might be played directly after staves 8–10. Several suggested textures make up a complex picture and probably represent several intentions for the sketch at

the bottom of 38r (10–12). Twenty-two years later, Svendsen 'chops up' these continuities and splices them together in two different ways, representing A and A', here marked by the arrows.



Example 13.1: Several possibilities for the musical course sketched at 04:37v-38r.

On the next pages, 38v–39r, there follow sketches that reveal several mismatches between imagined sound and visual structure. I have already discussed one example in chapter 4.5 (ex. 4.2), concerning 38v:7–9, where the ascending parallel thirds create a harmony that is outside Svendsen's harmonic idiom. This texture is made up of two layers, each in parallel thirds, one sustaining and one chromatically ascending. It *looks* interesting but is actually not aurally acceptable.

Another example of 'visual disturbance' concerns phrase regularity. It begins on top of 39r. A four-bar periodicity is discernible all the way down to the third system (staves 7–9), but the continuation on the last system (staves 10–12) produces a structure of only three bars on 39r:7–9:2–4. Hence, the last system is crossed out and a new continuity that equalises the phrase lengths is sketched at the bottom of the *previous* page, 38v:10–12. A likely reason why Svendsen 'missed' the sense of the four-bar periodicity is the mismatch between the visual layout and the musical structure:

Only three bars are sketched at the top system (39r:1–3), and the irregularity persists down the page. It is not clear why there remained three empty staves at the bottom of the previous page where Svendsen could correct his error. Perhaps 39r was filled before 38v for some reason, and he used the bottom staves to avoid a page turn.

A full continuity draft for both A sections has not survived and might not have existed. Svendsen could have sketched the remaining bars elsewhere in 1898. Nor is there any draft for the B section or the introduction, as mentioned. My assumption is that Svendsen composed these new sections in 1898. The introduction is very straightforward, and the B section is made up of a two-bar theme that is repeated and moved around in different keys. In my opinion, these sections are much easier to compose than the A section, which probably depended on a 'composer in shape' to materialise.

What, then, was the original intention of the 1876 sketches? I have already mentioned a parallel to *Romeo and Juliet* concerning the relationship between compositional method and musical course. That is, there is a mix between phases 2 and 3 (short drafts) that is quite different from the finale for the second symphony. There are several other curious similarities between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Prélude* as well. They are both in E major and sketched close to one another both in time and in physical placement. Could the *Prélude* sketches have been intended for the same project as the *Romeo and Juliet* sketches in books 03 and/or 04? Considering the diverse motivic possibilities of the finale of the second symphony, it would not have been difficult for Svendsen to splice these groups of sketches into one work if he wished to do so. I will demonstrate some interesting similarities. The question is whether they are so striking that Svendsen was aware of them and even intended them to be related, or whether they are so conventional within his idiom and the nineteenth-century stylistic landscape as a whole that a discussion of any intentional relationship is beside the point.

I described *Prélude's* A section as a reminiscence of the *Lohengrin* prelude above, a likely inspirational source. But there are curious similarities to the introductory moderato section of *Romeo and Juliet* as well. On the one hand, there is no four-part texture in the violins alone in *Romeo and Juliet*, nor are there any hints of this texture in the sketches discussed in the previous chapter. But the passages share a blended 'German' orchestration that starts with strings alone and adds winds later. They also share their lack of contrast between musical periods. The harmony is not only chromatic

but also characterised by affinity of substance, and there are few clear cadential points (that is, the V–I progressions are not highlighted by either texture or orchestration). Hence, a sense of a *gradual* musical course wins out. The tempo in *Prélude* is somewhat slower, and the metre is 4/4 instead of 2/2, but we cannot be sure of the *original* intention because both tempo and metre are missing in the *Prélude* sketches. *If* these ideas were intentionally linked with *Romeo and Juliet,* and even meant for an introduction, it is likely that they represented an alternative or predecessor to the final one.

Now, if the *Lohengrin* prelude was an inspiration and *Romeo and Juliet* was the goal, these sketched ideas do not quite add up. Lohengrin's arrival at Brabant, represents a 'descent from above', while the moderato section reflects the couple's interaction. This discrepancy, however, does not mean that a single project was being considered for the sketches in question.

So much for the passages' alignment according to key, texture, harmony and orchestration. I will now consider some thematic similarities. Examples 13.2(a) and (b) show the opening themes of these two works.

Example 13.2(a): Prélude main theme b. 13-16 in score, 04:37v:1 in draft.



Example 13.2(b): Romeo and Juliet, b. 1 Violin I.



Obviously, these themes are quite different, and even their shared features, such as the syncopation and neighbouring tone (in opposite directions), are relatively common in Svendsen's idiom, or even Western music as a whole. But let us consider a couple of other motives (ex. 13.3).

Example 13.3(a): *Prélude* 04:39r:7-38v:10, b. 45-51 (from letter B+5) in score.



Example 13.3(b): Book 03:1r:1.



Example 13.3(c): Book 03:1r:12.



Example 13.3(d): Book 03:16r:1-6.



Examples 13.3(b) and (c) appear on the very first page in book 03 and are not linked directly to the other *Romeo and Juliet* sketches. Their lack of key signature and metre makes them difficult to interpret, but judging from the accidentals in (b), E major is their most likely key. Considering (c) on its own, the key could even be E minor. The melodic gesture in the first bar in (a) and (b) is varied; it is also placed in the second bar in (c). Example 13.3(d) is taken from the group of *Romeo and Juliet* sketches in book 03, where the melodic stepwise motion above and then below the chord tone D# occurs in several instances. Importantly, this motive is not at all common in the final *Romeo and Juliet* score, and these book 03 sketches were written more than a year before the *Prélude* sketches as well. But other *Romeo and Juliet* sketches appear in book 04 (where the *Prélude* sketches are), indicating that the work was far from ready to be scored early in 1876. Hence, very different possible paths for *Romeo and Juliet* were most likely still possible at the point when the *Prélude* sketches were written.

The similarity and difference exemplified by these apparently aligned motives, together with the matters discussed above (key, texture, orchestration, harmony, working method), seems to present a panorama of possibility that is similar to the panorama of phase 2 sketches that I discussed in chapter 11. The difference is one of physical concentration, in that case. Given the link between *Zorahayda* and *Romeo and Juliet* discussed in chapter 12, these sketches could well have been intentionally associated, both when they were written and later on. It is certainly likely that Svendsen was *aware* of their similarities, but I cannot determine whether he *intended* to work these ideas into a single opus at any point, or whether he meant to develop different

⁵²² See also 03:14r:9–12, where it appears in eighth notes around related keys (B and E major).

works based on related germinal ideas. It is clear that the borders of these intraopus styles, which are distinct in the public scores, become blurred in the private documents.

It is the combination of all of these factors that makes possible intentional links so interesting. Either motivic similarity, physical concentration or key centre alone would not form a basis for much, but taken in combination, possible patterns emerge.

I will mention another couple of sketches that both demonstrate but also complicate this. On Mus.ms. 7882d:1v–2r,⁵²³ there are some sketches revealing certain melodic similarities with example 13.3(a) above. But their keys are Bb minor and Eb minor, both of which are remote from E major, and their metre and tempo are apparently different, and the rhythmic design is based on eighth notes rather than quarter notes. Interestingly, on page 1r there are sketches with presumably intentional links to *Andante funébre*, composed in 1895, three years before *Prélude* and many years after his composing career was for all practical purposes over. One might wonder whether there are some 'associative links' here, but they were probably not intended for *Prélude*. In fact, the sketches in question (1v–2r) also have certain similarities to *Andante funébre*, such as the opening chromatic appoggiatura and the physical proximity.

My discussions concerning the *Prélude* sketches will extend into the next chapter in relation to the Third Symphony, because there are interesting links to yet another group of sketches that never ended up in any finalised work. The panorama of possibilities I have demonstrated between *Zorahayda* and *Romeo and Juliet*, which Svendsen was (or became) aware of, and the similar relationships I have suggested between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Prélude*, which he *probably* was aware of, therefore reaches into yet other planned projects as well. Nevertheless, when Svendsen signed the autograph score for *Romeo and Juliet* on 27 September 1876, the possibility of including the *Prélude* sketches was definitely abandoned, if it had ever been considered. Then, these sketches were reconsidered again, definitely in 1898 and apparently around 1882–83 as well.

These discussions demonstrate that questions concerning thematic similarity versus thematic unity become more problematic when musical material veers away from the intraopus style and structure established by the final score. The lack of

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⁵²³ Johan Svendsen. Mus.ms. 7882d [Skisser].

information in private sketch documents allows for many possible interpretations, and the composer's intentions become more difficult to comprehend. Importantly, though, openness also played a significant part in the compositional process itself. *Romeo and Juliet* and *Zorahayda* cross each other at one point. *Prélude* and *Romeo and Juliet* come very close at several points. The *Prélude* sketches that seem implicated in several planned works in the 1870s and 1880s end up as yet another work in 1898.

Ultimately, we must acknowledge the difficulty of studying compositional process based on sketch studies alone. The more fragmentary a sketch is, the less it allows us to read the intentions behind it at the time it was written. If Svendsen had dated and labelled his sketches, and revealed more of his plans in letters, it would have been easier for us to contextualise his private musical documents.

Chapter 14: A Third Symphony?

14.1 General Considerations

It is well documented in a variety of sources from the 1880s and 1890s that Johan Svendsen attempted to compose a third symphony. First, several letters and press reports from Svendsen's Copenhagen period mention his progress on a symphony. Second, a famous anecdote told by the Norwegian writer John Paulsen states that a complete autograph score was thrown into the fire by Svendsen's wife Sally (Bergljot) in a fit of jealousy. Though this anecdote's credibility is hard to verify, it holds weight with both musicologists and music lovers—Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, for example, do not question it at all in their Svendsen biography.⁵²⁴ Lastly, in 2007, Bjarte Engeset discovered the sketchbooks comprising the core of my source material here, and among them he identified sketches he believed could refer to an unfinished symphony. Unfortunately, it is difficult or even impossible to connect the variety of sources to one and the same work, or even the same plan for a work, so we cannot really speak of the third symphony, since several projects may well be bundled into the fledgling work. In addition, as previous chapters have clarified, plans change, goals are altered, germinal ideas transfer from one project to another or develop into something unrecognisable, and ideas that were never intended to be linked may appear as related in retrospect. Furthermore, in accordance with my previous discussions, a symphony plan from 1884 would be different from one in 1893, even if the same sketch material were to form their basis. It is also very likely that Svendsen had several and very different symphony projects on his mind during the thirty-five years from the completion of no. 2 in 1876 and his death in 1911.

In short, there is a clear mutual dependency between the work concept and the musical score in nineteenth-century music. The work as a *musical object* (see chapter 4.6) is evidently not the same as the physical object of the score (which often exists in several sources, variants and versions), but that work is still difficult to 'identify' *without* a score. Sketches are more 'open' than scores, because they lack specificity of content or intention. This openness or panorama of possibilities impacts both scholars and the composer himself. Still, there are a number of constraints that the composer would

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⁵²⁴ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 170-71.

probably never force. The more related sketches we have, especially from later phases, the better our understanding of the composer's intentions will be. There are even a few early–phase sketches that might also suggest symphony plans.

A work emerges in the compositional process—rapidly or slowly. In chapter 4.6 I argued that it is reasonable to speak of a work even when it is still in progress at the composer's desk, even if it appears rather vague to the composer himself, because it is too hard to identify the specific point in the compositional process when it becomes a 'real' work. In relation to Svendsen's third symphony, then, we know only that he wanted to complete another symphony after no. 2. Yet the musical content and artistic 'Idee' behind it likely changed continuously. Considering his style and aesthetics, we can assume that it would have been a work in four movements, the first and probably the fourth of which would be based on the sonata-allegro. The work would begin and end in the same key (or in parallel keys), and it would likely be in a major key. (As it seems, Svendsen tried to surprise there). The work would probably last thirty to forty minutes, and its intraopus style would demarcate it from other works, so that it would appear 'autonomous'. It is unlikely that Svendsen would have reused material from other completed works in the final public score, but as demonstrated, a variety of material could circulate through his sketches and later be separated in different works.

Next I will clarify the source situation in some depth. The following section is based on my article⁵²⁵ written following the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra and Engeset's performance of my arrangement of some of the current sketches (see section 14.3).

14.2 Testimonies about a Third Symphony

According to Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, the publisher Peters commissioned a third symphony from Svendsen around 1880. They also claim that Peters repeated the request in the autumn of 1882, and that Svendsen, on 21 November, replied that it would be an honour for him to have the new symphony published by Peters, and 'hopefully sooner than later, since I can now devote myself with full force to the task'. 526 As far as I know, this is the only source that connects progress on a third symphony to the winter of 1882/83—Svendsen's last season in Christiania. The JSV project has thus

525 Bjørn Morten Christophersen, "Johan Svendsen's lost or unfinished symphony."

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⁵²⁶ 'Forhåpentlig er ikke tiden fjern, da jeg kan vie meg til oppgaven med full kraft'. Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup–Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 170.

far not located any original sources for this correspondence. (The modern Norwegian spelling in the quotation suggests that Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe did not quote directly from the original, since they usually preserve nineteenth-century orthography. I suspect, then, that they used a secondary source here.)

In 1943, Harald Beyer published selections of the writer John Paulsen's (1851–1924) memoirs, including the famous anecdote regarding the symphony score's tragic end. Paulsen's original manuscript is lost as well, so the extract published by Beyer is the only surviving source. Paulsen presented his memoirs as conversations with Henrik Ibsen's wife, Suzannah, in 1913–14.⁵²⁷ This is rather a literary technique, than a transcription of their actual conversations. What follows are Paulsen's words (edited by Beyer):

Svendsen, as handsome and captivating as he was brilliant, was always pursued by the ladies, who would send him letters and flowers, and now and again would seek to establish more intimate connections with him. But Mrs Sally suffered under this. She preferred, as would seem reasonable, to have her husband to herself.

One of the most celebrated beauties of Kristiania, Miss E., thus, after one of his concerts, sent him a large posy of roses, between whose pale red petals was hidden a little billet doux. Unfortunately, both the flowers and the billet fell in the suspicious hands of Mrs Sally. Then what did she do, this demonic shrew, who had not but a few similarities to Hedda? [Ibsen's Hedda Gabler]

She pulled out from Svendsen's desk the manuscript of a new symphony he had worked on for a long while, and just recently finished—and threw it on the fire . . .

One eve spent together in confidence, when I was Svendsen's guest in his home on Clasens vei in Copenhagen, he told me himself of this horrific incident. I was vehemently indignant and in the end asked my old friend:

'But what did you then do with her? She deserved to be beaten within an inch of her life on the spot'.

Svendsen became pensive. He put on a grave face, and, stroking his dark moustache, he answered:

'You may believe I was severe'.

I did not expect much, as I knew the 'severity' of Svendsen! He was one of the most loving, the most lenient of men that I have known.

'And what did you do? You promptly divorced her?'

'No. not that! But I told her most commandingly: "On your knees!"

I could not but smile, and was very much inclined to embrace my dear Svendsen.⁵²⁸

Such a tragic story sounds colourful and diverting, if grossly misogynistic, today, but it is impossible to verify. Regarding the third symphony, the most crucial point is whether the 'manuscript of a [...] symphony he had [...] *just recently finished*' was in fact thrown in the fire. The odd understatement of such vital information rings false. There are a number of other curiosities too, suggesting that the story has come down to us inaccurately.

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⁵²⁷ Harald Beyer, "Aftnerne i Arbindsgade: Utklipp av et etterlat bind 'Erindringer' av John Paulsen," 34. ⁵²⁸ Ibid., 43.

The anecdote evokes Ibsen's play *Hedda Gabler*, and according to the Ibsen researcher Halfdan Koht it was in fact Ibsen's inspiration for the scene where Hedda burns Eilert Løvborg's manuscript.⁵²⁹ This relationship suggests the possibility that Ibsen's play circled back on the Svendsen story. Let us say that something was burned—a few sketches, an entire sketchbook, a complete movement—but not a complete work. The incident could still have inspired Ibsen's dramatisation, which might then have inspired Paulsen to exaggerate in his retelling of the original incident. Ibsen had broken off contact with Paulsen in 1880, and it was, according to Paulsen, Ibsen's wife, Susannah, who told Paulsen about this connection between Svendsen's wife Sally and Hedda Gabler. Paulsen, and later Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, claim that Ibsen heard the story as a rumour which must have been circulating for some time before 1890, when *Hedda Gabler* was released. Hence, a number of people must have known about it, but none of the letters and articles dated between 1884 and 1905 in Denmark or Norway (discussed below) reveal any hint of this cultural tragedy. Instead, they say that Svendsen simply never got the chance to finish the symphony.

Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe probably used Svendsen's correspondence with Peters as the basis for dating this incident to Svendsen's last winter in Christiania, but Paulsen gives no hint of when it happened, and Koht seems to suggest it happened in Copenhagen. You promptly divorced her?', Paulsen claims to have asked Svendsen. While this was probably included for narrative reasons, if Paulsen knew Svendsen well enough to be told this story in confidence, he would also have known that Svendsen and Sally separated during the second half of the 1880s in Copenhagen (first in 1885 and for good in 1888;⁵³¹ they then divorced in 1901). Among Ibsen scholars, Paulsen is recognized as an unreliable source, but there is seldom smoke without fire (in this case, literally). It is quite possible that *some* documents for a third symphony were burned, but less likely that it was a complete symphony. If Sally burned sketches or a draft for parts of a symphony, this would line up with the other sources, which I will refer to in what follows here.

On 24 November 1884, Svendsen wrote to Grieg: 'From the preceding you will perceive that I have of late led an exceedingly prolific life, would that I now were soon to

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⁵²⁹ Halvdan Koht, Henrik Ibsen: Eit diktarliv, vol. II (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1954), 211.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 202.

find some tranquillity, so that I again may get at the work on my 3rd Symphony'.⁵³² In 1886, Svendsen temporarily turned down a commission from Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson by pleading a time-consuming commitment to another large composition.⁵³³ Whether or not Svendsen had a third symphony in mind here is hard to say, but it would be a reasonable guess. In the spring of 1887, he mentioned the symphony to Grieg again:

The symphony, I fear, I have carried with me for too long; on several occasions this winter I have attempted to resume the work, but it has never come to fruition; it is as if the previously notated ideas have lost their appeal, and it seems possible that I one fine day decide to embark on something else. 534

While Svendsen might have written this to hide his personal drama, many other letters reveal that the two men were close friends. And in other letters Svendsen promised to reveal other secrets to Grieg when they meet. In addition, none of the later letters between them signals anything about a burned manuscript. If Ibsen heard the rumours, why was Grieg in the dark?

In December 1891, the year after *Hedda Gabler* was published, Svendsen wrote to his father: 'A Symphony—is still awaiting its completion'.⁵³⁵ In other letters to his father, Svendsen acknowledged their close friendship, so why would he have kept such a secret from him? Then, on 13 November 1893, Grieg wrote to his publisher Max Abraham at Peters Verlag: 'Otherwise I am now just back home from a breakfast with Svendsen and have spent a couple of happy hours. He is one of the most important contemporary artists. If only he could soon send you the 3rd symphony!'⁵³⁶ It seems likely, then, that the work was mentioned during this breakfast. Then, as late as 1905, Grieg wrote to Svendsen: 'Pull out the 3rd Symphony, strike a couple of mighty blows onto the table and say: hell and damnation!'⁵³⁷ At this point, though, Svendsen was probably too tired to take on such a huge task. Most importantly, all of these letters make it clear that

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⁵³² 'Af foranstaaende vil Du kunne se, at jeg i den sidste Tid har ført et meget bevæget og virksomt Liv, gid jeg nu snart maatte komme lidt til Ro saa at jeg igjen kan komme til at arbeide paa min 3^{die} Symphoni'. Johan Svendsen. to Edvard Grieg (Bergen Public Library 0215143) (24 November 1884).

^{533 ———.} to Bjørnson! (National Library of Norway) (23 April 1886).

^{&#}x27;Symphonien er jeg bange for jeg har gaaet for længe med, flere Gange i Vinter har jeg forsøgt at gjenoptage Arbeidet, men det har aldrig villet gaa, det er ligesom de allerede optegnede Ideer har tabt Interessen, og er det nok muligt, at jeg en vakker Dag bestemmer mig til at tage fat paa noget andet'. ———. to Edvard Grieg (Bergen Public Library 0215148) (21 May 1887).

^{535 ———.} to Gulbrand Svendsen (National library of Norway 533:102) (22 December 1891).

⁵³⁶ 'Übrigens bin ich heute gerade von einem Früstück mit Svendsen nach Hause gekehrt und habe ein Paar glückliche Stunden zugebracht. Er ist doch einer der bedeutesten Künstler der Gegenwart. Möchte er Ihnen doch bald die 3^{te} Sinfonien schicken!' Finn Benestad and Helle Brock, *Edvard Grieg: Briefwechsel mit dem Musikverlag C. F. Peters 1863–1907* (Frankfurt: Peters, 1997), 297.

⁵³⁷ 'Tag den 3die Symfoni frem, slå et Par vældige Slag i Bordet og sig: Død og pine!' Finn Benestad, *Brev i utvalg: 1862–1907/Edvard Grieg* (Oslo1998), 662.

Svendsen did plan a third symphony, but they do not say how far he got with it. They show no traces of a burned manuscript. As mentioned, I believe the correspondence with Svendsen's father and Grieg is of special importance, since they were among his closest and most intimate friends.

The music journal *Nordisk Musik-Tidende*, published by the music publisher Carl Warmuth (1844–1895) in Christiania from 1880 to 1893, mentions a symphony in progress several times throughout the 1880s. For example, in December 1886, it reports on a symphony in C major. A symphony is also mentioned in July 1886, July 1887 and June 1888.⁵³⁸ All of these reports reproduce secondhand information: some may be connected to Svendsen's summer vacations in Norway, when he and Warmuth probably met. On the other hand, if rumours of a burned manuscript were also circling in Christiania, Warmuth would most certainly have been aware of them. Did he protect his friend Svendsen by not publishing the tragedy?

Concerning the key of the symphony, the Danish newspaper *Dannebrog* reported on 10 September 1893: 'This year Svendsen will not conduct at all. He has presumably promised back home in Kristiania that he will complete a new job—perhaps the E major Symphony talked about through so many years now'.⁵³⁹ This was published two months before Grieg wrote to Abraham. Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe also refer to a conversation between Svendsen's student Fini Henriques and musicologist Olav Gurvin in which Henriques claims that Svendsen had completed a first movement in E major and was working on the second movement (whether Henriques actually *saw* the score is not known).⁵⁴⁰ (According to Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, Henriques was Svendsen's student in the second half of the 1880s.) It is generally believed that Svendsen planned his third symphony in E major. Yet as far as I know, these are the only two sources stating such a key. As will be discussed later, the sketches that Engeset identified in 2007 suggest a symphony in E *minor*, and possibly one in C major. There are very few traces of a first movement in E major in the sketch material.

To make the picture even more complicated, I include one of the lists Svendsen wrote of his own works containing the inscription 'Symphoni IV.' in pencil. The list is

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⁵³⁸ Carl Warmuth, *Nordisk Musik-Tidende* (Christiania: Warmuth, 1880-1893).

⁵³⁹, 1893.09.10 1893.

⁵⁴⁰ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, Johan Svendsen, 199.

otherwise in ink.⁵⁴¹ Why the roman number IV? Was the third burned, so he embarked on a fourth—perhaps a joke for scholars like me to puzzle with?

As discussed in chapter 1, Svendsen's productivity declined already from 1877. No firsthand sources (that is, letters from Svendsen) mention work on the third symphony until the Copenhagen period in the 1880s, except the correspondence between Svendsen and Peters that has not surfaced. Of course, Svendsen's letter to Grieg in 1884 suggests that the work had been in progress for some time, probably since he still lived in Christiania. The relatively few known works completed during the last years in Christiania could either be explained by Svendsen's possible intensive work on a symphony or an actual low level of compositional activity. Ultimately, I think it more likely that Sally burned sketches than a complete autograph score. Nevertheless, since none of the sources discussed above reveal any details about Svendsen's plans other than a couple of possible keys, it is difficult to connect them directly to the sketches to be discussed in section 14.3.

14.3 Symphony Sketches

As opposed to the previous chapters in part V, there is no final score as a reference point for this discussion, and the sketches for one or more unrealised symphonies (in surviving sources) will be framed according to various contingencies—that is, possible goals based on interpretations of the sketches' musical content, their relationships and physical positions, and expected aesthetic and stylistic solutions. The above discussion sets up a decade, from the end of his last Christiania period through the beginning of the Copenhagen period, relevant to the dating of the symphony sketches.

Sketchbooks 05 and 06 both contain many successive pages with sketches that are not related to any known completed work. Their physical concentration begs the question of whether they were written near one another in time. As discussed in chapter 6, they were all likely written after the turn of the year 1881–82 (the completion of Polonaise, op. 28). Hence, there *can* be connections to the sources discussed in 14.2. Several interesting musical links between the material in book 05 and parts of the sketches in book 06 should be evaluated. What follows, then, is a discussion of some possible symphony projects based on the sketches.

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 $^{^{541}\,\}mbox{Johan Svendsen}.$ [List of Works] (Copenhagen Musikmuseet).

A Symphony in E Minor

The most well-developed project is a symphony in E minor. Book 06:1r-16v reveals drafts for three subsequent movements in related keys that reflect the common order of symphony movements. In my opinion, this is the only clear evidence that Svendsen in fact did proceed quite far on a third symphony. All three movement drafts have a clear beginning and end, but they are still too short. Pages 1r-8r clearly reveal a draft for an exposition and a coda for a sonata-allegro in E minor—that is, no development section or recapitulation. This is evidently orchestral music, judging from the musical content, the voicings and the three to four staves in particella. Another draft follows on pages 8v-10v in A minor, marked 'Andante con moto' and consisting of a section in A minor and one in its parallel key, which is then directly followed by a 'springar-like' movement in E major on pages 11v-16v which would serve as a scherzo. The latter is the closest to complete in length but would still have been expanded in a final score. It is some hundred bars shorter than both 'scherzos' in Symphonies no. 1 and 2, for example. Clearly, based on the superficial evaluation so far the three first movements of a symphony emerge. In fact, it is the only surviving example in Svendsen's sketches as a whole of several consecutive movements for a cyclic work, drafted one after the other without interruption from other projects, which strongly suggests they belong together. Since Svendsen usually incorporated temporal expansion from one draft to the next, the shortness of these drafts is no surprise.

What about a finale? The scherzo is followed by various exploration sketches and the two fiddle tunes *Kivlemøyane II* and *III* (see chapter 6). Several projects might be suggested in the rest of book 06—most of the sketches are apparently related to C major and only a few to E minor/major. I will discuss this in depth further down, but there is no clear evidence of a finale in E minor or major.

Let me investigate the three drafts and their relationship. A symphony in E minor would be quite a surprise from Svendsen's hand, considering how much he favours major keys. On the other hand, it would make sense if he wished to expand his expressive landscape and compose a more dramatic symphony at this point in his career. One important factor might be his experience with conducting the Norwegian premiere of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on 2 April 1881,⁵⁴² and as will be

⁵⁴² Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 160.

demonstrated, the opening of the E minor exposition clearly recalls that work. A finale would no doubt be in either E minor or E major, or the two keys successively. But a tonal plot for the four movements of E minor–A minor–E major–E major is somewhat strange, particularly in terms of the anticipation of the major parallel in the third movement, and the juxtaposition of two movements in minor modes first. Having said this, Svendsen must have known Schumann and Gade's symphonies, several of which reveal unusual tonal plans. To speculate, a finale beginning in E minor and then modulating to a major key seems more reasonable, or one could move the scherzo forward: E minor–E major–A minor–E major–[?] seems to be his plan.

In terms of the E minor exposition,⁵⁴³ the draft recalls the finale of Symphony no. 2, discussed in chapter 11—that is, after four 'failed attempts' at an opening (a main theme) (06:1r–3r), the fifth attempt on 06:3v goes into a complete exposition that ends with repetition marks on 6v:10–12. Curiously, the music then goes not into a development section but straight into a coda, which clearly ends with three (tutti) unison strokes in E. It appears that the whole draft was written rather quickly, as Svendsen 'went with the flow' and continued to 'write what he heard', rather than pausing to make plans for a development section. The texture is very thin in the coda, which is a suggested outline of the *continuity*.

As mentioned, five attempts at a main theme are sketched before continuity emerges from the fifth. Example 14.1 below presents a comparative transcription of these attempts. The similarity to Beethoven's Ninth is clear. A sustained note played tremolo (or misurato) accompanies a theme that opens with a sixteenth-note upbeat (Beethoven's motive inverted). Svendsen experiments with several features, including temporality, rhythmic design and the question of whether the fundamental tone or the fifth should be the accompanying note. The second attempt has very odd harmonic implications—there is clearly a mismatch between imagined and written sound here. The two last attempts continue with an imitation in the bass that evidently produces expansion of the orchestral compass downward, which also recalls Beethoven's opening

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⁵⁴³ This is the draft I elaborated and orchestrated into a 'pilot' in 2010 that was premiered on 9 and 10 February 2011 by the Bergen Philharmonic Orchestra and Bjarte Engeset. My philosophy back then was to balance between changing/adding as little as possible, using as much original Svendsen material as I could, and still presenting a 'credible' musical piece that carried the audience away and did not sound too 'scholarly'. See appendix 2.1 and Bjørn Morten Christophersen, "Johan Svendsen's lost or unfinished symphony."

in the gradually thickening texture on a harmony that sustains and gives a sense of 'growth' or 'a distant idea coming closer'.⁵⁴⁴ The chromatically descending quarter notes in attempt five also turn out to be motivically significant later in the draft, and there are other sketches that are seemingly related to this as well.

Example 14.1: Comparative transcription of five attempts on the main theme, 06:1r-3v.



Starting at the fifth attempt (3v), pages are paginated (for four pages), which suggests the real opening of the movement (and dismisses the former attempts). It is perfectly possible to proceed directly from 3v to 4r, but the open space and the single note E in the bass clef at the bottom of 3v might suggest an intention to fill in a passage here, or that 4r was written somewhat later (not during the same session).⁵⁴⁵

A new and contrasting idea is introduced on 4v that features eighth-note rhythms and melodic alternation on minor seconds. This also has motivic importance later in the draft, as well as in other sketches where it is rhythmically augmented as *Seufzers*.

A clearly contrasting secondary theme section begins on 5v:1, still in E minor. But this theme is the modulating section itself and proceeds to the dominant key of B minor. The end of the exposition and the entire coda are dominated by the half-note *Seufzers*

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⁵⁴⁴ In my elaboration work, I found this process to be too short. In order to use as much original Svendsen material as possible, I combined version 3 and 5. See appendix 2.1

 $^{^{545}}$ In my elaboration, I inserted five related bars starting on 05:47v:1–6, plus two of my own to splice with 06:4r. See appendix. 2.1

suggested earlier. In other words, the beginning and the end of a sonata-allegro emerge on these pages.

There is one evident (05:47v) and one possible (06:17r:6) exploration sketch for this draft. Otherwise, there are no traces of preparatory phase 2 sketches. For a more indepth analysis of the exposition, see my article mentioned above.

The 'Andante con moto' that follows on the succeeding pages (from 8v) also opens with a sustained sound, namely an open fifth A–E (a reference to Beethoven again?). The main theme *can* suggest an 'archaic' flavour with that open fifth and A Aeolian if the last melody note in stave 1 is actually G, not G#, which would be quite a novel idea in the Svendsen idiom. But, as will be demonstrated below, this draft is based on earlier sketches in book 05 that feature G#. So, Svendsen's original intention was clearly A melodic minor, not Aeolian.

A significant motive occurs in the bass on 8v, staff 3, 6 and 10. This is an inverted variant of the opening motive (sixteenth-note upbeat) of the first movement, and if these two movements appear in the same symphony, it would indicate a clear intermovemental thematic relationship. Interestingly, the motive is revised (moved one bar later) with ink. Other ink jottings in Svendsen's sketchbooks usually indicate a revision while composing the score. Would this then suggest that the 'Andante con moto' was orchestrated? (Evidently, the movement is too short as it stands in book 06, but a coherent full draft does not necessarily exist before orchestration. He may have combined drafts in several sources.)

One would expect that this motive would be inserted into the Andante after he composed the preceding E minor draft. But it apparently happened the other way around, since previous drafts for the Andante, which also contain this motive, were written in book 05.

A contrasting and livelier theme in A major is sketched on 9v–10r, and a short coda on 10v. The A major theme, featuring mostly eighth notes, reveals several phrase endings with 5–3–1 in the melody, which Eckhoff described as a typical Svendsen feature (see chapter 2.2).

Now, as indicated, this draft is clearly based on sketches in book 05:49v–52v which were written first. This is important, because the Andante may originally have been planned for another symphony project, and may also have been developed from a

rather different idea. I will support this suggestion in a comparative transcription in example 14.5 below.

The scherzo (11v–16v) is the longest draft, and it is the closest to a complete continuity, but, as mentioned, it is significantly shorter than Svendsen's earlier symphony scherzos. As in the second symphony, Svendsen seems to flirt with a Norwegian folkloristic dance, this time a *springar*. A trio in A minor (again) appears starting on 13v and based on the inversion of the main theme. From 15v:9–10 a modulation back to E major seems to be suggested, and 16r presents a culmination of the main theme in C major, which is abruptly broken off before a short coda is suggested on 16v. However, this passage with the transition to a coda exists in an expanded variant in book 05:59v–60r.

A problem concerning autonomy may have arisen regarding this scherzo, for it comes very close to the first theme in the *springar* section in Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2 (b. 149–308), which is about the same length, is in E major and has a very similar main theme.

Example 14.2 Comparison Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2 springar and symphony springar themes.



The rhapsody theme is a Norwegian folk dance, no. 328 in Ludvig Matthias Lindeman's folk tune collection *Ældre og nyere norske fjeldmelodier (Older and Newer Norwegian Mountain Melodies).* 546 Svendsen's own handwritten collection of folk melodies refers to Lindeman. As far as I can tell, the symphony theme is Svendsen's original tune. My survey in chapter 6 clearly suggests that the symphony sketch is written at least six years later than Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2. Hence, the symphony scherzo might be inspired by the rhapsody, but not the other way around. In previous chapters I have discussed intraopus styles, as well as work autonomy in public versus the blending of musical material in private documents. This is a curious example of such. One wonders whether Svendsen would go public with this scherzo with confidence?

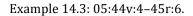
⁵⁴⁶ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 138.

⁵⁴⁷ Johan Svendsen. [Nedtegnelser av folkemelodier, avskrifter, skisser]. (b) (30 February [sic.] 1877)., 4.

As mentioned, there are no sketches clearly indicating a finale for this project. The rest of book 06 contains mainly memo and exploration sketches with C major as their principal key. Only a few sketches suggest E minor or major. Some of them might be intended for the same project, but no longer drafts can support this. Still, a clearly linked memo sketch for the scherzo theme appears on the very last page, 36v. Below this is a sketch presumably in C major which by itself is clearly related to other C major sketches in the book, most notably on 24v and 25v–26r. Again the *Seufzer* featuring in the E minor exposition is a pervasive motive. The question is whether Svendsen had two symphony projects at work in parallel, one in E and another in C, or whether he gave up the E minor symphony and embarked on one in C major. The secondary sources discussed in 14.2 can support this in their references to two keys. Whether it is possible to speak of a symphony based on the C major sketches at all will be discussed below, but I will consider another possibility first, namely a work in E major.

A Symphony in E Major

Apparently, the general assumption that Svendsen's third symphony would be in the key of E major derives from two sources, the *Dannebrog* article and Henriques's conversation with Olav Gurvin. To investigate the possible traces of such a project in the sketches, we must turn to book 05. Pages 05:44v–47v contain a group of sketches clearly related to E major with a contrasting theme in A minor (from 46r:9). Judging from the accidentals, it is evident that this A minor theme is included in an E major movement. The first E major sketch (or draft) opens on 44v with what look like four introductory chords (I–VI–IV–V). Then follows a very interesting alignment with the *Prélude* sketches discussed in chapter 13.





One recognises a four-part texture in the treble register, presumably intended for violins. In addition, the melodic motive that starts at 05:44v:4:5 is practically the same as the third and seventh bars in the *Prélude* sketch, 04:37r:1:3 and 04:37r:4:3, for example. Then, on 05:45v, more similarities arise, as example 14.4 shows.

Example 14.4: 05:45v:4-46r:8.



The two bars following the cross-out here are almost identical to 04:37v:7-9:2-3, except for the melody line. The crossed out bar in example 14.4, suggests two melodic possibilities on the last note, and the E that is crossed out reveal an identical motive to the first bar in the *Prélude* theme. One may suspect that Svendsen deliberately tried to cover a connection to the *Prélude* sketch when he crossed out this note. In any case, there are connections in the main keys, key relationships (E major-A minor), texture, harmonic progressions and melodic features. The opening motive of each of the main melodies is similar, but not identical, and the harmonic *flavour* is somewhat different. While Prélude is filled with chromatic and substance-of-affinity harmony, the book 05 sketches are more diatonic and thus have a more extroverted character. In addition, the 05 sketches feature the 'Grieg motive' quite frequently, and this is not used in *Prélude*. The working method is also similar in its blend of exploration sketches and drafts. I suggest that Svendsen intentionally based the book 05 sketches on those in book 04, then altered their character and developed them from there. It is unlikely that he was unaware of the former when he wrote the latter, as in the scherzo discussed above. He must have noticed such a close similarity.

Example 14.5: Comparative transcription of A minor themes sketches in book 05 and 06.



The A minor theme (from 05:46r:9) which was originally connected to the E major section discussed above also has some interesting similarities with the early Andante con moto drafts on the successive pages in book 05 that were later elaborated in book 06. The comparative transcription in example 14.5 above juxtaposes the A minor theme (05:46r:9) with the five later attempts on a theme for the Andante con moto. (The accidentals are somewhat confusing but appear to relate to the main key of E major, though somewhat indifferently.) The melodic curve and the most important melodic notes (E-D-A-B-C in the first phrase) seem very consistent in all of the examples. The melodic peak, a high A, occurs in the same bar (except for the second-to-last attempt, which is expanded by four bars). Eighth-note triplets supply rhythmic variation in all but the final attempt (book 06). Otherwise, dotted eighth notes dominate the three first staves in the example. An interesting difference between the first stave and the succeeding is the metric displacement from downbeat to upbeat emphasis. If one moves the first theme one beat earlier (starting on the upbeat), one finds that it matches very

well with the other staves. The harmony (excluded in the example) also reveals some interesting similarities, such as an added major sixth in the tonic chord at equivalent places across the sketches. There are also many minor differences among all of the examples. It is clear that the last five staves are variants of or attempts at the same theme. But my point is that their original germinal idea is the A minor theme originally set up as a contrasting idea to the theme in E major starting on 05:44v. The connection might not be entirely conscious—I do not think Svendsen deliberately moved the melody a beat earlier, for example—but I think the first theme *inspired* the Andante con moto and was therefore an important condition for it. There is a cognitive link, then, that transcends accidental similarity.

In conclusion, I propose that the A minor passage which was supposed to follow the E major theme in book 05 transferred into an idea for a completely different movement, namely the Andante con moto, which might have been connected initially to an E major project (perhaps a symphony, but these sketches alone do not tell us) and was later transferred to yet another project—a symphony in E minor. Another possibility is that the *Prélude* like sketches in book 05 and the E minor exposition in book 06 was intended for the same project 'all along'. Note that the sixteenth-note upbeats discussed earlier (book 06 E minor exposition and 'Andante con moto') also feature in the 'Andante con moto' in book 05:49v. Note as well that an evident exploration sketch for the E minor exposition is positioned among these sketches in book 05. All these observations speak for conscious connections between the two groups of sketches in books 05 and 06, but also as far back as to the *Prélude* sketches. At this point, of course, Prélude was only sketches. Therefore, the Prélude sketches and their relatives in book 05 appeared as alternatives. They might be intended for different works, written six years apart, but most probably stemmed from the same germinal idea.

Thus we are presented with the very interesting possibility of an intentional relationship from *Romeo and Juliet* via the *Prélude* sketches to the E major sketches in book 05 which later are related to the E minor symphony through the Andante con moto. I do not suggest that *Romeo and Juliet*, completed in 1876, originally was intended for the third symphony (it could have been intended for many projects), but that ideas could have transferred and developed within the private documents from this work to others, and then to a symphony plan in E minor. It is not *one single* germinal idea that

travels but rather a host of features, taken up in the middle stages and pursued later on. Neither do I claim that *Prélude* sketches were intended for a symphony, but they could have been. The final version of *Prélude* in 1898 might well have been influenced retrospectively by the E minor symphony project as well, as its introduction—in E minor—highlights the *Seufzer* mentioned above. What a compositional panorama this is! What remains a rather sad possibility is that the only trace of Svendsen's symphony plans to reach the public was his compositional swansong, the ambiguous work with the somewhat ironic title *Fest-Præludium*.

A Symphony in C major

The last project to be discussed is a possible symphony in C. The second half of book 06 contains mainly exploration sketches—that is, phase 2—and no drafts. Various keys and motives are represented, but two germinal ideas, both in C major, clearly dominate starting on 06:21v. It is worth remarking upon the physical concentration of these ideas, which suggests that they were written within a relatively short time span and uninterrupted by other projects. Some examples of these ideas follow:

Example 14.6 (a): 06:21v:4-22r:3.



Example 14.6 (b): 06:22r:4-5.



Example 14.6 (c): 06:22r:6-8.



The sketching method discussed in chapter 11.2 (phase 2) is clearly recognisable in example 14.6. A motive is tested through sequence and imitation on various intervals. Variants of this pattern are tried until page 24r, comprising a group of nine sketches. The same idea is taken up again on 29v–32r in eight more sketches. The motive is altered to accommodate more melodic activity as well:

Example: 14.6 (d): 06:31r:1-6.



This is most likely symphonic music, but it is not necessarily a symphony: Svendsen works with process-oriented passages, meaning that thematic development with some degree of contrapuntal strictness are explored rather than self-contained themes. The voice-leading is mainly chromatic and not typically for his vocal music style. Most sketches occupy three to four staves, leaving space for inner parts. But, since none of the sketches exceeds eight to ten bars or includes other ideas or passages in a musical syntax, no sense of form is evident, nor are there any clear connections to material for other movements, as in the E minor project.

This idea is sketched only a few times:

Example 14.7: 06:26v:7-10 cont. 27r:7-10.



One cannot say for certain that this was intentionally linked to the idea in 14.6, but it is the most likely possibility, due to the physical proximity, key and the similarities in rhythmic design. Certainly, it would be easy to connect them in a single work. This variant is more diatonic, so perhaps it could be a potential secondary theme?

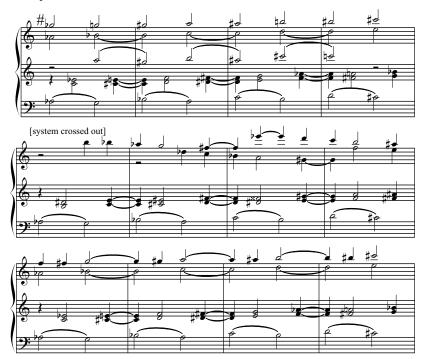
Another rather different germinal idea in C occupies eight exploration sketches, also based on sequence and imitation, on 24r and 25r–26v, and there is a probably

related sketch on the very last page 36v, below the memo sketch for the scherzo in E major discussed above. A descending half step, a *Seufzer*, characterises this germinal idea. As in the previous examples, the key of C never materialises but appears to be the basis nevertheless, judging by the key signature, the accidentals and the initial bar implying a iv^6 –V in C.

Example 14.8: 24v:1-3.



Example 14.9: 06:26r.



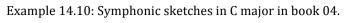
It shares the *Seufzer* with the E minor exposition. While this is arguably a very common musical gesture, its appearance in two apparently very different projects probably written at almost the same time is interesting. Could there be an influence here that is similar to what we saw in previous cases?

There are a few other C major sketches in book 06—for example, a memo sketch on 21v:1–3. All of the sketches discussed thus far are positioned *after* the *Kivlemøyane* on 19v–21r. But a handful of ideas sketched in C major are sketched *before* the fiddle tunes—that is, directly after the E major scherzo—as well. One germinal idea is explored a few times in sequence and imitation (17v–18r), then other ideas appear once each.

In December 1886, *Nordisk Musik-Tidende* reported a symphony in C major in progress (see 14.1). Some or all of the sketches discussed might well have been connected to that claim. The dating for book 06 discussed in chapter 6 might well match that of the journal report as well, though this is unclear.

Another group of sketches in C major, written about ten years earlier, around 1876, could also impact the discussion of a planned C major symphony. Any link to *Nordisk Musik-Tidende* is unlikely, however—this is presumably a separate project, given the time gap of almost a decade.

The material in question is spread across three sources: book 04 (suggesting 1876 as a date) 7882e⁵⁴⁸ and 'Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast'.⁵⁴⁹ Again the key is C major, but the thematic material is very different from that discussed above. I include a few examples from each of the three sources in examples 14.10-14.12.





These sketches appear *after* the *Prélude* sketches and *before* the revised draft for the development section in the finale of Symphony no. 2. The most likely timeframe, then, is winter/spring 1876.

⁵⁴⁸ ———. Mus.ms. 7882e [Skisser].

⁵⁴⁹ ———. Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast (Autographer).

Example 14.11: Symphonic sketches in C major in 'Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast'.



A symphonic allegro in C major is the most likely possibility here. The last and longest sketch, which comes closest to a draft, suggests a buildup on a pedal point towards a climax. Svendsen also mentioned a planned string quartet in two letters to Grieg in 1878^{550} and 1879^{551} , but the sparingly use of the alto clef and a few places with more

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⁵⁵⁰ ———. to Edvard Grieg (15 December 1878).

than four melodic parts (excluding the possibility of double stops) eliminates this possibility here.

Nevertheless, these last sketches are as numerous as those in book 06. A focus around a few thematic ideas makes them almost equally important, as well, when we are discussing a possible symphony in C.

Conclusion

A common assumption is that Svendsen's third symphony was planned in E major, but few sketches support this. In all, there are many memo sketches in E spread across many sources, but they are not clearly connected, and their brevity does not suggest any specific type of musical work. The strongest surviving evidence, instead, implies a symphony in E minor. Still, there are rather strong links between a potential E major project to the fledgling symphony in E minor via the Andante con moto's main theme. The E major sketches in and of themselves do not suggest a symphonic plan to any significant extent. I have found indications that related ideas wandered through Svendsen's sketchbooks for many years, some to be realised in public works, others to remain hidden. Works that appear 'autonomous' on the surface dissolve in a private panorama in the open sketches. The borders between intentionally and unintentionally linked musical ideas are blurry when we evaluate them in sketches alone.

In the end, none of the testimonies discussed in 14.2 proves that a single note for a third symphony was ever written. The best evidence of an actual project is the collection of three drafts on 06:1r–16v revealing a symphony in E minor in progress. It would be a fruitful expansion of Svendsen's artistic contribution had it existed in a complete score.

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 $^{^{551}}$ ———. to Edvard Grieg (Bergen Public Library 0215135) (30 January 1879).

Chapter 15: Loose Ends

15.1 Panoramic Reflections

Thus far in part V I have discussed sketches from the points of view of final works and possible planned works. Furthermore, I have discussed thematic materials which appear separated in finalised works but linked, and often intentionally so, in private sketch documents. The intraopus stylistic boundaries that become clear in final works are weaker in sketches, making it possible for germinal ideas, themes and even specific passages (including harmonisation, texture and orchestration) to travel from one work to another. Therefore, I have argued that the intraopus style of a work gradually narrowed over the course of Svendsen's sketching process as he continuously excluded certain possibilities and highlighted or developed others. The process seems to go from a panorama, limited only by his own idiom and the genre in which he wished to compose, to an intraopus focus. The panorama metaphor works best in retrospect— Svendsen likely did not *feel* or verbalise it that way. He was more likely searching locally, concerned about how to elaborate a given specific sketch in relation to the goal of completing a final score. The sketches appear both fixed and reciprocal to us, whereas they were emergent and had different implications for Svendsen. They also appear more 'open' to us, because crucial information, such as tempo, orchestration and intention, is invisible to us but was not so to him.

Another problem with the panorama and the 'narrowing-down metaphor' is that he did not actually *zoom in* to an existing 'object' but rather filtered possibilities as an intraopus style and structure emerged. It is certainly clear that the large-scale symphonic movements discussed thus far were only vaguely imagined at the beginning of the compositional process. And even such a modest work as *Two Icelandic Melodies*, discussed in chapter 10, was not actually preconceived and simply written down. The act of writing influences the shaping works such as this as well. I will argue, however, that the panorama metaphor is applicable from the composer perspective as well. The fact that the work is gradually more clearly *articulated* as some alternatives are excluded others are cultivated during the sketching process supports this metaphor, I think. Svendsen could have been perfectly clear in his own mind as to what the finale for Symphony no. 2 'was about' throughout the compositional process, although he hesitated on the shaping of the musical material. To paraphrase Stravinsky, the 'feeling'

or 'exertion' he wished to satisfy as he grubbed about in the sketches might have been relatively consistent. I have chosen not to emphasise what these 'feelings' might have been in my dissertation. I have not discussed what Svendsen's works 'are about' in any great depth, as it would opened doors to areas I think are relevant but not the core matters of this thesis. Nevertheless, even if Svendsen's *Ideen* were consistent during the compositional process, the possibilities for his actual musical material were still rather panoramic. In what follows, I will discuss certain sketches with particularly open prospects—sketches with no connection to known works or planned projects.

15.2 Problems Concerning Germinal Ideas and Intentional Links

In the following I will complicate my discussions on intentional links among sketches introduced in the previous chapters by including more sketch material with clear similarities to material already discussed that were nevertheless excluded from those discussions. In this way I will further problematise the relationship between personal idiom and intraopus style in relation to sketching techniques. While I might then weaken my earlier proposals regarding intentional links between certain specific germinal ideas, I will also strengthen the *possibility* of relationships across the private compositional panorama.

In book 03:25v:7–11 and 26v–27r, there are two sketches that appear to be intentionally linked. First, the thematic material is similar; second, the relative keys of C major and A minor dominate; third, they are physically very proximate (ex. 15.1–15.2):

Example 15.1: 03:25v:7-11.



Example 15.2: 26v-27r.



The first sketch is an ordinary exploration sketch based on sequence and imitation. The second utilises the same technique but includes more melodic variation. It is significantly longer and displays more syntactic coherence and is thus more like a draft. Its probable orchestration involves four-part violins. Svendsen does not line up extra space for a bass part until the last two systems (the bass system not revealed in example 15.2), and the many note heads have stems in both directions, suggesting unison doublings. The third sketch (03:27r:8–11) contains two alternative melodic lines that cannot be combined. The empty staves below suggest an intention to complete the texture with lower registers, and the melodic line suggests a direction towards a climax.

Based on my earlier discussion, these sketches were most likely written in December 1874 or early 1875. The intended work is unclear, if he had any specific in mind at all. But, the motives used are very similar to some of the sketches I have connected with *Romeo and Juliet*, for example example 12.6. A J.J. syncopation and chromatic appoggiaturas dominate here, as they do in *Romeo and Juliet*, and the time span fits well. The keys do not match, but it would have been perfectly possible to include them in the same work, had Svendsen wished to do so. The main reason why I do not think they belong together is difference in keys. The thematic similarities highlight some of Svendsen's favourite melodic gestures, including the JJ, which appears

in many works. Had these sketches been in E major, I would have included them in the discussion in chapter 12, and this exemplifies the problems of suggesting intentional links in sketch material. The balance between a certain musical material to be understood as part of the personal idiom as a whole and intentionally cultivated towards an intraopus styles is minute from our point of view. For Svendsen, the distinction was probably crystal clear at the point of composing. But, given the relationship between *Zorahayda*'s first version and *Romeo and Juliet*, he *could* have spliced these ideas.

Example 15:3: 7882g.



Another group of sketches appears in source 7882g (see ex. 15.3), four of which are clearly linked to each other by thematic content and key (F minor, though the key signature is C major). Again the []] and chromatic appoggiatura dominate. The loose leaves make them very difficult to date. The two sketches (a) and (b) in example 15.3 simulate the same passage with identical melodies that descend nearly an octave via sequence and end by suggesting an authentic cadence in F minor. The harmonisation is very similar, based on the principle of chromatically descending voices. In sketch (b), Svendsen hints at an imitation which clearly does not add up harmonically and thus represents yet another mismatch between visual structure and aural imagination. Likely he tried a couple of other imitations in the sketches (c) and (d).

Example 15.4: Related sketches at various positions in book 03. (a): 03:14r:1-4 (b): 03:26r:5-10 crossed out (c): 03:29v:1-2 (d): 03:30r:5-6 (e): 03:30v:1-2 ը (f): 03:30v:7-10 (g): 03:72v:1-6 (h): 03:72v:7-9 (i): 03:72v:10-12 [C crossed out]

The next group of sketches are shown in example 15.4. These sketches circle around C major and A minor as well. As opposed to the other groups of sketches in examples 15.1–2 and 15.3, respectively, the sketches in 15.4 appear relatively dispersed in book 03. Hence, they were likely notated separately from one another in time but still within the period when book 03 was in use, from autumn 1874 to 1875.

Most of the examples 15.4 (a) through (i) reveal the common exploratory technique. In addition, example (a) suggests a texture and harmonisation. Interestingly, examples (e) and (f) include a rhythmic accompaniment in eighth notes that suggest a slow or medium tempo, while the long note values in (g), (h) and (i), in particular, imply a faster tempo. Example (d) is the only one that reveals a metre of 4/4, while (g), (h) and (i), I would assume, are alla breve. Example (e) suggests an introduction comprised of chromatically descending lines which cadences in A minor before the 'theme' enters. In other words, a variety of characters and tempi seems to be possible here, although the melodic germinal idea appears to be the same in all cases.

All of the sketches discussed so far centre around C major in one way or another. One might ask whether they have intentional links to one another, or to the C major symphony project discussed in the previous chapter. This is unlikely, however, as I have selected them from various sources and physical positions, and their potential thematic relationships are not obvious at all. The last examples even suggest a variety of tempi and characters for thematically very similar material. In addition the book 03 sketches are written a decade before the C major sketches in book 06. Nevertheless, all of these germinal ideas are sketched several times. That is, they are not only memo sketches but exploratory sketches, probably intended to be developed into works.

15.3 Harmonic Exploration Sketches

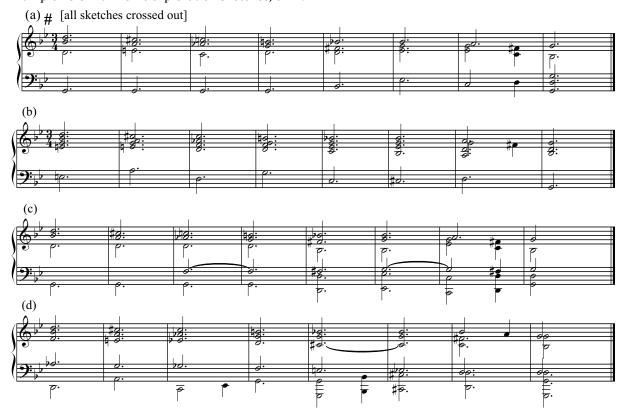
I have primarily focused on the imitation-sequence type of exploration sketch, which is the clearly dominant phase 2 technique in all Svendsen sketch sources. But there are also sketches that focus on harmonic progressions—that is, harmonic exploration sketches. I will demonstrate a few with no clear connection to completed works.

Example 15.5: 03:13r:1-2.



The sketch in example 15.5 has no significant thematic material and appears on its own. (It might be intentionally connected to the surrounding sketches, due to a shared key signature and metre.) It is marked with # and numbered '1', suggesting that Svendsen planned a couple of alternatives to it. The harmonic progression (chromatic voice-leading establishes an affinity-of-substance harmony) could appear in almost any Svendsen work. It is a rare example of a distinct harmonic exploration of this kind, which is surprising compared to the dominance of similar harmonic structures in his oeuvre. The reason is likely that he was presumably so familiar with these patterns that he did not need to explore them on paper. In the long run, however, as mentioned elsewhere, it might have been better had he challenged and explored his harmonic talent further in sketches like this.

Example 15.6: Harmonic exploration sketches, 04:49r.



In example 15.6 (a)–(d), the upper part (melody) is identical in all of the sketches—a descending chromatic line for eight bars. Then, four alternative harmonisations are

tested, all cadencing in G minor. The bass strategy is similar in (a) and (c), and (b) and (d), respectively.

The next example is similar, in that the melody remains the same in both attempts. This time, the harmonic progressions are barely altered. The significant change is in the regrouping of the voices, which allows for certain reharmonisations as well.

Example 15.7: Harmonic exploration sketches, 04:50r



The compositional technique in these last two examples recalls what I already demonstrated in chapter 10, concerning *Two Icelandic Melodies*. That is, the melody is an anchor in terms of pitch, rhythm and phrase length, while the surrounding texture (including harmony and orchestration) is varied.

The next example has a different approach. Rather than melody dictating harmony, a *harmonic structure* governs the shape of the melody, so the thematic material is shaped to fit this harmonic idea. Numerous similar examples can be observed in the *Romeo and Juliet* sketches in book 03, the *Prélude* sketches and the draft for the second symphony's finale in book 04.

Example 15.8: Harmonic exploration sketches, 04:49v:1-6.



15.4 Thematic Memo Sketches

About one hundred isolated melodic and thematic memo sketches occur in Svendsen's sources, which is a modest number. In comparison, the Norwegian composer Fartein Valen wrote more than *seven thousand* thematic sketches as a part of his daily routine, and only a portion of them were used in completed works.⁵⁵² Most composers will leave unrealised projects and a variety of loose ends when they pass away. For some composers, there might be a huge number of hidden ideas and projects documented in sketches. This is not the case with Svendsen, however. I have already documented a few unrealised projects, some with very open prospects. What follows are a few examples of thematic ideas that never came to fruition and only occur in one or two sketches.

Example 15.9: 04:48v:1-3.



Example 15.10: 04:71r:1-8.



The two sketches in example 15.10 might be intentionally connected, due to the # and the shared key signature and rhythmic design, as well as their physical proximity on the same page. In chapter 11, I suggested that they might indirectly have influenced the genesis of the finale of Symphony no. 2, which exemplifies the difficulty of claiming a

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⁵⁵² Thomas Erma Møller, E mail, 26 October 2015.

musical idea's independence from or connection to others. (I also pointed out a similarity to the secondary theme in the E minor symphony exposition.)

Example 15.11: E major sketches at 04:50v-51r.



The three thematic ideas in example 15.11 appear on opposite pages in book 04. They are all in E major but are otherwise very different. I wonder whether the last two notes in the second idea 'visually inspired' the third idea. Again, the key of E major brings the unrealised symphony to mind. A number of other E major thematic sketches are to be found too around in various sources, but they are not closely linked to these or each other. We must be careful not to expect too many intentional links, of course, as these E major were probably written at least six years before the bulk of the sketches in

book 05 and 06, and close in time to the *Prélude* sketches that are also in book 04.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that Svendsen did sketch thematic ideas in his compositional dry spell in Copenhagen as well. The pocket sketchbook Ms. 8 1191:2 contains a number thematic ideas, some sharing motivic features and keys. As discussed in chapter 7, this book is related to the year 1885, his third year in Copenhagen. I will show one example from this book in example 15.12.

Example 15.12: Ms. 8 1191:2:4v:7-15 (upside down).



The sketch above suggests an expressive violin melody in C minor with lots of chromatic appoggiaturas and large leaps—one that would be quite rare in Svendsen's production.

My intention in this chapter has been to illuminate sketches from a perspective other than either the final work or the physical source. This approach complements the previous chapters, even if there is not much to say about any given sketch. I have problematised the discussion of intentional relationships, and of personal idiom versus intraopus style, and I have tried to expose more of Johan Svendsen's private compositional panorama.

Chapter 16: Other Works with Surviving Sketches: A Brief Survey

In this final chapter, I will not discuss new aspects of the relationship between Johan Svendsen's musical style and working methods, nor are there new sources to be evaluated. My intention is instead to create a chronological reference guide of completed works that clearly have surviving sketches linked to them but have not been discussed thus far. For those interested in specific works, this format might prove useful. The discussions on each work will be brief and descriptive, as the main lines of my dissertation have already been thoroughly elaborated. Having said this, the present chapter will also provide additional support for my findings in previous chapters.

Readers that are more interested in a broader discussion of Svendsen's compositional methods and their impact on his stylistic development may skip directly to the conclusion.

Sketches for Works Written before about 1874

As discussed in chapter 6, there are only a couple of surviving sketches from before about 1874. In 1872, Svendsen settled down in Christiania after ten years living in different places in Europe. It seems quite clear that he left sketches for completed works behind as he moved around. Thus, the only surviving sketches from before 1872–73 are those written on the same manuscript paper as the autograph score for completed works. Perhaps he also learned to appreciate sketches for their own sake too, and as discussed in chapter 13 and returned to towards the end of this chapter, twenty-year-old sketches turned out to be a valuable resource as he composed his last works in the 1890s.

Norwegian Artists' Carnival, Op 14, JSV 57 (1874)

Source:

S1: Music Museum, Copenhagen: Nodemanuskripter Ms. 176.

A single sketch for this work has survived. It is placed on the last leaf verso of the autograph score for the first version of the work, which was called *Bryllup paa Dovre* (*Wedding at Dovre*). The sketch represents a two-bar imitation of the opening motive in the treble and bass registers, which corresponds to the imitation in the first two bars of the revised and well-known version. The first version of the work, however (represented in this manuscript), opens with the motive in orchestral unison. Thus, Svendsen made this sketch while revising the work for publishing as a concert work.

Zorahayda, Op 11, JSV 58 (1874/79)

See chapter 12.

Two Icelandic Melodies, JSV 60 (1874)

See chapter 10.

Two Religious Songs, JSV 62 (1874)

Sources:

S1: Book 03:18v-19r

The two opposite pages 18v–19r contain arrangements of two Mormon songs for mixed choir. This is the only source for this work—that is, no autograph score exists. However, since they are completed in detail with text, they are performable, and the JSV project has inserted them as a work in Svendsen's oeuvre. Whether they have ever been performed is hard to say.

March of the Red-Nosed Knights, Op 16, JSV 63 (1874)

Sources:

S1: Book 01:37v-38r

S2: Book 03:20v-25v

S3. Music Museum, Diverse mindre Nodemanuskripter og Udkast [2]

The complete score for *The March of the Red-Nosed Knights* seems to be lost. Based on the surviving incomplete and unfinished score (S3), Svendsen's original orchestration appears to have been string quintet and piano four hands. An arrangement for violin, cello and piano by Svendsen's student, the Italian composer Giovanni Tronchi, also exists.⁵⁵³ (Tronchi founded the music conservatory and the philharmonic orchestra in Malmö, Sweden.) In addition, some sketches (S1) and drafts (S2) are preserved, as well as the unfinished and incomplete autograph score (S3). This score is incomplete because pages 1–6 are missing. It is unfinished because the scoring for the trio section (F major) is only indicated and the reprise is not written out at all (it is, however, marked where it starts). This score is either an unfinished copy of the original score or a fragment of the original score itself: perhaps Svendsen was too short on time to write a complete score and copied the last fifty-two bars directly from the draft to the instrumental parts.

Source S2 is a complete continuity draft of the work. It corresponds bar for bar with Tronchi's arrangements, with the following exception—the modulation from E

⁵⁵³ Johan Svendsen and Giovanni Tronchi, *Paraphrase sur des Chansons Populaires du Nord: Arrangée pour Violin, Violincelle et Piano par G. Tronchi* (Copenhagen: Skandinavisk Musikforlag, 1916).

minor to C sharp minor is two bars longer in the draft (03:21v:4–6:3/Tronchi, p. 4, system 2). Originally Svendsen planned a fugato passage in E major (03:21v:10:2–22r) after the aforementioned modulation and four bars in unison (03:21v:7:2 etc./Tronchi, p. 4, system 2). Several crossouts and the fact that the fugato is unfinished in the draft suggest that Svendsen gave up on this idea while composing the draft. The fact that the passage corresponding to Tronchi's arrangement continues on the following page of the draft (22v) also supports this likelihood. Had Svendsen followed the fugato through, it would have been the *only* one of its kind in his completed works. In chapter 9, I argued that he never learned fugal writing to any great extent in Leipzig. (He certainly did not take it to the same level as Edvard Grieg.) He probably composed this one in haste and then chose to abandon it.

Page 03:24r reveals that he planned a different and more complex transition from F major back to C major (Tronchi, p. 6), and that he also planned a contrapuntal combination of the two main motives. Hence, a pattern well known from previous chapters emerges again: Svendsen tests certain complicated textures while sketching, then simplifies them later in the process. Time pressure is a likely reason in this case, as the work was composed shortly before its premiere (see chapter 6). Another likely reason is the conflict between a *desire* to compose intricate art music, on the one hand, and an aesthetic, or taste, for a simpler musical texture, on the other. Complex textures on paper sometimes fight against other aesthetic choices and technical abilities.

Every page of the continuity draft is crossed out using one diagonal line from top left to bottom right in ink. Svendsen probably did this when he wrote the autograph score/parts, so that the diagonal line, then, means 'copied', not 'rejected'. The fugato section is also crossed out with a large X covering the whole page, and this probably does mean 'rejected'.

Source S1 contains the fugato passage 01:37v in C major. It is clearly an exploration sketch that was later transposed and copied into the draft. S1 also contains another exploration sketch on 01:38r that corresponds loosely to 03:23r in S2.

The close connection between the continuity of the draft and Tronchi's arrangement strongly suggest that Tronchi only completed a reorchestration and did not change the musical course. The discrepancies between these two sources in that matter are all crossed out and revised in the draft. Tronchi's orchestration, combined with the incomplete autograph score and the suggested texture in the draft, also

provides some clues about the original orchestration, but on this matter, any prospective reconstruction would still involve a significant amount of guessing.

Song: Gyldenlak (unfinished)

Source:

S1: National Library of Norway, mus.ms. 7881, Eske 616

This is an unfinished song with lyrics by Henrik Wergeland. S1 is a pencil draft. It is the only source for this work.

Symphony no. 2, Op 15, JSV 66 (1876), 3rd movement: 'Intermezzo'

Sources:

S1: Book 01:37r

S2: Book 03:29v, 35v-45v, 65r-65v-65v, 66v-67r, 68r, 68v-72r

S3. Musikmuseet, Diverse mindre Nodemanuskripter og Udkast [7]

For orientation purposes, there follow musical examples of the three most important themes in the final score for the third movement (Intermezzo) in Symphony no. 2: theme A in F major, theme B in A minor and theme C in C major, which is in fact an augmented version of theme A.

Example 16.1 (a): Theme A.



Example 16.1 (b): Theme B.



Example 16.1 (c): Theme C (A augmented).



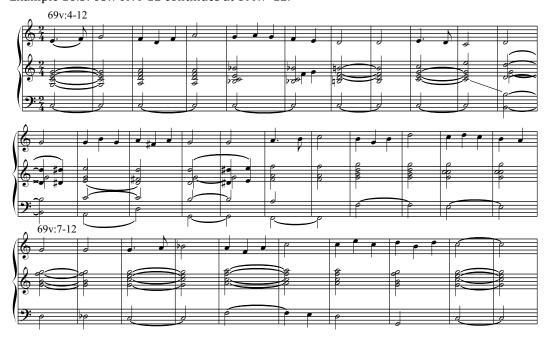
S1 contains three imitation-sequence exploration sketches based on a motive similar to theme A. It is quite clear that they were intended for the movement in question. Two other sketches support this, namely 03:68v:7–12 and 03:69r:9–11 (in S2), which reveal the same type of imitation on the same motive (transposed a perfect fourth up) and are positioned among other exploration sketches for the movement.

Example 16.2: S1, 01:37r.



S2 is grouped in two sections of sketchbook 03, one in the middle (03:35v-45r) and another in the last part of the book (03:65r-72r). The latter is mixed with sketches for the finale and other unidentified projects, whereas the former is a more concentrated group of sketches that are not intertwined with other ideas. Pages 03:35v-37r contain some memo and exploration sketches, followed by a continuity draft on 03:37v-45v. This draft differs significantly from the final score and actually 'breaks apart' into exploration sketches starting on 43v. This draft thus seems somewhat premature, and Svendsen apparently worked on exploration sketches for the finale before eventually turning back to the Intermezzo. I will demonstrate some other paths the process could have taken starting in the last section of book 03.

Example 16.3: 03:70r:4-12 continues at 69r:7-12.



The sketch beginning at 03:70r:4–12 (see example 16.3) continues on the previous page 69v because page 70v was already used. The theme here is an augmented form of the B theme and suggests that he intended to use it at some point for a contrasting trio section based on augmented thematic material.

Example 16.4 (a) demonstrates the common imitation-sequence exploration technique on theme B, producing a variant that never found its way into the final score, while example 16.4 (b) demonstrates a similar technique on theme A which was developed further in other sketches like 16.4 (c) and eventually in the final score.



The last four bars of the example above match well with letter C+5 to C+8 in the final score. They even give clear indications of the scoring, with violas imitating the violins. The first four bars can be found at the end of the first continuity draft on page 45v. In this case, the exploration sketches in the back of the sketchbook were likely written after the draft that appears earlier in the same book. What supports this possibility is the fact that the dotted rhythm in the first four bars above is crossed out (see the

source), but those rhythms are not crossed out on page 45v. So the example above (page 65r) represents a further elaboration of 45v.

Other examples also reveal that Svendsen used the last section of the book in two different phases of the process. On the second-to-last page, 72r, the concluding nine bars of the movement are sketched out. I think this sketch was written at a rather late stage in the process. On the same page, there are two sketches resembling the passage starting on C-8 in the final score.

The dotted eighth-note rhythm in the example above resembles the first bar of theme B. The following examples demonstrate that Svendsen experimented with the development of this rhythm in various ways, following a path that he later abandoned.

Example 16.5 (a): 03:69r:5-7.



Example 16.5 (a) shows a cadence utilising the B theme. The idea was not used in the final score, but it is developed in the draft in the middle section of the book, as shown in example 16.5 (b).

Example 16.5 (b): 03:43v:4-6.



There are also a number of other memo and exploration sketches focusing on dotted rhythms. At first glance, example 16.6 (a) and (b) do not seem to be related to the movement in question.

Example 16.6 (a): 03:68r:5-6.



Example 16.6 (b): 03:68v:1-6.



But when we compare them to the first continuity draft in the middle of the book and take into account their placement among Intermezzo sketches, an intended relationship becomes most likely (see 03:41r).

The last sketch I will demonstrate is placed among the Intermezzo sketches in the middle of book 03. The first four pages in this section (35v–36r) contain various memo and early exploration sketches. This apparently includes the first attempt at the beginning of the movement with an introduction, a sketch that resembles the first twenty bars of the final score in many ways. Here is also the memo sketch for theme B and two interesting relatives of theme A in 3/4 metre and marked 'Presto'.

Example 16.7: 03: 36v.



The sequence of thirds that evokes theme A and bars 5–8 above reflects the counterpoint introduced at letter E in the final score.

S3 is an incomplete continuity draft which matches the final score very well from bar 101 (D+7). It is paginated from 3 to [7], which clearly indicates that it once represented the complete continuity for the movement. (Page 1–2 would have enough space to cover the first 100 bars.)

Symphony no. 2, Op 15, JSV 66 (1876), Finale See chapter 11.

Two Swedish Folk Melodies, JSV 67 (1876)

Sources:

S1: The Royal Library: MA ms 1991 mu 7706.2203, Leaf: 50r

S2: Book 05:11r-15r

Two Swedish Folk Melodies, JSV 67, for string orchestra was premiered on 14 October 1876 in Christiania (together with Symphony no. 2 and Romeo and Juliet). The surviving autograph score has a later date of March 1878 in Rome. The sketches for Two Swedish Melodies appear directly after the draft for Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1 in book 05. Since this rhapsody was completed 10 February (as dated in its autograph score), it is very likely that JSV 67 was composed early in 1876. Sketches for Rhapsodies nos. 2 and 3 occur directly after JSV 67 in book 05. The form of the work clearly reflects that of Two Icelandic Melodies and I fjol gjett'e gjeitinn from 1874.

S1 is not actually a sketch but rather an arrangement of the first melody (*Du gamla du friska*) for string quartet, dated 4 August 1862 in Gothenburg, as part of the *Sixty-Two Arrangements*, JSV 30. The JSV project has demonstrated that this quartet arrangement is merely a transcription of the Swedish composer Ludvig Norman's (1831–1865) piano arrangement, and the last variation of *Du gamla du friska* in JSV 67 reiterates that arrangement's harmonisation. But I think Svendsen produced this similarity through his memory of the previous scoring rather than actively copying from JSV 30. Indirectly, though, it is a pre-study for JSV 67.

S2 is the continuity draft. As with *Two Icelandic Melodies*, phases 2 and 3 have been merged, which was possible because the continuity of the work is largely conditioned by the self-contained melodies. Apparently, the compositional process of JSV 67 was even faster than that of *Two Icelandic Melodies*. There are a few corrections but not as many 're-attempts' on each passage. There are also no abandoned variations or melodies, as was the case with the *Icelandic*. The draft corresponds well to the final score, yet there are a number of 'textural blanks' in the draft.

Svendsen composes no. 2, *Du gamla du friska*, first (perhaps because he knows it best from the previous arrangement). Page 05:11r reflects the first ten bars. However, starting in bar 5, the bass line is more active (with eighth notes) than it is in the final score, which seems to be why he abandons the sketch (the last bars have only the melody). Then, on the following page (11v) he sketches the same passage again, now with the less active bass line that appears in the final score as well. He proceeds directly to the first variation (letter A), with the melody in the alto register. Again, he tries out an active 'walking bass' line in eighth notes, but after two attempts, he simplifies it in accordance with the final score (05:12r:5:12v:3). Again, these are two examples of his tendency to simplify texture and harmony during the sketching process. The draft runs through the rest of the movement (bars 11–37 end on page 13r), with only the two closing bars missing. Page 05:13v, then, contain only six notes from the melody of those two closing bars. Perhaps he intended to conclude the previous draft here.

Pages 05:14r–15r include a nearly complete run-through of melody no. 1. The first (introduction) bar and the last four bars are missing, and from the fifth bar of the variations, (almost) only the melody is written down (05:14v:10). Judging from Svendsen's detailed drafts in other works, I believe he must have drafted these bars

elsewhere later. It is less likely that he composed the entire texture, harmony and orchestration directly into the original autograph score.

Romeo and Juliet, Op 18, JSV 68 (1876)

See chapter 12.

Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1, Op 17, JSV 63 (1876)

Sources:

S1: Book 04:36v

S2: Book 05:1r-10v, 70r-70v, 71v, 72r-72v

The beginning of book 05 contains a full continuity draft for Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1. The other surviving sketches are mostly explorations of the *halling* appearing in the first Allegro section (from letter C-16).

S1 contains one single sketch (04:36v:1–4), which corresponds very closely to eight bars of the final score, that is, E-4 to E+4. It is unclear whether this is an exploration sketch (phase 2) or a partial sketch (phases 3–4). The octave placement of the melody matches the final score better than the corresponding bars in the continuity draft (05:3v:1:9–3v:4:3). However, the texture of the continuity draft is closer to that of the final score. For some reason, S1 appears in book 04 (on the page that contains sketches clearly spanning many years) as the only sketch there for this particular opus.

S2:05:1r–10v is the complete continuity draft (sketch phase 3). The opening is drafted twice (1r–1v and from 1v onwards). The second version is longer because it repeats the melody. This is one of many examples demonstrating the sketching/performance time discrepancy in Svendsen's sketches, which requires him to expand a passage in the later sketch. The idea of using pizzicato seems to have been tested first in the second version, and it creates a very different orchestral atmosphere than eight-notes played arco, which the first draft seems to suggest. He would probably not have bothered to write eighth notes and pauses throughout the first attempt if he had planned on pizzicato from the start.

Pages 05:70r–70v contain exploration sketches of the *halling* that differ quite significantly from the draft and final score. Thus they must be exploration sketches written before the draft in the beginning of the same book. Page 05:70v:7 is a memo sketch with a single melody (one stave) not used in Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1.

However, its key of B minor and its position among sketches for the rhapsody suggests its connection to the compositional process of this work.

Page 05:71v reflects the section with the *halling* in augmentation—that is, probably an early version of the passage from letter G-16 in the final score. The key and rhythm also correspond to the 'original' version of the melody notated in Svendsen's collection of Norwegian folk tunes. Pages 05:72r:6–72v contain more exploration sketches on the same tune.

Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2, Op 19, JSV 69 (1876/77)

Sources:

S1: Book 05:18v-33v, 64v-67v, 68r, 69v, 71r, 72v

Page 05:18v:5–12 is a quite detailed eight-bar draft, including some orchestration indications, that corresponds well to letter A-8 in the final score. However, the two fourbar phrases are placed in the opposite order to that of the final score.

Pages 05:19r–33v contain the complete continuity draft of the whole work. The draft is not intertwined with other sketches. In addition, it is placed between sketches for Rhapsodies nos. 3 and 4 without any free space, which indicates that Svendsen composed this draft within a limited time span during which the four rhapsodies were his main compositional concern.

The continuity draft is separated from the fourteen exploration sketches for this work by some sixty pages in the same book. Thus, this is yet another example of preliminary sketches in the back of a book and later drafts earlier in the same book. The sketches on pages 64v–65v seem to be for the coda (Molto allegro). They reveal different sorts of imitation and parallel motion. Nevertheless, the final score and the continuity draft (earlier in the book) present this idea mainly in an orchestral unison.

Pages 66r–67r contain imitative exploration sketches for the *springar* section. However, none of them found their way to either the final score or the continuity draft. Hence, the two latter examples (drawn from 64v to 67r) again reveal textural simplification during sketching.

Page 05:67r:5–6 contains a couple of harmonisations on the theme used at letter A in the final score.

Page 05:67v:1–4 is a curious version of the *springar* theme in C major and 4/4 with a very different rhythmic shaping, whereas page 67v:5–8 contains two two-bar

sketches on the opening theme in A major. On the opposite page 68r, the *springar* is sketched again, now in parallel thirds.

Then one must skip ten pages to page 71r:1–4 to arrive at another sketch that is clearly linked to the work. This sketch is based on the motive used at letter A in the final score, here in a sequence starting in G minor. The final sketch to be mentioned is 72r:1–4. It might not be for this work at all but could represent a sequence intended for the scherzo section.

All surviving sketches for Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2 are thus in the same sketchbook 05. Svendsen must have made other exploration sketches for the other folk tunes as well, but the physical concentration still suggests a limited time span for this composition work. The continuity draft certainly reveals a number of corrections and cross outs, but there are also many extended passages with hardly any corrections at all, which suggests an ability to compose both readily and intensively. It should be mentioned again that the phrase structure of the rhapsodies is usually dictated by the folk tunes. There are few developing passages and the foreground is always diatonic, and this eases the compositional burden, compared to a symphony, for example.

Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3, Op 21, JSV 70 (1876/77)

Sources:

S1: Book 04:47v-48r

S2: Book 05:16v-18v, 36v-37r

All surviving sketches for this work are exploration sketches for the opening *springar* (no. 464 in Lindeman, no. 14 in Svendsen's collection⁵⁵⁴) except for the one on page 05:36v, which is a memo sketch (that is, a preparation for exploration with three staves lined up) for the melody 'Aasmund Fregdegjævar' (Lindeman: no. 42⁵⁵⁵) in the Andante section. Its register corresponds to the transposing horn part that presents the melody in the final work.

It is not known when Svendsen completed this work. It was published in 1877 and, according to a letter to Grieg dated 15 February 1879, it was completed before he left Christiania on 29 September 1877.⁵⁵⁶ Why did he then stop sketching in book 05?

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⁵⁵⁴ Johan Svendsen. [Nedtegnelser av folkemelodier, avskrifter, skisser]. (b) (30 February [sic.] 1877)., 5

⁵⁵⁵ Ludvig Mathias Lindeman, Ældre og nyere norske Fjeldmelodier, vol. I (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963),

⁵⁵⁶ Johan Svendsen. to Edvard Grieg (15 February 1879).

There seems to be plenty of space left, but it appears that he did not use this book again until the start of 1882.

The physical dispersal of the exploration sketches for the opening *springar* (one in book 04, the rest before and after the draft for no. 2 in book 05) suggests that Svendsen worked on no. 3 sporadically while composing other works—nos. 1 and 2, for example. The sketches in book 04 might also imply that he worked on this folk tune very early in the course of the entire rhapsody project. My impression is that Svendsen preferred this rhapsody to the others—several letters and performance documentation suggest that he performed it the most.

Norwegian Rhapsody no. 4, Op 22, JSV 71 (1877)

Sources:

S1: Book 05:34r-35r

S2: National Library of Norway: Mus.ms. 1615 [Nedtegnelser av folkemelodier, avskrifter, skisser]: Page: 24, Halling no. 25

S1 is an alignment of the *halling* in the Allegro moderato section with four empty staves intended for the accompaniment.

S2 could be considered an exploration sketch for the same tune. It appears not in a sketchbook but in Svendsen's fair copy of the folk tune collection dated 30 February [sic] 1877, suggesting that he was still producing exploration sketches for no. 4 after he had written at least parts of this collection. Halling no. 25 on page 24 contains some notes in pencil that might represent an early version of the obligato in violin II, five bars into this section.

This work was completed in Rome in December 1877. In a letter to Grieg dated 15 February 1879, Svendsen says that he composed 'the end of the 4th Rhapsody' after he left Christiania in 1877.⁵⁵⁷ Presumably, he brought some sketches with him, but not necessarily the surviving sketches in S1 and S2. These preliminary sketches would not have been needed, and for reasons discussed in chapter 6, I believe he left his sketchbooks in Christiania when he went abroad for three years.

Regarding the four Norwegian Rhapsodies, the succession of the drafts in book 05, with no. 1 first, then no. 2 (drafts for nos. 3 and 4 are missing) supports the view that he composed them in their numbered order. On the other hand, the blending of exploration

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⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

sketches for nos. 1 and 2 in the 'exploration section' in the back of book 05 would indicate that he prepared these two in tandem. The sketches for no. 3 on 05:16v–18v:3, directly after the draft for the *Two Swedish Folk Melodies* and before the draft for no. 2, suggest that he considered presenting this material as no. 2. On pages 05:15v–16r, there are sketches based on 'Sinklar's March' (Lindeman no. 302⁵⁵⁸) which is well-known from Grieg's Four Norwegian Dances, op. 35, which Svendsen probably planned to use for one of the rhapsodies. It is difficult to say when Svendsen decided on which tunes would be placed in which rhapsody. But as the keys mostly correspond in the exploration sketches and final scores, there are few signs of tunes being shuffled among the four works. When he decided to compose *four* rhapsodies is also hard to say. Perhaps there might have been more had his creativity not declined after his time abroad starting in 1877.

5 Mélodies, Op 23, JSV 74 (1879)

Source:

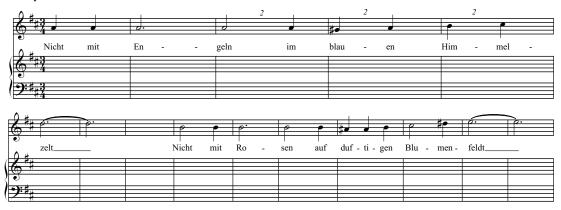
S1: Book 04:28v-36r

S2: Ms. 8° 1191:2:1v:9:14 (upside down)

The five songs with lyrics from von Bodenstedt's *Mirza Schaffy* were published in Paris in 1879. Most likely, they were composed there as well. In sketchbook 04, however, there are fifteen pages with sketches for two songs on *Mirza Schaffy* poems that most certainly stem from Christiania in 1876. They are situated right between sketches for *Romeo and Juliet* (which end on page 28r) and Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1 (on page 36v). The first sketches are for *Zuleikha*, the first song of Svendsen's cycle. However, these sketches have little in common with the final score other than the typical stylistic similarities. The other song that he sketches in book 04 is *Wenn der Frühling auf die Berge steigt*, but this poem was not used in the final opus.

⁵⁵⁸ Ludvig Mathias Lindeman, Ældre og nyere norske Fjeldmelodier, vol. II (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963), 14.

Example 16.8: 04:28v.



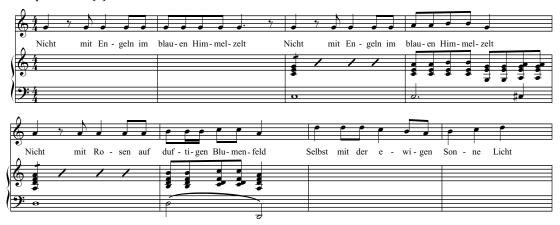
The sketches for *Zuhleikha* reveal an interesting quest for the right rhythmic phrasing and melodic contour. The first sketch in S1, transcribed in example 16.8 above, appears to be a memo sketch that is lined up with staves for a piano accompaniment. The key corresponds to the final score, but the melody is different. It reveals an ambiguity between duple and triple metre and opens with an almost chantlike character on a single pitch.

The next sketch transcribed in example 16.9 reveals a different approach. The key is lowered to C and the melody is more active and characterised by many descending appoggiaturas.

Example 16.9: 04:29r.



Example 16.10 (a): 04:29v.



Example 16.10 (a) stresses the word *nicht* instead of *Engeln*. Again, Svendsen tries out a chantlike opening before the melodic contour starts to move.

Example 16.10 (b): 04:30r.

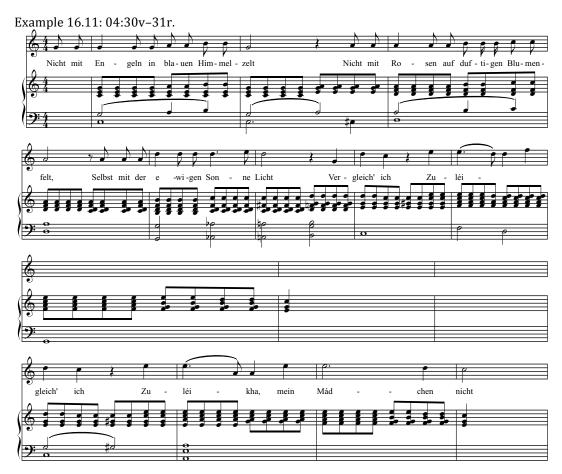


Example 16.10 (b) shows two different suggestions for a continuation of 29v (16.10 [a]). Note the high A in example 16.10 (b), which obviously enhances the expressivity of the setting of *Mädchen*. The top note in the piano part of the second attempt creates a 'safer' harmonisation, as it doubles the melody instead of being placed an interval of a second below it.

Example 16.11 on the next page shows that Svendsen follows through with the rhythmic phrasing from sketch 04:29r but the melodic contour from 29v.

S2 contains the melody and French text corresponding to bars 30–32 in the final score. Space is left for the piano part, but not filled in. As discussed in chapter 7, it is unclear whether this is a sketch written in 1879 in Paris or a 'reminder' written in 1885, because the sketchbook otherwise points towards Copenhagen and that year. Page 4r also contains the two first bars of song no. 4 (*L'attente*), from a different opus, namely

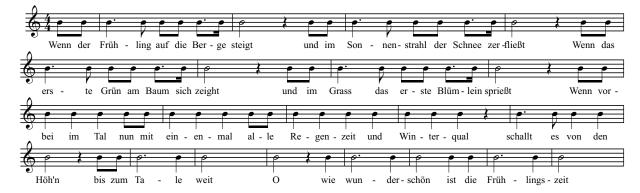
op. 24, but as discussed in chapter 7, this was most likely written as a preparation for Warmuth's publication of a new piano solo arrangement of this particular song in 1885 (the JSV project has concluded that Svendsen himself did not make that arrangement.)



Turning back to S1, after 04:31r there are two further sketches for *Zuhlkeika* followed by an empty page, which is in turn followed by sketches for *Wenn der Frühling*.

I will only demonstrate one of the sketches for this song, namely a 'rhythmic sketch'. Nowhere else have I found a compositional method among Svendsen's sketches that separates his work on rhythm and melodic contour.

Example 16.12: 04:35r.



As discussed in chapter 6, I believe Svendsen left his sketchbooks in Christiania when he went abroad for three years in 1877, which means that these sketches could only have indirectly influenced the final score. Nevertheless, they represent rare examples of compositional methods in genres other than orchestral music, which dominates his oeuvre.

Romance for Violin and Orchestra, Op 26, JSV 79 (1881)

Source:

S1: Musik Museum, Copenhagen: Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast (Autographer) [7]: 3v

For once, a detailed account of the genesis of a Svendsen composition exists—an anecdote has it that Svendsen sketched this whole piece during one afternoon in 1881 in Warmuth's office and made a clean copy during that evening.⁵⁵⁹

Based on Svendsen's capacity for work when inspired, this story may well be true. But when we look at the only surviving sketch and especially its physical placement, it is more likely that he worked out the piece based on some preconceived and previously sketched ideas. The sketch in question matches the recapitulation of the G major theme quite well (F-8 to F+8), as example 16.13 indicates.



Example 16.13: 'Diverse mindre . . .':[7]:3v

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⁵⁵⁹ Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Johan Svendsen*, 161.

The texture in the sketch comes quite close to that of the final score, even though the sketch may imply that the melody is to be played by the orchestra and the eighth-note figure by the solo violin, rather than the other way around, as it is in the score. On the second system of the sketch, the orchestration becomes more ambiguous, and from the ninth bar onwards the accompaniment disappears. Hence, this is not the last sketch for the passage in question, and if he continued sketching during that same afternoon, one would expect more sketches in the same source, because there are many empty pages left. As this sketch appears physically isolated in a source with much more space, then, I suspect it was made some time *before* that afternoon.

I will linger on the physical position of the sketch to support my view. It sits on page 3v in the middle of a gathering of four identical bifolia that are threaded together. Thus it is positioned on a verso side, and if one turns to the preceding recto side of the same leaf, one finds the end of the continuity draft for the third movement of Symphony no. 2 (discussed above). In other words, these two sketches are physically bound together, which means that Svendsen must have had a gathering of music paper at hand that day in 1881 that had last been used six or seven years earlier. More likely this would happen at his home than in Warmuth's office. Let us assume that this is a partial sketch, not an exploration sketch, despite the differences between the sketch and the final score. I have discussed several examples where partial sketches were written in a different source than the draft or score, so let us assume that this happened here as well. In that case, Svendsen turned to the first empty page in the gathering, which is reasonable. But the folding of the gathering is somewhat 'stiff', in fact, so page 3v is not the easiest page to use and requires some pressure to keep the gathering open on it. Evidently, Svendsen was working quickly that day, and if he needed to produce a partial sketch at an easily accessible spot that happened to be at hand, the very last page would have been more convenient. I believe he chose page 3v (directly after the symphony draft) because he planned to sketch more in the same source. Most likely, then, this sketch and the draft for *Romance* were not written during the same intensive spell of work. More likely, this is an exploration sketch, written in advance, but unlikely he only had to explore this very passage.

The threading may stem from a later date than the sketches, but the two works are still linked on the same leaf. At a minimum, bifolia I–III⁵⁶⁰ must have been gathered together when he wrote the continuity draft for the Intermezzo, though bifolia IV could have been added later. But judging from equally minor wear and tear on all of the bifolia, they were most likely threaded together before any of them were used.

Based on these observations, I believe the story of the genesis of this work must be altered. Svendsen might have composed most of this work during a single day, but he most likely derived it from ideas he had previously sketched.

Polonaise, Op 28, JSV 81 (1882)

Source:

S1: Book 05:37v-43v S2: Book 04:36v:6-12

The genesis of this work appears to be straightforward. It is an occasional work composed for a 'citizen's ball' (*borgerball*) on 16 February 1882. The autograph score is dated January 1882, and Svendsen's almanac states: 'Completed the polonaise for the citizen's ball' on 7 January.⁵⁶¹ Most of the sketches are physically concentrated and written with a softer pencil than any other Svendsen sketches. Likely, then, the entire compositional process took place around the turn of the year 1881–82. (As mentioned in chapter 3, the work was intended as incidental music for the play *Attila* many years later in Copenhagen.)

The S1 group of sketches is situated on the pages directly following sketches for Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3 (1876). (And after those sketches follow some of the E major (symphony) sketches discussed in chapter 14, which are in turn followed by thirteen empty pages before the 'exploration section' in book 05.) The difference in pencil strokes with all of the other sketches does not indicate the gap of seven years on its own, of course. But it does indicate that Svendsen used an unusually soft pencil for a short time span, which in turn suggests that the S1 sketches were written rather quickly—perhaps during the same or a few sessions.

 $^{^{560}}$ Bifolio I: 1r, 1v, 8r, 8v.

Bifolio II: 2r, 2v, 7r, 7v.

Bifolio III: 3r, 3v, 6r, 6v.

Bifolio IV: 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v.

⁵⁶¹ 'Ferdigstillet den til Borgerballet komponerede Polonaise' Johan Svendsen. Almanakk. (1882).

After three exploration sketches (05:37v-38v), the whole continuity draft is

written out with only a few interruptions and crossouts (39v-43v:9). Could it be that he

produced only three preparatory sketches before the draft? If we recall the drafts in the

beginning of book 04 (Symphony no. 2, Finale) and book 06 (an E minor symphony),

such a creative outburst is entirely possible—it seems that Svendsen sometimes

composes larger continuities with great ease. In several passages of the draft, the texture

is rather thin, containing only melody and bass, which also indicates a quick

compositional process. Since the harmony is somewhat different from the final score at

some places, and Svendsen usually plans his textures in detail in the drafts, he probably

made a more detailed continuity draft somewhere else before he scored—or made a

series of partial sketches—which S2 does suggest.

S2 appears on a much-discussed page in book 04 where a gap of many years

occurs. It is a partial sketch of the brass voicing at letter D in the final score.

Holberg Cantata, Op 30, JSV 84 (1884)

Sources:

S1: The Music Museum, Copenhagen, Diverse mindre Manuskripter og Udkast

(Autografer).

Source S1 [9] and [10] contain various exploration and partial sketches. Some of them

are connected to the *Holberg Cantata*, op. 30 (1884).

Album Leaf, JSV 85 (ca 1886)

Source:

S1: The Music Museum, Copenhagen, Ms 178c and Ms 189.

Ms 178c contains a draft for *Album Leaf (Til GABH fra S.)*, JSV 85 for piano (1886?). This s

work was a private declaration of love to the pianist Golla Andrea Bodenhoff-Hammerich.

The work exists in two autographs, both at Musikmuseet—ms. 189 is the latter draft, while

ms. 178c could be considered either the first version or an earlier draft. It is in ink, like

autograph scores are but includes several emendations. On the same page, there are also

several partial sketches in pencil that correspond to the final version of ms. 189.

Andante funébre, JSV 92 (1894)

Sources:

S1: Book: 04:57v:1-4

S2: Mus.ms. 7882j: Loose leaf r-v

S3: Mus.ms. 7882d: 1r:1-7, 1v and 2r

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Andante funébre was composed for violin, cello and organ for the twenty-three-year-old, musically gifted student Georg Hindenburg's funeral on 30 June 1894.⁵⁶² The orchestral version was published the following year (1895) and first performed in 1896.

S1: As in the case of *Prélude* (see chapter 13), composed in 1898, *Andante funébre* was in part clearly based on almost twenty-year-old sketches. Book 04:57v:1–4 reveals the first eight bars of the trio section in D flat major (A major in the scores). There are a few melodic differences in the first bar, which Svendsen later changed several times in 1894–95. Otherwise the melody and bass line are identical in the 1876 sketch and the completed versions from 1894–95. Nevertheless, this sketch was evidently not intended for the work it eventually anticipated.

Example 16.14: S2, 04:57v:1-4.



S2: Three other short sketches are clearly linked to *Andante funébre*. Mus.ms. 7882j consists of two leaves with these three sketches and no others. They were made as partial sketches in preparation for the first orchestral version. Page 1r:1–3 reveals the trombone voicings in bars 13–16. Below this sketch is a four-bar melodic line without accompaniment that links to the last phrase of the A section, just before the trio. This sketch contains a melodic variant that only exists in the first orchestral score, where two of the bars in question are crossed out.

Leaf 2v contains a partial sketch of the orchestral voicings for the first four bars of the trio section. The scoring and melodic line correspond closely to the first version of the orchestral score (source A in the JSV edition). After the first orchestral score, Svendsen made some melodic adjustments in the first bar, more closely linking the trio thematically to the opening of the work. Clearly, then, the sketches in S2 were written as preparations for the *first* orchestral versions.

S3: Some sketches in Mus.ms.7882d might have a looser connection to the work. The two sketches on 1r:1–7 and those on 1v and 2r are rather distant from the final score but might still have influenced its compositional process, directly or indirectly.

⁵⁶² ———, Andante funébre, I 8d.

I wonder whether there is a distant relationship to the slow symphony movement Andante con moto, discussed in chapter 14. The thematic material is very different but the key is the same, as is the tempo, and all of this material apparently arose from a quick compositional process in a period of creative drought. Any relationship would be similar to those already discussed in chapters 12–14.

It is difficult to establish the chronology for the sources of this work. The complication involves the possibility that Svendsen had already composed the first orchestral version before the funeral, and then based a trio version on an existing work or movement. In that case, the revised orchestral version and the other published arrangements were based on the experience of performance in the funeral. If this were the case, it is curious that S2 so clearly links to variants particular to the first orchestral score. The S2 sketches appear as partial sketches rather than exploration sketches. If the first orchestral score were written before the 'chamber versions' of the funeral, S2 would likely contain more shared variants of all of these versions. But, as mentioned above, the source situation appears to be so complicated that an exact chronology is hard to determine.

Before the Battle, ISV 93 (1895)

<u>Sources:</u>

S1: The Music Museum, Copenhagen, Ms 178a:1r-2v

S2: The Music Museum, Copenhagen: Nodemanuskripter: [Score sketch]

Svendsen arranged Edmund Neupert's piano piece *Before the Battle* for orchestra. Neupert's piano version functions as Svendsen's continuity draft, but a comparison between the two versions reveals that Svendsen did not just orchestrate Neupert's exact musical course but in fact extended a couple of passages and added a few reharmonisations. In the 'piu animato' section, Svendsen repeats the first sixteen bars with a more forceful orchestration (letter G to H). He did not need to draft this repeat, though, because the harmonisation here is identical.

Example 16.15 Comparison between Neupert's and Svendsen's endings. Neupert 7 178a:1r JS Score Neupert Two repeated bars Poco meno mosso JS Score Neupert 178a:1r:2v JS Score Neupert dim. JS Score ppp

S1: Example 16.15 demonstrates how Svendsen extended Neupert's ending from ten to nineteen bars with a somewhat intricate sketching method. Starting four bars before 'poco meno mosso' in the orchestral arrangement (last fortissimo in both versions), Svendsen drafted the first extension on page 1r in S1, where he stretched the IV-V cadence from one to two bars for example. Then follow two bars that correspond to Neupert, followed by two new bars by Svendsen. Another two inserted bars follow, but they repeat Neupert's bars 4–5 (in ex. 16.15), and Svendsen did not need to sketch them. The remaining bars are sketched on page 2v. Here, the orchestration is notated in detail in the draft. Either Svendsen sketched the three first bars twice (staves 1–6 and 7–12) or he intended to repeat them. The last three bars of Svendsen's version are not sketched, but they are only repeats of the last chord anyway.

S2 is a score sketch of the first page. It is unfinished and incomplete. The source also contains the unfinished and incomplete orchestral score of seven bars for another unidentified orchestral work—perhaps an arrangement of another composer's work.

Prélude, JSV 95 (1898)

See chapter 13.

Conclusions

The present dissertation has worked along two main lines. The basic goal was to map all sources with surviving sketches or exercises from Johan Svendsen's hand. As no thorough examination of this material has been carved out before, this was the necessary fundament for my second goal, which was to study Svendsen's compositional methods to illuminate his creative process, the genesis of specific works and the relationship between working method and musical style.

1. Philological Study of the Sources

Bjarte Engeset had studied the main sources briefly before I joined the JSV project. I then dug deep into the sources to examine the material more comprehensively.

The central sources are the six musical notebooks stored at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Within these books are most of Svendsen's surviving sketches and (nearly) all of the exercises he wrote in Leipzig. In addition, sketches have survived in the following types of documents: autograph scores, loose leaves and gatherings and almanacs. Sketches inside autograph scores are either suggested revisions of the work represented in that particular score or unrelated to the given work, but they are never preliminary to the 'first version' of the work in question, which means that Svendsen did not develop one and the same physical document from a sketch to an autograph score. That is, the autograph scores are intentionally scrubbed of private compositional thoughts. When revisions are sketched, however, this kind of score is turned into a 'sketch', or transferred back into the realm of private working documents. Sketches on loose leaves and gatherings are difficult to systematise and date, thanks to their physical separation from other documents. Sketches in almanacs are all very short and do not necessarily link to the date on which they are notated.

The fundamental challenge in organising the sketches was the fact that Svendsen neither dated nor labelled them with the planned work he had in mind. Nearly all the sketches are written in pencil, and analysis of handwriting or writing tools did not prove sufficient for establishing chronology. Of course, it was a great advantage that Svendsen's private musical handwriting is nearly always clearly legible. Hence, my compass has been a combined study of the musical contents and physical positions of the sketches, so as to systematise them chronologically. I placed sketches that could be linked to completed works ahead of the dated autograph scores or first performances.

An evaluation of the physical position of the sketch sometimes allowed for a more focussed time span. Still, many sketches could not be linked to final scores at all, and some had travelled through several planned works. Others were probably intentionally linked to known finalised works, but this connection was not discernible to me. Thus, my method of dating is admittedly provisional. The discussion of chronology also depended upon evaluations based on musical style and aesthetics, such as similarities within Svendsen's idiom versus intentional unity at the intraopus level, with regard to whether one sketch was impacted by another or merely randomly similar and hence 'unrelated'. When sketches appeared on loose leaves and were not clearly connected to known works, they were very difficult to place in time.

But, to summarise, the sketches in the six central musical notebooks were written during the years 1874–77 and 1881–83, when Svendsen lived a relatively stable life in Christiania. Most of the other sketches can be placed within this period as well, though a few were clearly written in the 1890s in Copenhagen. There are practically no surviving sketches from before the autumn of 1874, probably because Svendsen left or discarded his working documents as he moved around Europe in the 1860s. Perhaps he also valued his private working documents differently as he grew older as well.

The exercises present a different philological challenge. They were mostly written in ink and are autographs rather than sketches, as they represent complete works for his teachers' eyes. While each music theory course was dated at the beginning of the given string of exercises, no specific dates follow. Hence, the exercises do not indicate how long Svendsen studied with each of his teachers. I used some of his letters, as well as equivalent exercises by Edvard Grieg, to propose a timespan for the exercises.

In all, I estimated that nearly all of Svendsen's exercises but seemingly less than a quarter of his sketches have survived. Thus his activity in the theory courses in Leipzig is well documented, while his sketching activity is less so. Based on the relatively modest stylistic development that characterises his fifteen years as an active international composer and the well-documented timespan for his compositional activity of the mid-1870s, I believe his sketching methods did not change significantly between 1865 (opus 1) and 1874.

My discussions encompasses an enormous amount of details so posterior scholars can follow my arguments and more easily understand what I have considered and not.

2. Compositional Method

One of the central discussions of the present dissertation involved how working methods and habits influenced musical style, aesthetics and compositional productivity. While the impact is mutual—that is, style and aesthetics influence the choice of methods as well—my focus has been on how methods impacted on musical style. In chapter 4, I discussed some philosophical aspects of studying the creative process based on sketch studies. I combined thoughts and statements from composers, philosophers and musicologists to bring forth a variety of approaches and experiences. My core issue was how the act of writing sketches impacted on the creative process via what I called the 're-acting' technique. It is almost impossible to discern what specific intentions or compulsions initiated a given single sketch, especially when it contains only music notation, as in Svendsen's case. But when that sketch can be related to other sketches by musical content, physical position, finality of works or the like, it becomes possible to understand some aspects of how the act of writing of one sketch impacted on the writing of another.

To frame compositional technique, I devoted part IV to a study of Svendsen's compositional exercises written in Leipzig. Inspired by scholars as far back as the early nineteenth century, I discussed how these exercises directly and indirectly influenced Svendsen's compositional methods, and thus his musical style. Among the more direct links was the striking similarity between Svendsen's canons written for Richter and his own imitation-sequence exploration technique in his later sketches, as well as the problems with his exercise fugues and the lack of fugatos in his mature works. Based on my studies of his juvenilia in chapter 3, I also stressed that the experienced yet autodidactic Svendsen before Leipzig was very ready for some work on the technical basics, such as fundamental four-part harmony. Among the possible indirect links and more general influences, I emphasised his ability to explore several possibilities by repeatedly exercising variants of the same short idea. I believe this became important to his ability to compose large-scale works based on thematic development in period 2. Although Caprice, written some months before Leipzig, was an attempt to work in such demanding genres, opus 1 and 3–5 reveal the most rapid change of focus in his entire oeuvre. As he was familiar with a large repertory of continental art music before Leipzig as well, this change most certainly stems from what he learned at the conservatory, not only from the music he heard there. Finally, a comparison between his juvenilia and mature works reveals that his notational accuracy leapt forward in quality in Leipzig. While his early works contain many notational inaccuracies, the scores written in Leipzig and afterwards are nearly free of error. This observation is not as trivial as it sounds, because it speaks to a mature composer with a close and conscious relationship between aural imagination and notation, in relation to the untutored one.

In part V, I performed thorough studies of the surviving sketches for a selection of works. I illuminated the genesis of these particular works based on the conclusions I was able to draw from the part of the compositional process that was discernible in the sketches. Here, I focused on the very different challenges of composing a folk tune arrangement (chapter 10) and a symphonic movement (chapter 11), respectively. Svendsen's folk-tune arrangements, and large parts of his Norwegian Rhapsodies and juvenilia, are based on self-contained melodies, which eased the composition of their musical courses. My analysis of the sketches for the finale of Symphony no. 2 in chapter 11 proved that Svendsen's imagination of this movement must have been very vague or at least very different from its final score, despite the fact that certain fundamental musical 'archetypes' remained throughout the process, such as key, metre and a few motivic aspects. He explored several germinal ideas of various 'origins' and let them exchange motivic features in the larger interest of thematic unity. Through this process, they changed significantly, thanks to his continuous exploration of small details. At one point, one such detail variant opened some new possibilities which led him to what would become the main theme. Thus, most of the exploration phase had an indirect connection to the final scores, because only a very few of the exploration sketches were ever ultimately pasted into the final score.

I also discussed the apparent 'panoramic connections' between several works that are 'autonomous objects' in public but either overtly connected or more vaguely related in private working documents. A recurring issue in these discussions is the difference between the experience of the sketches for Svendsen and for the contemporary scholar. Sketches appear more 'open' than scores (in the nineteenth century) and thus reveal less regarding the composer's intentions. The short early-phase sketches are particularly vague regarding syntactic coherence. This makes it hard to determine the difference between general stylistic similarities and intentional intraopus unity. What appears related to us now was not necessarily so to Svendsen then, or the other way around. On the other hand, as thematic unity was a *goal for* as

much as a *result of* the compositional process, significantly diverse ideas could be knitted together in the sketching process as well. Chapters 13–15 shed light on some of the problems with teleological sketch studies conducted in the shadow of the score. The symphony sketches discussed in chapter 14, for example, could anticipate several symphony projects, some of them overlapping in their musical material. As there is no final score, there are no criteria for chosen versus discarded possibilities among the sketches.

Furthermore, I discussed several aspects of Svendsen's sketching techniques and habits, and how they relate to the musical style expressed in his final scores. An important premise of this undertaking was what Ernst Cassirer calls Bedingungen der Möglichkeit (prerequisites of the possible). Svendsen expressed himself in a limited number of genres and instrumentations. His sketches also demonstrate a limited repertory of sketching techniques and an overwhelming emphasis on imitation and sequence in the exploration phase. I propose that this inhibited his stylistic possibilities and hence his development as a composer. It would not have been a matter of having to radically change his working habits, as many avant-garde composers in the twentieth century did in order to explore new aesthetic territories. Such a move was beyond the scope of a mainstream nineteenth-century composer like Svendsen. But what if he had varied and slightly changed and developed his sketching techniques, and maybe even expanded his repertory? Could this have allowed for a longer compositional career? Svendsen has been praised for his harmonic sophistication, and in general, his early phase sketches reveal little labour on harmonic problems. One's first thought is that he did not need to explore harmony on paper, thanks to his well-developed aural imagination. But in the long run, he may have closed the door on new possibilities in that area if he relied on his established harmonic palette. Chapter 3 demonstrated that his harmonic palette was in fact well developed even before Leipzig and merely polished there. Otherwise his chromatic lines were expanded and became more consistent in Leipzig, and in the 1870s he adapted a 'Tristanian' harmonic thinking in some works. Modal harmony was also utilised in a number of passages written after Leipzig. We know little about his relationship with the piano. He likely used it as a compositional tool, but he was mainly a violinist and wind player. Perhaps pianist-composers have an advantage in this area? Nevertheless, it appears something of an irony that his harmonic talent was to little extent challenged in the explored possibilities of the earliest sketch phases.

Sketches in phase 1 and 2 tend to have a fragmentary appearance. A germinal idea is usually explored in a few sketches that are close together, and usually many different ideas appear side by side. Even in the case of the second symphony's finale, where many exploration sketches appear within a physically limited area, he worked sporadically rather than meticulously. There is great variety in the attempts, there are other ideas interspersed, and he repeats self-evident information such as key and metre. These matters suggest that Svendsen rather sketched 'now and then' in this phase than meticulously throughout long hours of work. There are, in fact, few signs of a daily routine of sketching for its own sake—Svendsen seems to have preferred to sketch either to catch ideas on paper or to create works. Some germinal ideas appear in only a few sketches, and seem not particularly goal oriented. But their unsystematic appearance still does not reveal patterns of a daily routine. It appears that sketching was a mean, not a goal in itself. Thus, the act of sketching generally began to re-act on his creativity only after it had been initiated by some sort of 'external' motivation. Whereas Stravinsky stated that he worked to provoke inspiration, it seems that Svendsen sketched when he was already inspired or otherwise prompted by work commissions.

Svendsen's phase 3 drafts demonstrate significant details in textural aspects such as octave doublings and voicings. There is often a close coherence between these drafts and the final score. Although he rarely specified the orchestration verbally in his drafts, it seems clear that he was very concerned with orchestral details while simultaneously composing the musical course. Apparently this technique slowed down his composition of the musical continuity, but Svendsen seems to have been dependent on his orchestral vision to establish the musical course as well. Still, the suggested voicings were often changed in the score, whereas the register of the foreground usually remained the same. A few unfinished scores suggest that he wrote what was clearest to him first in the autograph score and turned to the background details only afterward, rather than writing every bar in its complete form before proceeding to the next. This also illustrates how the act of writing informed his aural imagination even in this late phase—the phase of orchestration—where he was an acknowledged master.

Svendsen's compositional drought in Copenhagen could be attributed to work pressure as a conductor and instability in his personal life and finances. If a nearly complete symphony, representing the work of several years (which would be comparable to his other symphonies) were burned up in a fire, that might have caused his compositional breakdown as well. Perhaps a well-established sketching routine might have overcome these challenges. His on-and-off sketching in the earliest phases of the compositional process probably complicated his ability to get things done, and I would suggest that Svendsen's working habits up to Copenhagen did not help his prospects later in life. A composer who was never more than moderately productive, who composed primarily within a limited number of genres, and who had cultivated but a limited repertory of sketching techniques and habits would more likely fail when faced with a host of new mid-life challenges. Of course, he had also become an extremely successful conductor at the same time.

All in all, Svendsen is widely acknowledged as one of Norway's most important composers, and it is perhaps unfair to compare him to some of his peers and their long and productive careers, or to the unusually promising prospects he demonstrated in his twenties. In my opinion, his works prove that he was especially good at absorbing and merging stylistic elements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of *Zukunftmusik* and conservatism, and of various national musical dialects. If Svendsen's ability as a conductor had been captured on recordings, his reputation would likely be stronger still, and his relative compositional ephemerality less of a loss to us.

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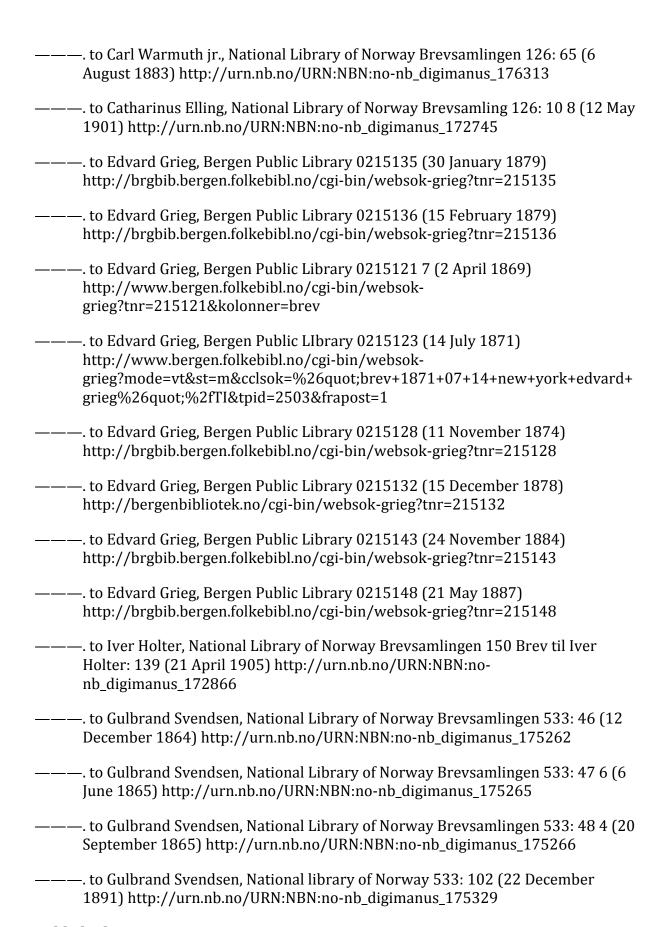
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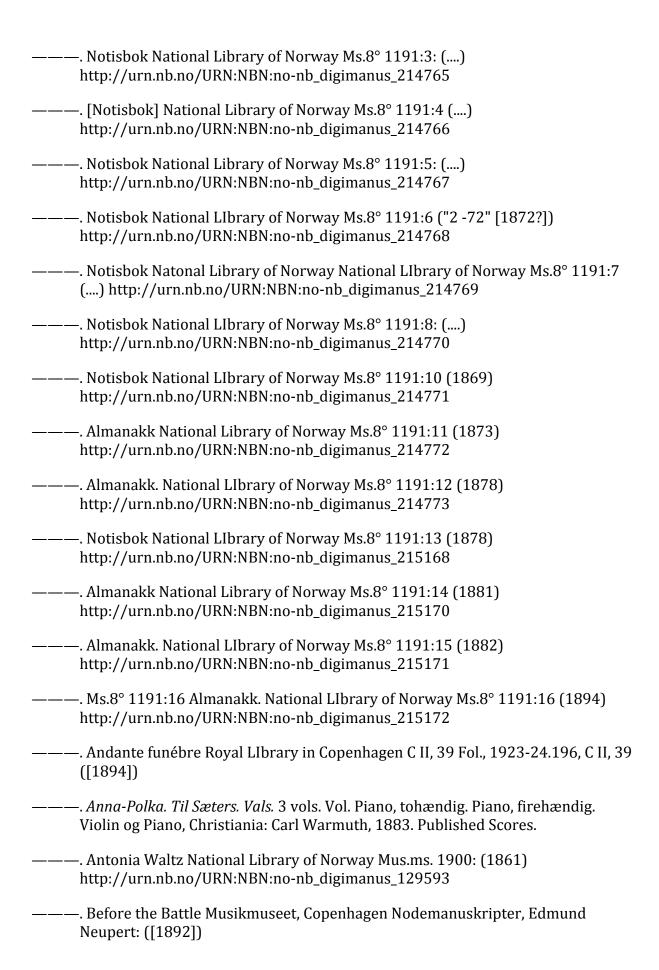


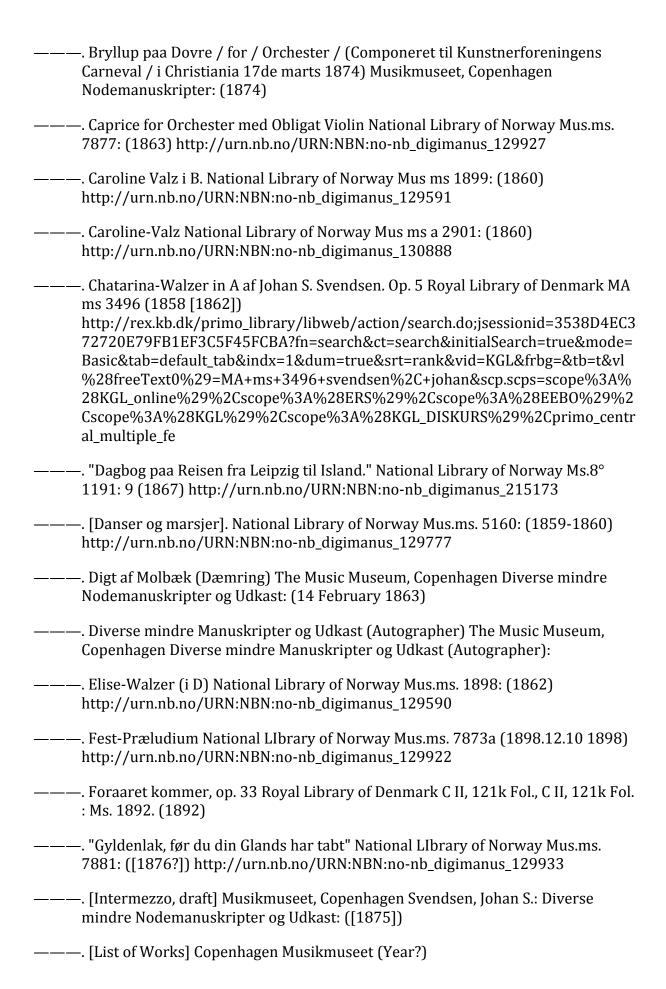
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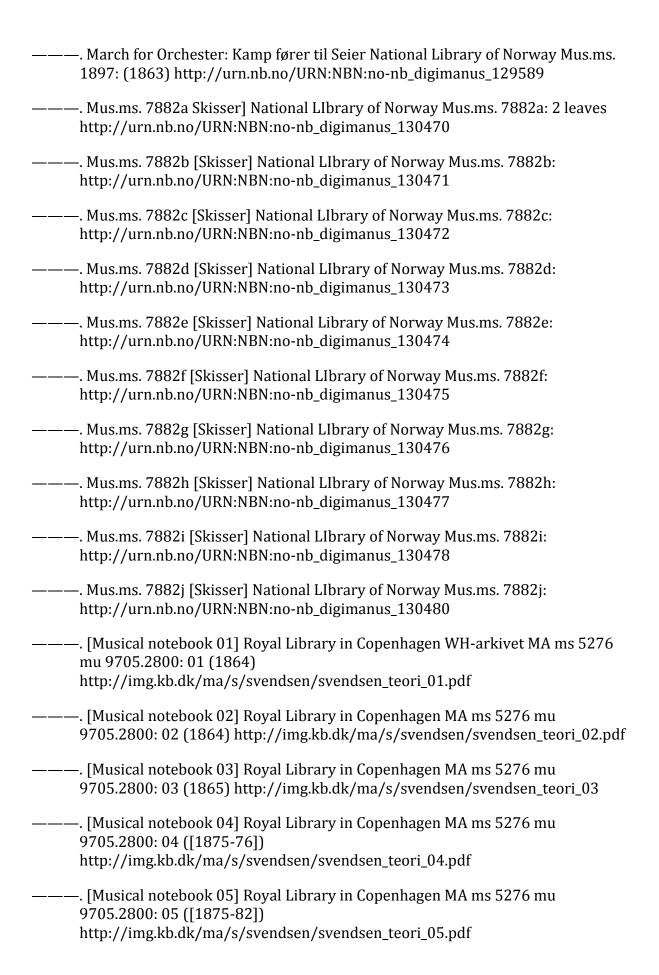
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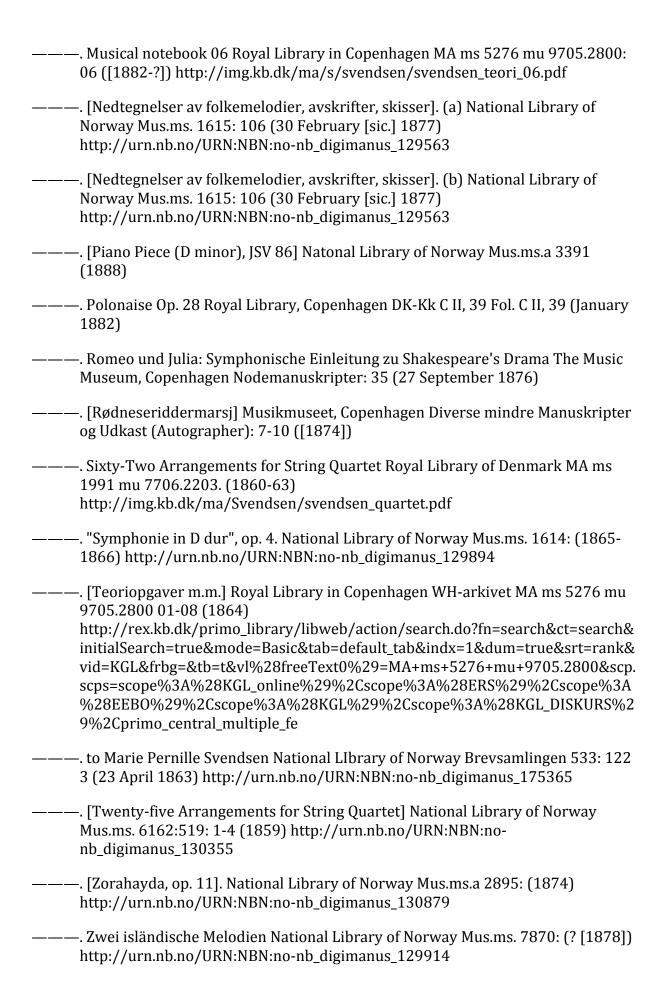
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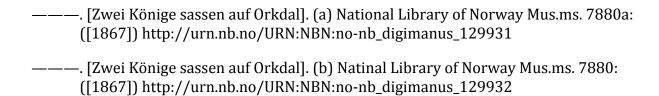
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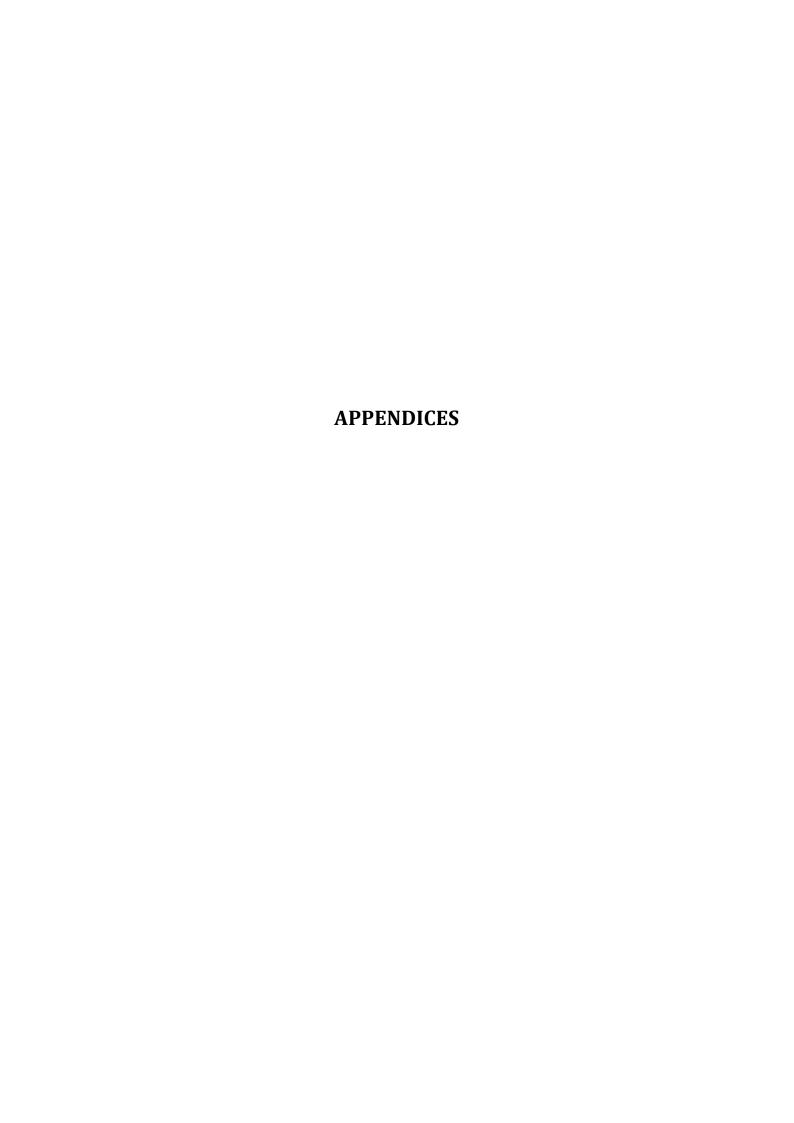












Appendix 1

Extended Musical Examples

Appendix 1.1: Fugue No. 1 (03:1v-2v/No.2 (01:31v:9-33r:6)





Appendix 1.2 Fugue No. 2 (03:3r-4r)/No. 3 (01:33r:7-34r:3)





Appendix 1.3 Fugue 'Den 17de Desember' [Arbeidsbok] Papperitz/Hauptmann: 33r-33v:12





Appendix 1.4 'Fuga a 3 voci' [Arbeidsbok] Papperitz/Hauptmann 33v:14-34v:12





Appendix 1.5 Chorale Prelude 02:20v









Appendix 1.6 Chorale Prelude 02:21r-21v:6



Appendix 1.7 Chorale Prelude 02:22v-23r



Appendix 1.8 Chorale Prelude 02:24v:10-25v:9



Appendix 1.9 Chorale Prelude 02:31r:5-32r



Appendix 1.10 Choraler

med Motiv (opgivet) til at gjenemføre med For- og Mellemspill [Arbeidsbok] Richter: 19v:12-20v:6



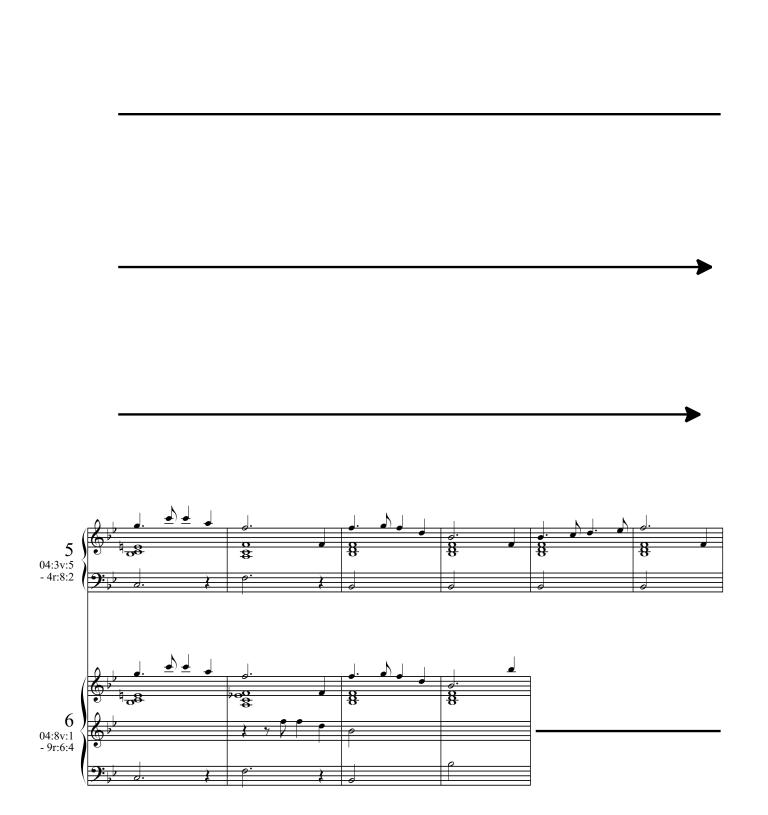
Appendix 1.11 4stemmige Choraler 12/1 -61 [Arbeidsbok] Richter: 20v:9-21v:6

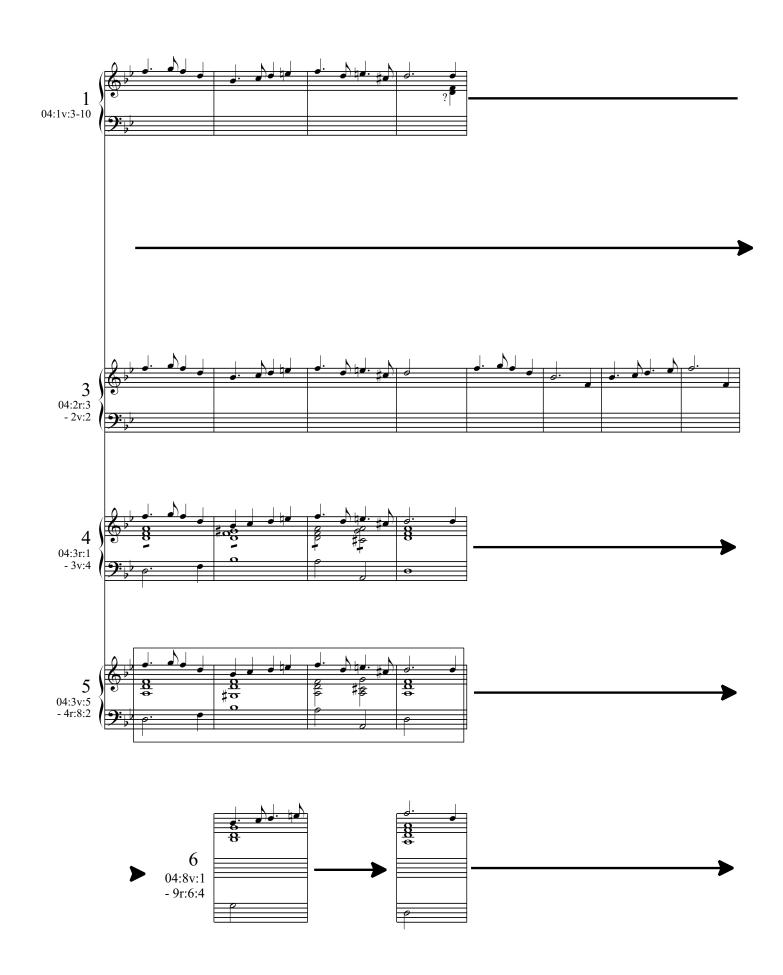


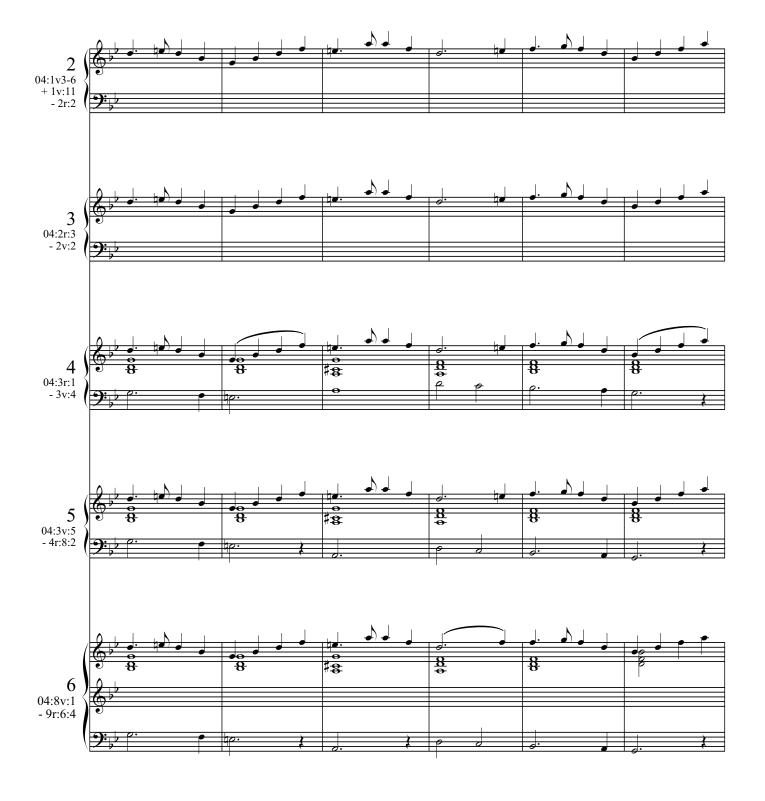


Appendix 1.12 Comparative transcription Symphony no. 2, Finale: Main theme drafts















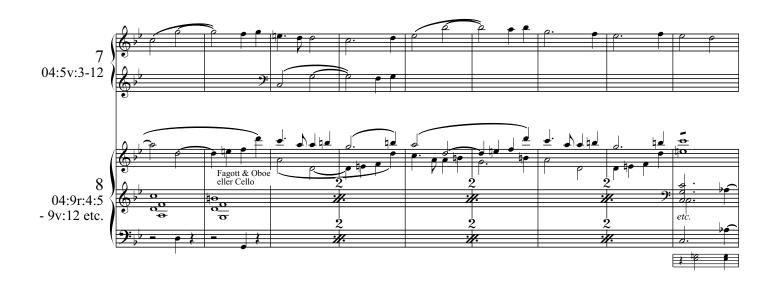


Appendix 1.13 Comparative transcription Symphony no. 2, Finale: Transition to the Secondary Theme

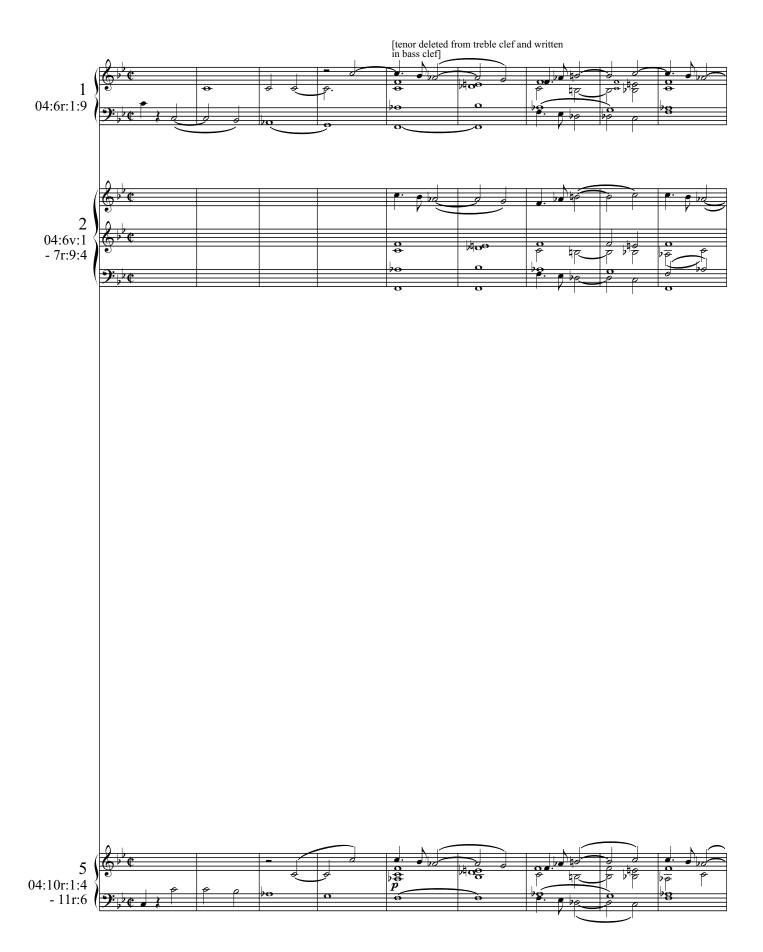








Appendix 1.14 Comparative transcription Symphony no. 2, Finale: Secondary Theme Section



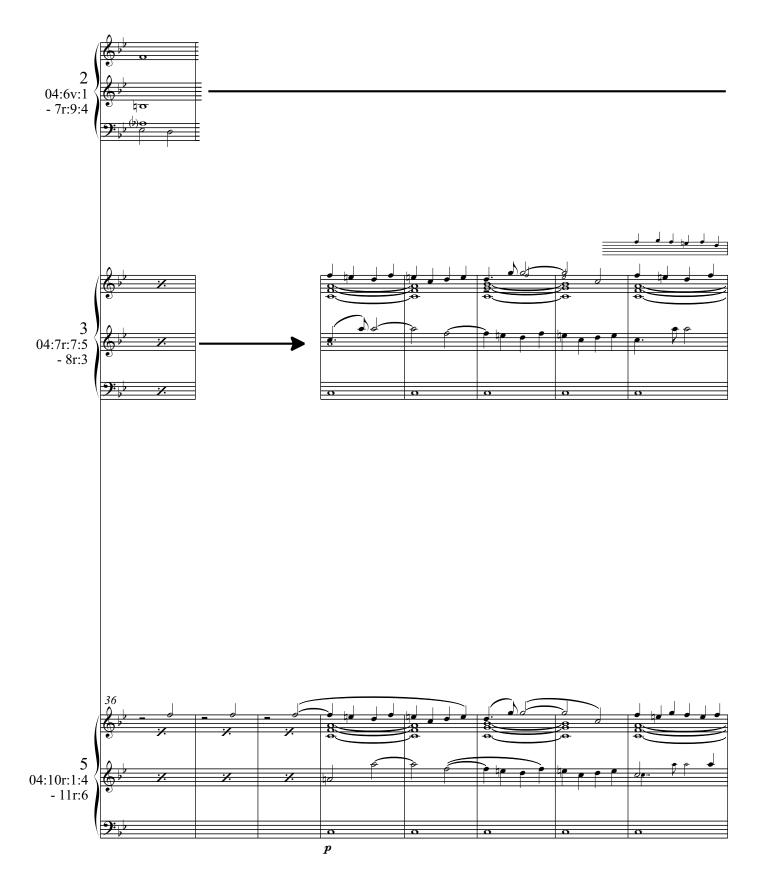




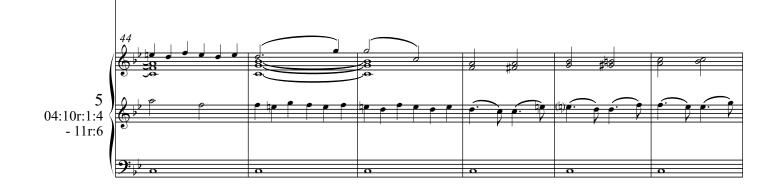


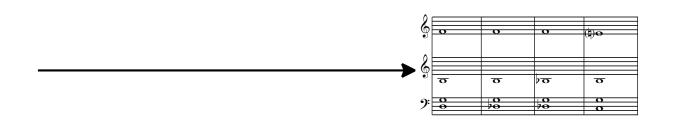












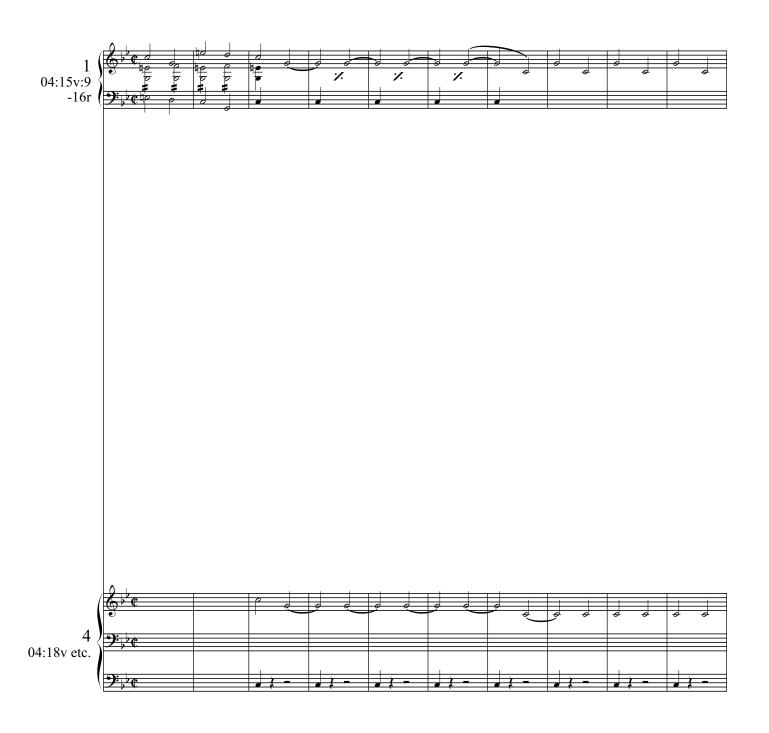








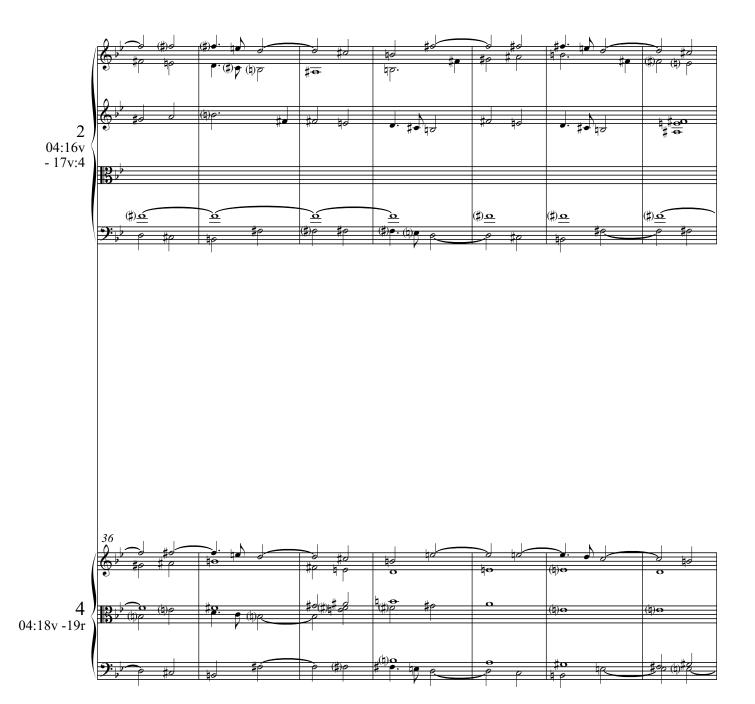
Appendix 1.15 Comparative transcription Symphony no. 2, Finale: Transitional Section in the Recapitulation

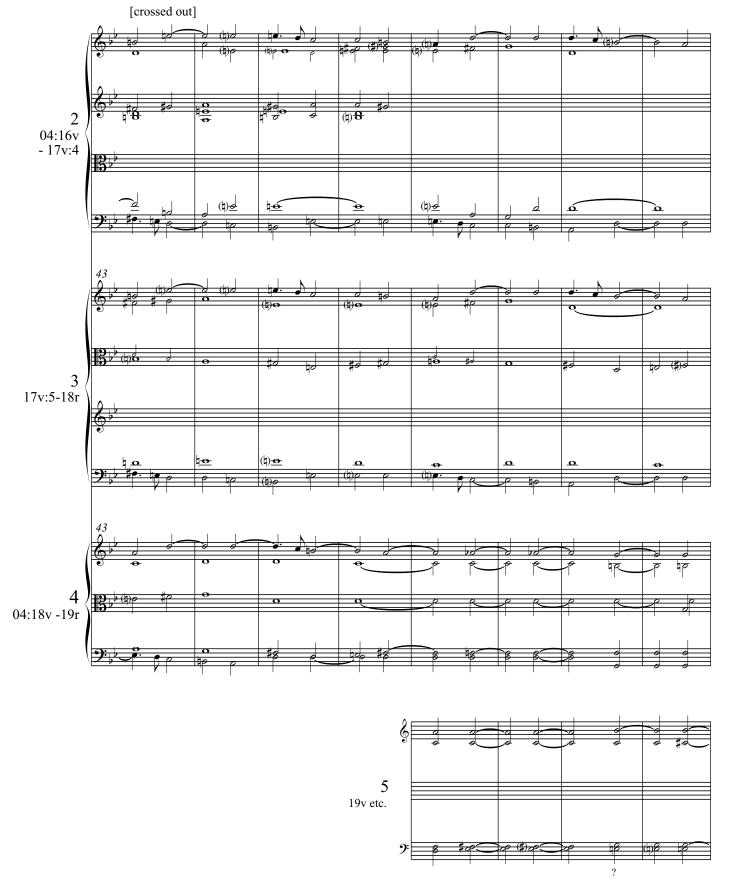


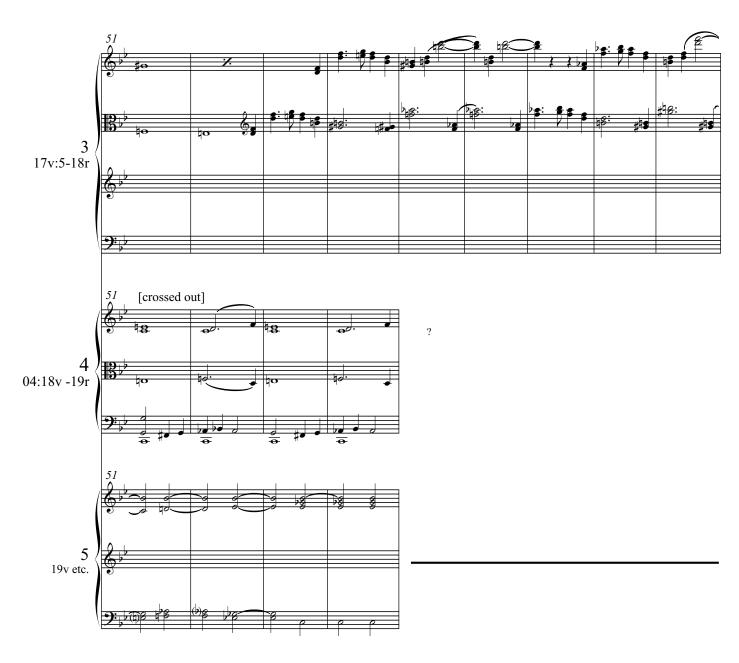


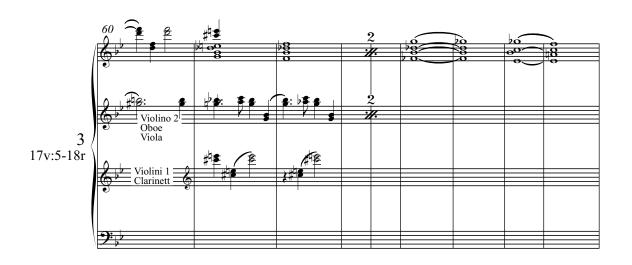


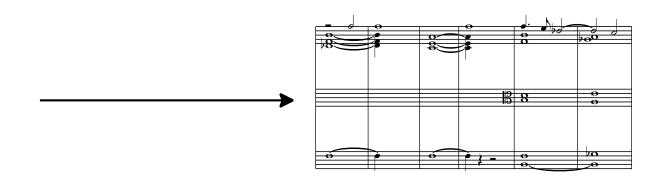












Appendix 1.16 Symphony no. 2, Finale: Development Section, vs. 1







Appendix 1.17 Comparative transcriptions

Symphony no. 2, Finale: Recapitulation









Appendix 1.18
Comparative transcription
Romeo and Juliet, K+9, (from b. 292 in 1880 version)

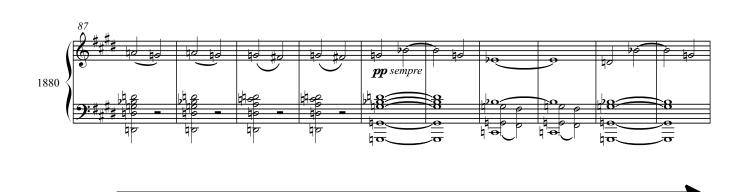


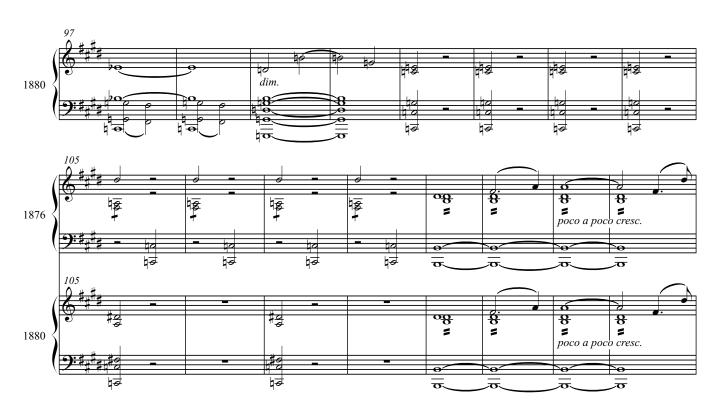








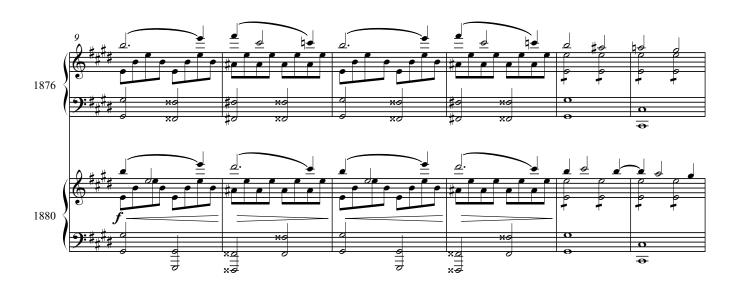




Appendix 1.19 Comparative transcription

Romeo and Juliet, from b. 436 in the 1880 version (N+9 in the 1876 vs.)



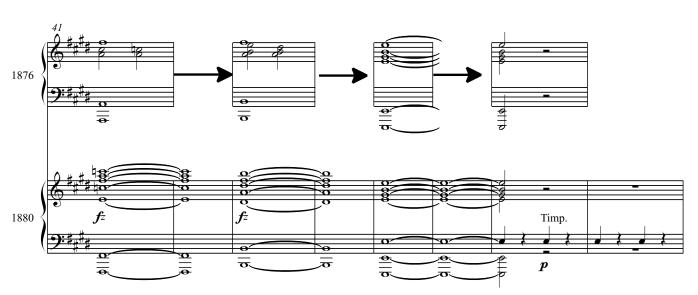


1876









Appendix 2

My Arrangements Based on Svendsen's Drafts

JOHAN S. SVENDSEN (1840-1911)

Bestilt av Bergen filharmoniske orkester

SYMFONISKISSE

Eksposisjon og Coda til 1. sats

Bearbeidet av B. Morten Christophersen (2010)

Besetning

2 Flauti

2 Oboi

2 Clarinetti (in A)

2 Fagotti

4 Corni (in E. C.)

2 Trombe (in E)

2 Tromboni tenori

Trombone basso

Timpani

Violini I. II.

Viole

Violincelli

Contrabassi

SYMFONISKISSE

Eksposisjon og Coda til 1. sats































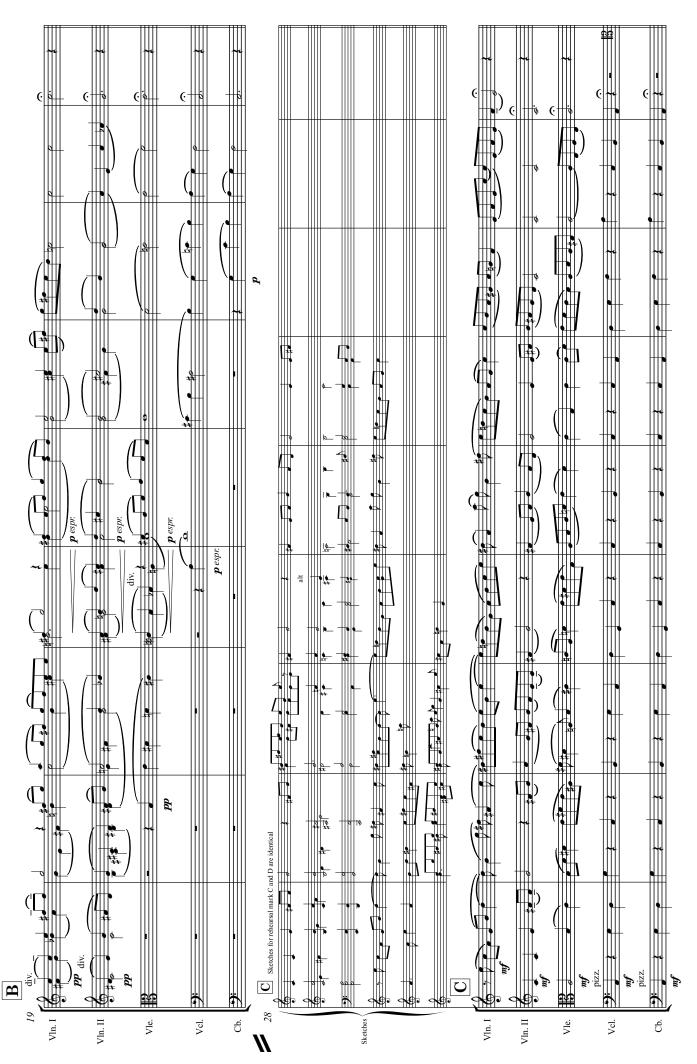


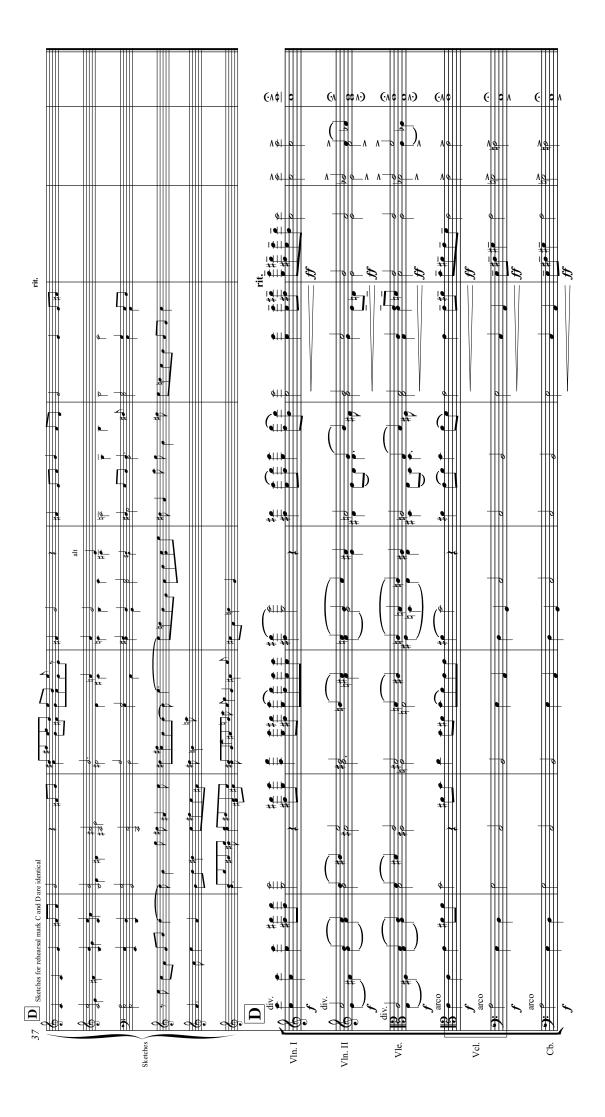




Jökullinn - Bræen - The Glacier







Appendix 3

Catalogue of Sketches and Exercises

Catalogue Abbreviations

Scan: Page in the library's online PDF file.

Source: The library's Source number (see bibliography).

Folio: Folio in physical manuscript.

Staff: Staff number.

Pag (JS): Svendsen's pagination.

Work: Which work the sketch identifies with.

Bar/Section: Which bar number or section the sketch refers to.

Year compl.: Year of completion.
Phase: Compositional Phase.
Key: The sketch/exercise's key.
Metre: The sketch/exercise's metre.

Comments by JS in '...' My comments without quotations.

Marks: Marks or crossouts in source.

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	nase Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
1	01				Front cover						
2	01				Inside front cover						
2	01				Flyleaf r	Leipzig d. 14/4 -63. J.Svendsen" [Correct year -64]	Correct yea	ır -64]			
3	01				Flyleaf v						
3	01	1r			Theoretische Studien unter Herrn.	rn. M. D. Dr. u.s.w. Hauptmann Leipzig i April 1864'	ipzig i April	1864'			
4	01	1v	1-8	2	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	B	2/2		
4	01	1v-2r	9-4	2-3	4 part 4th species. cf. in bass		1864	ŋ	2/2		
4	01	2r	5-12	3	4 part 4th species. cf. in bass		1864	ŋ	2/2		
2	10	2v	1-8		4 part 4th species. cf. in bass		1864	ŋ	2/2		
2	01	2v	9-12		Double cp. +, cf. B 1st species		1864	U	2/2	Sopran transponiert'	
2	01	3r	1-4		Double cp. +, cf. B 1st species		1864	U	2/2	PENCIL	
2	01	3r	2-8		Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	U	2/2		
2	01	3r	9-12		Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	U	2/2		
9	10	3v	1-4	9	Double cp. +, cf. B 1st species		1864	U	2/2		
9	10	3v	2-8	9	Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	U	2/2		
9	10	3^	9-12	9	Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	U	2/2		
9	10	4r	1-8	7	Double cp. +, cf. B 1st species		1864	ŋ	2/2		
2-9	01	4r-4v	9-4	7-8	Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	ŋ	2/2		
7	01	4v	5-12	œ	Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	ŋ	2/2		
7	01	5r	1-8	б	Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	ŋ	2/2		
œ	01	5v	4		Cantus firmus		1864	Dm	2/2		
8	01	5v	5-12		Double cp. +, cf. B 1st species		1864	Dm	2/2		
∞	01	6r	1-8		Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	Dm	2/2		
8-9	01	6r-6v	9-4	12	Double cp. +, cf. B 4th species		1864	Dm	2/2		
6	10	6 v	2-8	12	Cantus firmus		1864	U	2/2		
6	01	6v-7r	9-4	12-13	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	U	2/2		
6	01	7r	1-8	13	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	U	2/2		
9-10	01	7r-7v	9-4	13-14	4 part 4th species. cf. in bass		1864	U	2/2		
10	01	7	5-12	14	4 part 4th species. cf. in bass		1864	U	2/2		
10	01	8r	1-8	15	4 part 4th species. cf. in bass		1864	U	2/2		
10	01	8r	5-12	15	4 part 4th species. cf. in bass		1864	O	2/2		

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre Comment	Ma	Marks. Cross outs
11		8v	5-8		t 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
11	01	8v	9-12		4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
11	01	9r	1-4		4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	Dm	2/2		
11	01	9r	5-8		4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	Dm	2/2		
11	01	9r	9-12		4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	Dm	2/2		
12	01	^6	1-4	18	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
12	01	^6	2-8	18	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
12	01	76	9-12	18	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
12	01	10r	1-4	19	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
12	01	10r	5-8	19	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
13	01	10v	1-4	20	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	g	2/2		
13	01	10v	5-8	20	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Ŋ	2/2		
13	01	10v	9-12	20	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	ŋ	2/2		
13	01	11r	1-4	21	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	Ŋ	2/2		
13	01	11r	2-8	21	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	g	2/2		
13	01	11r	9-12	21	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	g	2/2		
14	01	110	1-4		4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
14	01	110	5-8		4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
14	01	110	9-12		4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	Dm	2/2		
14	01	12r	1-4	23	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	Dm	2/2		
14	01	12r	5-8	23	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
14	01	12r	9-12	23	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
15	01	12v	1-4	25	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
15	01	12v	2-8	25	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
15	01	13r	1-4	56	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Ŋ	2/2		
15	01	13r	5-8	56	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Ŋ	2/2		
15	01	13r	9-12	56	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	Ŋ	2/2		
16	01	13v	1-8	27	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	SS	1864	ŋ	2/2		
16	01	13v	5-12	27	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	ŋ	2/2		
16	01	14r	1-8	28	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Ŋ	2/2		
17	01	14v	1-4	59	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		

						<u>;</u>	:	<u>:</u>		
Scan Source	ce Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ase Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
17 01	14v	5-8	29	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
17 01	14v	9-12	29	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	ş	1864	Ωm	2/2		
17 01	15r	1-4	30	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	S	1864	Dm	2/2		
17 01	15r	5-8	30	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
17 01	15r	9-12	30	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
18 01	15v	1-4	31	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
18 01	15v	2-8	31	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	Dm	2/2		
18 01	15v	9-12	31	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	g	2/2		
18 01	16r	1-4	32	4 part 1st species. cf. in bass		1864	Ŋ	2/2		
18 01	16r	2-8	32	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	S	1864	g	2/2		
18 01	16r	9-12	32	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in bass	S	1864	Ŋ	2/2		
19 01	16v	1-4	33	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	g	2/2		
19 01	16v	5-8	33	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	g	2/2		
19 01	16v	9-12		4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	g	2/2		
19 01	17r	1-4	34	4 part 3rd species. cf. in bass		1864	g	2/2		
19 01	17r	9-12	34	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	C	4/4		
19 01	17r	9-12	34	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	C	4/4		
20 01	17v	1-4	35	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	C	4/4		
20 01	17v	1-4	35	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
20 01	17v	5-8	35	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
20 01	17v	5-8	35	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
20 01	17v	9-12	35	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
20 01	17v	9-12	35	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
20 01	18r	1-4	36	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
20 01	18r	1-4	36	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
20 01	18r	5-8	36	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
20 01	18r	9-12	36	4 part 1st species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
21 01	18v	1-4	37	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in sopran	ran	1864	U	4/4		
21 01	18v	5-8	37	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. in sopran	ran	1864	U	4/4		
21 01	18v	9-12	37	4 part 3rd species. cf. in sopran		1864	U	4/4		
21 01	19r	1-4	38	4 part 3rd species. cf. in sopran		1864	O	4/4		

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre	Comment Marks.	Marks. Cross outs
21	01	19r	2-8	38	4 part 1st species. cf. J.J. FUX 1. in	. in bass	1864	Dm	4/4		
21	01	19r	9-12	38	4 part 1st species. cf. J.J. FUX 1. in	. in alto	1864	Dm	4/4		
22	01	19v	1-4	39	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. J.J. FUX	UX 1. in bass	1864	Dm	4/4		
22	01	19v	5-8	39	4 part 2nd/4th species. cf. J.J. FUX	UX 1. in alto	1864	Dm	4/4		
22	01	19v	9-12	39	4 part 3rd species. cf. J.J. FUX 1. in bass	in bass	1864	Dm	4/4		
22	01	20r	1-4	40	4 part 3rd species. cf. J.J. FUX 1. in	in alto	1864	Dm	4/4		
22	01	20r	2-6	40	2 part 1 species		1864	C	4/4		
22	01	20r	2-6	40	2 part 1 species		1864	C	4/4		
22	01	20r	7-8	40	2 part 1 species		1864	C	4/4		
22	01	20r	7-8	40	2 part 1 species		1864	C	4/4		
22	01	20r	9-10	40	2 part 1 species		1864	U	4/4		
22	01	20r	11-12	40	Cantus firmus		1864	Dm	4/4		
23	01	20v	1-2	41	2 part 1 species		1864	Dm	4/4		
23	01	20v	3-4	41	2 part 1 species		1864	Dm	4/4		
23	01	20v	2-6	41	2 part 2nd species		1864	Dm	4/4		
23	01	20v	7-8	41	2 part 2nd species		1864	Dm	4/4		
23	01	20v	9-10	41	2 part 3rd species		1864	Dm	4/4		
23	01	20v	11-12	41	2 part 3rd species		1864	Dm	4/4		
23	01	21r	1-2	42	2 part canon		1864	C	4/4		
23	01	21r	3-4	42	2 part canon. Fragment		1864		4/4		
23	01	21r	2-6	42	2 part canon. Fragment		1864		4/4		
23	01	21r	7-8	42	2 part canon in 5ths		1864	U	2/2		
23	01	21r	9-12	42	2 part canon in 5ths		1864	U	2/2		
24	01	21v	1-4	43	2 part canon in 4th		1864	C	2/2		
24	01	21v	3-8	43	2 part canon in 4th		1864	C			
24	01	21v	7-10	43	2 part canon in 8th		1864	U	4/4		
24	01	21v-22r	11-2	43-44	2 part canon in 8th		1864	U	4/4		
25	01	22v	1-4	45	2 part canon in 6th		1864	U	2/2		
25	01	22v	5-8	45	2 part canon in 7th		1864	U	2/2		
25	01	22v	9-12	45	2 part canon in 2nd		1864	U	4/4		
25	01	23r	4-9	46	2 part canon in 5ths + 1 free voice	vice	1864	U	2/2		

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre	Comment Marks.	Marks. Cross outs
25-26	5 01	23r-23v	10-3	46-47	2 part canon in 7ths + 1 free voice	ice	1864	U	2/2		
56	0.1	23v	4-12	47	Dux and comes exercises		1864			PENCIL	
26	01	24r	1-2	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	U	4/4		
26	01	24r	1-4	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	С	4/4		
26	01	24r	3-4	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	С	4/4		
26	01	24r	3-6	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	С	4/4		
26	01	24r	2-8	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	С	4/4		
56	01	24r	7-8	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	С	4/4		
56	01	24r	9-10	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	С	4/4		
26	01	24r	9-10	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	Cm	3/4	Correction	
26	01	24r	11-12	48	Dux and comes exercise		1864	U	3/4		
27	01	24v	1-2	49	Dux and comes exercise		1864	U	2/2		
27	01	24v	1-4	49	Dux and comes exercise		1864	U	2/2		
27	01	24v	3-4	49	Dux and comes exercise		1864	U	2/2		
27	01	24v	9-9	49	Dux and comes exercise		1864	U	2/2		
27	01	24v	5-8	49	Dux and comes exercise		1864	C	3/4		
27	01	24v	7-10	49	Dux and comes exercise		1864	U	3/4		
27	01	24v	9-10	49	Dux and comes exercise		1864	Cm	2/2		
27	01	24v	11-12	49	Dux and comes exercise		1864	Cm	4/4		
27	01	25r	1-2	20	Dux and comes exercise		1864	Cm	3/4		
27	01	25r	3-4	20	Dux and comes exercise		1864	Cm	3/4		
27	01	25r	2-6	20	Fugato unfinished		1864	U	4/4	PENCIL	
28	01	25v	1-4	51	Counterpoint to fugue theme		1864	g	4/4		
28	01	25v	3-6	51	Counterpoint to fugue theme		1864	g	4/4		
28	01	25v	7-10	51	Counterpoint to fugue theme		1864	g	4/4		
28	01	25v-26r	9-4	51-52	Counterpoint to fugue theme		1864	Ŋ	4/4		
28	01	26r	5-7	52	Fugato unfinished		1864			PENCIL	
29	01	26v	1-4	53	ш		1864	Cm/Gm	2/2	1'	
29	01	26v	2-8	53	Dbl. cp. to fugue theme		1864	C/G	3/4	2'	
29	01	26v	9-12	53	Dbl. cp. to fugue theme		1864	G/D	4/4	3,	
29	01	27r	1-4	54	Dbl. cp. to fugue theme		1864	Gm/Dm 4/4	4/4	4'	

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30) 101	274	1-4 1-4	75 75	to figure theme		1864	(2) U	4/4	1-1	(a) C1039 Odt3
30	01	27v	5-8	55	Dbl. cp. to fugue theme		1864	g/p	4/4	2,	
30	01	27v-28r	9-4	55-56			1864	G/D	4/4		
30	01	28r	5-8	26	Dbl. cp. to fugue theme		1864	C/G	3/4		
30	01	28r	9-12	56	Dbl. cp. to fugue theme		1864	F/C	3/4		
31	01	28v	1-4	57	Dbl. cp. to fugue theme		1864	F/C	4/4		
31	01	28v	5-10	57	Fugato unfinished		1864	С	2/2	PENCIL	
31	01	29r	1-8	58	"Fuge No. 1" 2 parts		1864	С	2/2		
31-32	01	29r-29v	9-4	58-59	"Fuge No. 2" 2 parts		1864	C	2/2		
32	01	29v-30r	2-6	29-60	"Fuge No. 3" 2 parts		1864	O	2/2		
32-33	01	30r-30v	2-6	60-61	"Fuge No. 4" 2 parts		1864	C	2/2		
33-34	01	30v-31v	10-9	61-63	Fugue 3 parts		1864	U	2/2		
34-35	01	31v-33r	10-6	99-29	Fugue 3 parts "No. 2" COPIED IN BOOK 03	N BOOK 03	1864	U	2/2		
35-37	01	33r-34v	7-3	69-99	Fugue 3 parts "No. 3" COPIED IN BOOK 03	N BOOK 03	1864	U	2/2		
37	01	34v	2-8	69			1	F?	2/2	Melody	
37	01	34v	9-11	69			1	Bbm	2/4	Melody	
37	01	35r	1-3	70	Symph. 2?/Romeo and Juliet?	3 bars	1876 2	Ebm?	2/2	Imitation	
37	01	35r	4-6	70	e)	3 bars	2			Melody + chord	
37	01	35r		70	Symph. 2?/Romeo and Juliet	8 bars. Allegro molto-theme	1876 2	F/Bbm	2/4		
38	01	35v	1-6			3 bars	2	Bbm	4/4	Imitation. Triplet movement	
38	01	36r	1		Symphony 2,4	4 bars	1876	1 Bb	2/2	Melodic line similarities to main theme	
38	01	36r	8		7	4 bars	1	Gm?	2/4	Melodic	
39	10	36v			15	7 bars	2		4/4	Melody, bass and harmony (8th note rep.)	
39	01	37r	1-3		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Ŀ	2/4	Imitation	
39	01	37r	7-9		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Ŀ	2/4	Imitation	
39	01	37r	10-12		Symp. 2, 3??	5 bars	1876 2	L	2/4	Imitation	
40	01	37v			March of the Red-Nosed Knight 16 bars	16 bars	1874 2	U	2/4		
40	01	38r			March of the Red-Nosed Knight 8 bars	8 bars	1874 2	U	2/4		
41-51	01	38v-48v			EMPTY						
51	10				Flyleaf back r	1 blank side ikke fotografert					
52	01				Flyleaf back v						

П																	
Marks. Cross outs	es																
Metre Comment	Three Italian poets from the 13th, 14 and 16th centuries																
letre C																	
lase Ke	o Tasso'																
Year con Phase Key	i / Torquat																
Bar / Section	Francesco Petrarca / Dante Alighieri / Torquato Tasso'																
Work	Inside cover	Back cover															
Pag. (JS Work																	
Staff																	
Folio																	
Scan Source	01	01															
Scan	52	53															

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (35 Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key		letre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
1	02				Front cover						
2	02				Inside front cover						
2	02				Flyleaf r					J. Svendsen 1/4 1864'	
3	02				Flyleaf v						
3	02	1r			Theoretische Studien/unter/Herrn Dr. Papperitz/April 1864.'	тп Dr. Papperitz/April 1864.'					
4	02	1v-2r		2-3	Intervals		1864		=	"Intervalle"	
2	02	2v		4	Scales		1864		=	"Tonleiten"	
2-2	02	3r-4v		2-8	Triads (Major)		1864		-	"Dreiklänge (Dur)"	
7	02	5r	1-2	6	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	g			
7	02	5r	3-4	6	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	D			
7	02	5r	2-6	6	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	٨			
7	02	5r	7-8	6	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	L			
7	02	5r	9-10	6	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	Bb			
8	02	5v	1-2	10	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	Am			
_∞	02	5v	3-4	10	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	Gm			
8	02	5v	2-6	10	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	Bm			
8	02	5v	7-10	10	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Primary and secondary triads.	1864	Cm			
8	02	5v	11-12	10	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted triads	1864	U			
8	02	6r	1-2	11	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted triads	1864	L			
8	02	6r	3-4	11	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted triads	1864	g			
80	02	6r	2-6	11	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted triads	1864	Am			
8	02	6r	7-8	11	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted triads	1864	Ŋ			
8	02	6r	9-10	11	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted triads	1864	L			
8	02	6r	11-12	11	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted triads	1864	Bb			
9-10	02	6v-8r		12-15	Seventh chords		1864		т.	Fierklänge [sic.] des Durtonleiter'	
11	02	8v	1-2	16	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Seventh chords	1864	L			
11	02	8v	3-4	16	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Seventh chords	1864	Ŋ			
11	02	8v	2-6	16	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Seventh chords	1864	Cm			
11	02	8v	7-8	16	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Seventh chords	1864	Bb	\exists		
11	02	8v	11-12	16	Dispositions of 7th chords	2 staves	1864		01	Septaccord i forskjellige omvendinger'	
11	02	9r	1-2	17	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	ш	\dashv		

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key		Metre	Metre Comment Marks. Cro	Marks. Cross outs
11	02	9r	3-4	17	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	g			
11	02	9r	9-6	17	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	А			
11	02	9r	7-8	17	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Cm			
11	02	9r	9-10	17	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Ab			
11	02	9r	11-12	17	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Е			
12	02	۸6	1-4	18	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Bm			
12	02	۸6	5-8	18	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Bb			
12	02	۸6	9-12	18	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Ŋ			
12	02	10r	1-4	19	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Ь			
12	02	10r	2-8	19	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Am			
12	02	10r	9-12	19	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Inverted seventh chords	1864	Eb			
13	02	10v	1-4	19	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	U			
13	02	10v	4-8	19	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	ŋ			
13	02	10v	8-12	19	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Cm			
13	02	10v-11r	12-4	19-20	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Bb			
13	02	11r	3-6	20	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Em			
13	02	11r	8-10	20	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	۵			
13	02	11r	9-12	20	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Ŋ			
14	02	11v	1-4	21	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Cm			
14	02	11v	3-6	21	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	٥			
14	02	11v	7-10	21	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Fm			
14	02	11v-12r	11-2	21-22	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	⋖			
14	02	12r	3-6	22	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	٥			
14	02	12r	7-10	22	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Gm			
14	02	12r	9-12	22	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Cm			
15	02	12v	1-4	23	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	D			
15	02	12v	3-6	23	4-part harmony c.f. in bass	Suspension	1864	Ŀ			
15	02	12v	9-12	23	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	Bb			
15	02	12v-13r	9-4	23-24	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	U			
15	02	13r	1-4	24	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	Em			
15	02	13r	5-8	24	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	ь			

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ase Key	Metre	Metre Comment Mark	Marks. Cross outs
	02	13r	5-12	24	t 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	Am			
15 (02	13r	9-12	24	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	g			
16	02	13v	1-4	25	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	U			
16	02	13v	2-8	25	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	CB			
16	02	13v	9-12	25	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	U			
16	02	14r	1-4	26	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	ß			
16	02	14r	5-8	26	4 part 1st species	4 staves, vocal clefs	1864	Cm			
17 (02	14v	1-4	27	4 part 2nd / 4th species	4 staves (Free cp.)	1864	U			
17 (02	14v	5-8	27	4 part 2nd / 4th species	4 staves (Free cp.)	1864	ь			
17 (02	14v	9-12	27	4 part 2nd / 4th species	4 staves (Free cp.)	1864	Am			
17 (02	15r	1-4	28	4 part 2nd / 4th species	4 staves (Free cp.)	1864	ш			
17 (02	15r	2-8	28	4 part 2nd / 4th species	4 staves (Free cp.)	1864	Am			
17 (02	15r	5-12	28	4 part 2nd / 4th species	4 staves (Free cp.)	1864	Ab			
18	02	15v	1-4	29	4 part 1st species	4 staves	1864	U			
18	02	15v	2-8	29	4 part 4th species	4 staves	1864	O			
18	02	15v	9-12	29	4 part 4th species	4 staves	1864	U			
18	02	16r	1-4	30	4 part 2nd species. Fig.bass	4 staves	1864	U			
18	02	16r	2-8	30	4 part 1st species	4 staves	1864	Dm			
18	02	16r	5-12	30	4 part 4th species	4 staves	1864	Dm			
18-19	02	16r-16v	9-4	30-31	4 part 4th species	4 staves	1864	Dm			
19	02	16v	1-4	31	4 part 2nd species. Fig.bass	4 staves	1864	Dm			
19 (02	16v	5-8	31	4 part 1st species	4 staves	1864	ш			
19	02	16v	9-12	31	4 part 4th species	4 staves	1864	ш			
19	02	17r	1-4	32	4 part 4th species	4 staves	1864	ш			
19	02	17r	2-8	32	4 part 2nd species. Fig.bass	4 staves	1864	ш			
19	02	17r	9-12	32	4 part 1st species	4 staves	1864	Ab			
19-20	02	17r-17v	9-4	32-33	4 part 4th species	4 staves	1864	Ab			
20 (02	17v	1-8	33	4 part 4th species	4 staves	1864	Ab			
20	02	17v	8-12	33	4 part 2nd species. Fig.bass	4 staves	1864	Ab			
20	02	17v	9-12	33	4 part 3rd species. Fig.bass	4 staves	1864	Bb			
20	02	18r	1-4	34	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Bb	-		

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre	Comment Marks. Cross outs	s outs
20	02	18r	1-8	34	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Bb			
20	02	18r	5-12	34	4 part 3rd species. Fig.bass	4 staves	1864	Cm			
20-21	02	18r-18v	12-4	34-35	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Cm			
21	02	18v	1-8	35	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Cm			
21	02	18v	5-12	35	4 part 3rd species. Fig.bass	4 staves	1864	Gm			
21	02	18v-19r	12-4	35-36	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Gm			
21	02	19r	1-8	36	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Gm			
21	02	19r	5-8	36	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Cm			
21	02	19r	9-12	36	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Cm			
22	02	19v	1-4	37	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Cm			
22	02	19v	2-8	37	4 part 3rd species	4 staves	1864	Cm			
22	02	19v	9-12	37	4 part ? species (unfin.)	4 staves	1864	Am			
22	02	20r		38	Theoretische Studien unter Her	Theoretische Studien unter Herrn Musikdirektor Richter. Angefangen October 1864'	en October 1.	864'			
23	02	20v		39	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	L	4/4		
23-24	02	21r-21v	1-6	40-41	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	⋖	3/4		
24	02	21v-22r	1-12	41-42	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	Ŋ	8/9		
25	02	22v-23r		43-44	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	Bb	4/4		
76	02	23v-24r	1-3	45-46	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	Ŀ	8/9		
26-27	02	24r-24v	4-9	46-47	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	Dm	3/4		
27-28	02	24v-25v	10-9	47-49	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	Dm	3/4		
28-29 02	02	25v-26v	10-9	49-51	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	۵	4/4		
29-30	02	26v-28r	10-3	51-54	3 part cp. Choral Prelude	3 staves, cf. + 2 free parts	1864	Ш	4/4		
30-31	02	28r-28v	4-12	54-55	4 part cp. Choral Prelude	4 staves, cf. + 3 free parts	1864	Eb	4/4		
31-32	02	29r-30r	1-4	26-58	4 part cp. Choral Prelude	4 staves, cf. + 3 free parts	1864	∢	4/4		
32-33	02	30r-31r	5-4	28-60	4 part cp. Choral Prelude	4 staves, cf. + 3 free parts	1864	C	8/9		
33-34	02	31r-32r	2-8	60-62	4 part cp. Choral Prelude	4 staves, cf. + 3 free parts	1864	Dm	3/4		
35	02	32v			EMPTY						
35	02	33r			Theoretische Studien ünter Her	Theoretische Studien ünter Herrn Musikdirektor Richter. April 1864	- - -				
36	02	33v	1-6		Double cp - 2nd species		1864	ŋ	3/2		
36	02	33v	7-12		Double cp - 3rd species		1864	ŋ	3/2		
36	02	34r	1-6		Double cp - 2nd species		1864	Am	3/2		

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (3S Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ase Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
36	02	34r	7-12		Double cp - 2nd species		1864	Am	3/2		
37	02	34v	1-8		Double cp +1 part - 2nd species	5	1864	С	3/2		
37	02	34v-35r	9-4		Double cp +1 part - 3rd species		1864	С	3/2		
37	02	35r	5-12		Double cp +1 part - 2nd species	5	1864	Am	3/2		
38	02	35v	1-8		Double cp +1 part - 2nd species	5	1864	F	3/2		
38	02	35v-36r	9-4		Double cp +1 part - 3rd species		1864	F	3/2		
38	02	36r	5-12		Double cp +1 part - 3rd species		1864	F	3/2		
39	02	36v	1-8		Double cp +1 part - 3rd species		1864	Am	3/2		
39	02	36v-37r	9-4		Double cp +1 part - 3rd species		1864	Am	3/2		
40	02	37v	1-8		Double cp +1 part - 2nd species	5	1864	g	3/2		
40	02	37v-38r	9-4		Double cp +1 part - 3rd species		1864	g	3/2		
40	02	38r	5-12		Double cp +1 part - 3rd species		1864	g	3/2		
41	02	38v	1-8		Double cp +1 part - 2nd species	5	1864	F	3/2		
41	02	38v-39r	9-4		Double cp +1 part - 3rd species		1864	L	3/2		
42	02	39v	1-8		4 part 2nd species		1864	U	3/2		
42	02	39v-40r	9-4		4 part 2nd species		1864	U	3/2		
42	02	40r	5-12		4 part 3rd species		1864	U	3/2		
43	02	40v	1-8		4 part 3rd species		1864	U	3/2		
43	02	40v-41r	9-4		4 part 3rd species		1864	U	3/2		
43	02	41r	5-12		4 part 3rd species		1864	U	3/2		
44	02	41v	1-8		4 part 2nd species		1864	Dm	3/2		
44	02	41v-42r	9-4		4 part 2nd species		1864	Dm	3/2		
45	02	42v-43r			EMPTY						
46	02	43v	1-8		4 part 2nd species		1864	Gm	3/2		
46	02	43v-44r	9-4		4 part 2nd species		1864	Gm	3/2		
46	02	44r	5-12		4 part 3rd species		1864	Gm	3/2		
47	02	44v			4 part chorale 1st species		1864	U	2/2	Sopran'	
47	02	45r			4 part chorale 2nd species		1864	U	2/2	Sopran'	
48	02	45v			4 part chorale 2nd species		1864	U	2/2	Sopran'	
48	02	46r			4 part chorale 1st species		1864	Eb	2/2	Tenor'	
49	02	46v			4 part chorale 2nd species		1864	입	2/2	Tenor'	

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ase Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
	02	47r			t chorale 2nd species		1864	Eb	2/2	Tenor'	
50	02	47v			4 part chorale 2nd species		1864	Eb	2/2	Tenor'. Copy	
50	02	48r			4 part chorale 1st species		1864	Ш	2/2		
51	02	48v			4 part chorale 2nd species		1864	Ł	2/2		
51	02	49r			4 part chorale 2nd species		1864	F	2/2		
52	02	49v			4 part chorale 2nd species		1864	F	2/2		
52	02	50r	1-2		2 part canon in 5ths		1864	С	2/2	"1"	
52	02	50r	3-6		2 part canon in 5ths		1864	U	2/2	"2"	
52	02	50r	5-8		2 part canon in 5ths		1864	С	2/2	"3"	
52	02	50r	7-10		2 part canon in 5ths		1864	С	2/2	"4"	
52	02	50r	9-12		2 part canon in 5ths		1864	С	2/2	"5"	
53	02	50v	1-4		2 part canon in 5ths		1864	С	2/2	"6"	
53	02	50v	3-6		2 part canon in 5ths		1864	C	2/2	nZ"	
53	02	50v	7-8		2 part canon in 8ths		1864	U	2/2		
53	02	50v	9-10		2 part canon in 8ths		1864	U	2/2		
53	02	50v	11-12		2 part canon in 8ths		1864	Em	2/2		
53	02	51r	1-4		2 part canon in 9ths		1864	U	2/2		
53	02	51r	3-6		2 part canon in 9ths		1864	g	2/2		
54	02	51v	1-6		2 part canon + free bass (3rd speci	species)	1864	С	2/2		
54	02	51v	4-9		2 part canon + free bass (3rd speci	species)	1864	С	2/2		
54	02	51v	7-12		2 part canon + free bass (3rd speci	species)	1864	С	2/2		
54	02	52r	1-6		2 part canon + free bass (3rd speci	species)	1864	U	2/2		
54	02	52r	4-9		2 part canon + free bass (3rd speci	species)	1864	U	2/2		
55	02	52v			ЕМРТУ						
55	02	53r	1-3		2 part canon in 4th + free soprano	ano (3rd species)	1864	U	2/2		
55	02	53r	4-9		2 part canon in 5th + free soprano	ano (3rd species)	1864	U	2/2		
55-56	02	53r-54r	7-3		2 part canon in 2nd + free soprano	rano (3rd species)	1864	U	2/2		
56-57	02	54r-55r			EMPTY						
58	02	55v	1-8		"Canon in Sopran und Alt mit zwei	wei freie Stimmen"	1864	U	4/4		
58	02	55v	5-12		"Canon in Sopran und Alt mit zwei	wei freie Stimmen"	1864	Ŀ	4/4		
58	02	56r			ЕМРТҮ						

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Pag. 158 Work Canon in Seprent und Tenor 2 freie Stimmen 1864 C 372	arks. Cross outs																														
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Pag. (15 Work	1etre	1/4	1/2		1/4	3/2		1/4				1/4		8/9	8/8	1/2															
Pag. (1S) Work "Canon in Sopran und Tenor" 2 freie Stimmen "Canon in Sopran und Bass" 2 freie Stimmen "Canon in Sopran und Bass" 2 freie Stimmen "Canon in Sopran und Bass" 2 freie Stimmen EMPTY "Canon in Alt und Tenor" 2 freie Stimmen EMPTY "Canon in Alt und Tenor" 2 freie Stimmen EMPTY "Canon in Alt und Bass" EMPTY A part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 7 part cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 7 paut cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 7 paut cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 2 part cp. Choral Prelude 3 part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 7 paut cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 2 paut cp. Choral Prelude 3 paut cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 paut cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral		4	(*)		4	(*)		4				4								2		2		(*)							
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Pag. (1S) Work "Canon in Sopran und Tenor" 2 freie Stimmen "Canon in Sopran und Bass" 2 freie Stimmen "Canon in Sopran und Bass" 2 freie Stimmen "Canon in Sopran und Bass" 2 freie Stimmen EMPTY "Canon in Alt und Tenor" 2 freie Stimmen EMPTY "Canon in Alt und Tenor" 2 freie Stimmen EMPTY "Canon in Alt und Bass" EMPTY A part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 7 part cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 7 paut cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 7 paut cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 2 part cp. Choral Prelude 3 part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 part cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 7 paut cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral Prelude 2 paut cp. Choral Prelude 3 paut cp. Choral Prelude 4 part cp. Choral Prelude 5 paut cp. Choral Prelude 6 part cp. Choral Prelude 8 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 9 part cp. Choral Prelude 1 paut cp. Choral	ar com Pt	1864	1864		1864	1864		1864				1864		1864	1864	1864		1864	1864	1864	1864	1864	1864	1864	1864						
Pag. (13)	/ Section	2 freie Stimmen	2 freie Stimmen					sie Stimmen		=9							B scan														
	Work	"Canon in Sopran und Tenor"	"Canon in Sopran und Tenor"	ЕМРТУ	"Canon in Sopran und Bass" 2	"Canon in Sopran und Bass" 2	ЕМРТУ	"Canon in Alt und Tenor" 2 fre	ЕМРТУ	EMPTY "Canon in Alt und Bass	ЕМРТУ	"Canon in Tenor und Bass"	ЕМРТУ	4 part cp. Choral Prelude	4 part cp. Choral Prelude	4 part cp. Choral Prelude	EMPTY 66v-71r missing in DK	Figured bass (PENCIL)	Figured bass (PENCIL)	Figured bass (PENCIL)	Figured bass (PENCIL)	Melody (exercise)	Figured bass (PENCIL)	Figured bass (PENCIL)	Figured bass (PENCIL)	Back flyleaf' r	Back flyleaf' v	Inside back cover	Back cover		
Staff 1-8 1-8 1-8 1-8 1-8 2-12 2-12 3-3 3-4 4-4 4-7-8 8-9 9-11	Pag. (JS																														
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		1-8	5-12		1-8	5-12								1-4	5-8			1	2	3	4	2-7	7-8	8-9	9-11						
Folio 556v 556v 556v 577v 577v 577v 577v 597v 60r 60r 60v 60r 61r 61r 62v-64r 62v-64r 72v 72v 72v 72v 72v 72v 72v 72v 72v 72v	Folio	56v	56v	57r	57v	57v	58r	58v	59r	29v	60r	000	61r	61v-62v	62v-64r	64v-65r	65v-72r	72v	72v	72v	72v	72v	72v	72v	72v						
Source 02 02 02 02 02 02 02 02 02 0	Source	2(12	2(2(12	72	72	12	12	12	2(2(2(2(72	12	12	2(2(2(2(2(2(12	12	12	21	12		
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Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work	S Work	Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ase Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
1	03				Front Cover					Brown/motley notebook, hardcover, blue/grey back	
2	03				Inside cover						
2	03				Flyleaf recto					"Leipzig d. 6/7 65 Jsvendsen"	
3	03				Flyleaf verso						
3	03	1r	1		Romeo and Juliet?		1876 1	Е	2/2?	4th notes, melody	
3	03	1r	3-6		Romeo and Juliet?		1876 1	E?	2/2?	4th notes ,melody, ascending sequence	
3	03	1r	7-8				1876 2	F#m	3/4	16th notes imitation	
3	03	1r	6		Romeo and Juliet?		1876 2	U	4/4	8th notes parallel thirds + harmony G/e	# C.O.
3	03	1r	11-12		Romeo and Juliet?		1876 1	E?	2/2?	4th notes, melody, descending seq.	
4-5	03	1v-2v		2-4	Fugue 3 parts "No.1"		1865	U	4/4	Prepared for E.F.Richter. Ref.: 01:31v:10-33r:6	
9-9	03	3r-4r		2-7	Fugue 3 parts "No.2"		1865	U	4/4	Prepared for E.F.Richter. Ref.: 01:33r:7-34v:3	
7	03	4^			Two Icelandic Melodies, no.1	B 16 bars	1874 3	U	2/4		
7	03	5r	1-3		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.1	B +17 4 bars	1874 3	U	2/4	1,	
7	03	5r	7-8		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.1	B +17 7 bars	1874 3	U	2/4	2'	
7	03	5r	9-11		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.1	B +17 6 bars	1874 3	U	2/4	3'	
8	03	5v			Icelandic M. 'The Glacier'		3?	C lydian	an 4/4		
8	03	6r			Icelandic M. 'The Glacier'		3	C lydi	C lydian 4/4		
6	03	6v			Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2	B 13 bars	1874 3	Am	8/9		
6	03	7r			Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2		1874 2	Am	8/9	16th notes obligato	
10	03	7^			Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2		1874 2	Am	8/9		
10	03	8r			Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2		1874 2	Am	8/9		
11	03	8v-9r	1-3		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2		1874 2	Am	8/9	16th notes obligato. Cont. From 7r	
11	03										
11-12	03	9r-9v	3-12		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2	A 13 bars	1874 3	Am	8/9		
12	03	10r			Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2	C 9 bars	1874 3	Am	8/9	3,	
13	03	10v	1-4		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2		1874 3	Am	8/9		C.O.
13	03	10v	5-8		Romeo and Juliet		1876 1-2	2 E	2/2?	Melody and bass	
13	03	10v	11				1			8th note fragment	
13	03	11r	1-5		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2		1874 3	Am	8/9		C.O.
13	03	11r	6-10		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2	C continue (from 23)	1874 3	Am	8/9		
14	03	11v	1-2		Romeo and Juliet		1876 2	ш	2/2	Melody, harmony and bass in E2/2	

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work	Work	Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	e Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
14	03	11v	3-10		Romeo and Juliet		1876 2	Е	2/2?		
14	03	12r			Two Icelandic Melodies, no.1	A 23 bars ca as in score	1874 3	C	2/4		
15	03	12v	1-3		Two Icelandic Melodies, no.2		1874 2	Am	8/9		
15	03	12v	4-5				2			Two-part texture	
15	03	12v	7-12				2	С	2/4	1-2 parts in parallel motion + bass	# C.O. Blue cray.
15	03	13r	1-2				2	C;	2/4	4 part chromatic ascending	# C.O. Blue cray.
15	03	13r	5				1-2			8th notes	
15	03	13r	7-8				2	В	2/4	1-2 parts in parallel motion + bass	# C.O. Blue cray.
15	03	13r	9-12					g/c	2/4	1-2 parts in parallel motion + bass	
16	03	13v	1-3				2			Fragment 2/4 A minor cont.?	C.O. Blue crayon
16	03	13v	4-5				2	U	2/4		
16	03	13v	2-9				2	C	2/4	1 bar accompaniment	
16	03	13v	8-11		Romeo and Juliet		1876 2	C#m	2/2?	Hymn/Chorale texture	# Diag. C.O. Blue cray.
16	03	14r	1-4				2	U	2/2?	Imitation + Accompaniment	# Diag. C.O. Blue cray.
16	03	14r	8-9		Romeo and Juliet		1876 2	Ш	2/2		
16	03	14r	9-12		Romeo and Juliet		1876 2	B/E	4/4?	Imitation + harmony	# Diag. C.O. Blue cray.
17	03	14v			Romeo and Juliet		1876 2	ш	2/2?		
17	03	15r	1-3		Romeo and Juliet		1876 2	ш	2/2?		
17	03	15r	4-7		Romeo and Juliet		1876 2	Ш	2/2		
17	03	15r	8		Romeo and Juliet?		1876 2			Eight notes. Sequence	
17	03	15r	9-12				2	F#m	3/4	Celli?	# Diag. C.O. Blue cray.
18	03	15v-16r	1-6		Romeo and Juliet	Early vs. Of B or 2nd theme exp.	1876 2-3	ш	2/2		C.O.
18	03	16r	7-12		Romeo and Juliet	Early vs. Of B or 2nd theme recap	1876 2-3	ш	2/2		2. C.O.
19	03	16v	1-4		Romeo and Juliet	A + 9	1876 2-3	ш	2/2		
19	03	16v	4-12		Romeo and Juliet	A (preliminary vs.)	1876 2-3	ш	2/2		
19	03	17r			Romeo and Juliet	Early vs. Of B or 2nd theme recap	1876 2-3	Е	2/2		3.
20	03	17v-18r			Romeo and Juliet		1876 2-3	ш	2/2	combines 11 and 12	
21	03	18v	1-8		Two Religious Songs, no.1	"Et opløftende minde"	Э	ш		Mixed choir	C.O.
21	03	18v	9-12		Two Religious Songs, no. 2	"Konge vor broder og ven"	ж	ш		cont. 18v:9-12	C.O.
21	03	19r			Two Religious Songs, no. 2	"Nu Israels Genløser"	е	ш		Mixed choir	C.O.

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year con Phase Kev	se Kev	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks, Cross outs
		19v	1-3				2		2/2?	1/4	
22	03	19v	4-5				1	Ab	3/4	Melody 'Allegretto'	c.o.
22	03	20r			EMPTY						
23-28	03	20v-25v			March of the Red-Nosed Knights	S	1874 3	C	2/4		Diagonal C.O.
28	03	25v	5			4 bars	1			4/4 melody F minonr?	
28	03	25v	7-11				2			2/2 imitation sequence A minor	
28	03	26r	5-10			17 bars	2	Am	4/4	Melody with imitation	
28	03	26r	1-3			7 bars	1/2		4/4	Melody	
29	03	26v-27r				21 bars	2	U	2/2?	Draft	# C.O. Blue cray.
29	03	27r	7-12			4 bars	2-3	U	2/2?		
30	03	27v	1-8		Welhaven: 'Stærke vi stande'	ca 9 bars	2	C#m	4/4	Male choir	
30	03	28r	1-6		Welhaven: 'Stærke vi stande'	8 bars	2	C#m	4/4	Male choir	
30	03	28r				4 bars	1	Ш	8/9		
31	03	28v			Welhaven: 'Stærke vi stande'	ca 16 bars		C#m	4/4	Male choir	
31	03	29r			Welhaven: 'Stærke vi stande'	ca 7 bars	2	C#m	4/4	Male choir	
32	03	29v	1-2			4 bars	1	C	4/4		
32	03	29v	3-6			9 bars	1	Ċ	4/4		
32	03	29v	9-10			3 bars	2	U	4/4	Imitation	
32	03	29v	7-8			2 bars	2		4/4	Modulating progression 4/4	# C.O. Blue cray.
32	03	30r	1-4			10 bars	1	Ö	4/4		
32	03	30r	2-6			4 bars	2	Ö	4/4		
32	03	30r	7-10			4 bars	2		4/4	Cont. 29v:7-8	# C.O. Blue cray.
33	03	30v	1-6			3 bars	2	Fm	4/4	Motive + bass	C.O. Blue crayon
33	03	30v	7-12			8 bars	2	Am	4/4	Harmonic prog intro. mel. imitat. ostinato	# C.O. Blue cray.
33	03	31r	1-2			8 bars	2	Bm	3/4	2 part counterpoint 3/4 B minor	# C.O. Blue cray.
33	03	31r	11-12			9 bars	2	Bm	3/4	Melody with harmony 3/4 B minor	# C.O. Blue cray.
34	03	31v	1-4			2 bars	2	C#m	4(4	Imitation with accompaniment	
34	03	31v	2-9			2 bars	2	⋖	4/4	Melody with chromatic descending acc.	1 # C.O. Blue cray.
34	03	31v	9-10			2 bars	2	⋖	4/4	Melody with chromatic descending acc.	2 # C.O. Blue cray.
34	03	31v	11-12			2 bars	2	∢	4/4	Melody with chromatic descending acc.	3 # C.O. Blue cray.
34	03	32r	1-3			4 bars	2	Dm/Gm 2/4	2/4	2/4 Melody wity harmony	# C.O. Blue cray.

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (3S Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ise Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
34	03	32r	5		Symphony 2, 3rd/4th mvt.	4 bars	1	Bb	2/4	Comb. G.I. 3rd and 4th mvt.	# C.O. Blue cray.
34	03	32r	7-9			4 bars	2	Bb?	2/4		# C.O. Blue cray.
35	03	32v	1-4			4 bars	1	U	8/9		
35	03	32v	2-7			5 bars	2	C	6/8 2/	6/8 2/4 Imitation	
35	03	32v	8-9			4 bars	1		2/4	Sequence ascending	
35	03	33r	1-6			8 bars	1-2	g/c	8/9		
35	03	33r	7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	11	C/G	2/2		
36	03	33v	1-4			8 bars	1		2/4	Sequence ascending	
36	03	33v	5-12			8 bars	11	Am	8/9		
36	03	34r	1-9		Symphony 2, 3rd/4th mvt.	19 bars	1	Bb	2/4		C.O. Blue crayon
37	03	34v	1-6		Symphony 2, 3rd/4th mvt.	15 bars	11	Bb	2/4		
37	03	34v	7-12			14 bars	2	Fm	3/4	Imitation and misurato	
37	03	35r								one note. C#	
38	03	35v	1-2		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 Bars - A-b motive	1876 1-2	L	2/4	16th notes	
38	03	35v	3-6		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	7 Bars - A-b motive	1876 2	L	2/4	16th notes	
38	03	35v	7-8		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	b. 43-46: B motive	1876 2	Am	2/4		C.O.
38	03	35v	9-12		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	b. 67-78: 8 bars - A-b motive	1876 2	G/C/m	G/C/mod 2/4	Modulating sequence	C.O.
38	03	36r			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	12 bars - A-b motive (opening)	1876 2	L	2/4	Intro?	C.O.
39	03	36v	1-7		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	12 bars - A-b motive	1876 2	L	2/4		
39	03	36v	8-10		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	16 bars - A motive??	1876 1	ш	3/4	Presto - version of A motive?	
39	03	37r	1-10		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	20 bars - A/B-motive?	1876 1-2	F/Fm	3/4	Presto - version of A motive?	C.O. Blue crayon
39	03	37r	11		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	2 bars	1876 1-2	ß	2/4	Imitation texture	
40	03	37v			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	b. 5-20: 18 bars	1876 1-2	ш	2/4	Main theme, melody line, 3 stave draft.	C.O.
40-41	03	38r-39r			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	Early vs. of -> D (A-B-motive)	1876 2-3	ш	2/4	Letter B and C	C.O.
45	03	39v-40r			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	b. 143-162 A-motive	1876 2-3	ш	2/4		C.O.
43	03	40v-41r			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	b. 211-226 + not in score	1876 2-3	Ш	2/4		C.O.
44-46	03	41v-42v			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	b. 167-211	1876 3	ш	2/4		C.O.
46	03	43r			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	Ab-motive ++	1876 2-3	ш	2/4		C.O.
47	03	43v			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	A+B motive	1876 2-3	Ш	2/4	A+B n counterpoint	C.O.
47	03	44r	1-3		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	A motive	1876 2	ш	2/4	F7-chord as previous page	C.O.
47-48 03		44r-45v	7-12-8		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	C motive trans to A	1876 2-3	ш	2/4		C.O.

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
48	03	45v	9-11		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876	2 C#m	2/2 4/	2/2 4/42 part imitation + harmony	C.O.
48	03	46r	1-3		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	2 bars	1-2			2 part	
48	03	46r	4-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Melody. 2 staves	
48	03	46r	7-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	11 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody + harmony.	C.O.
49	03	46v	1-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	12 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part imitation + harmony	C.O. Blue crayon
49	03	46v	8-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	13 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part imitation + harmony	
49	03	47r	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.						
49	03	47r	3-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2		
50	03	47v	1-9		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	9 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part imitation and sequence	
50	03	47v	10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	Melody	
50	03	48r	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	13 bars?	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	2 part imitation and sequence	
50	03	48r	2-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
50	03	48r	9-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	1'	
50	03	48r	11-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2'	
51	03	48v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Melodic line. sequence.	
51	03	48v	3-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part imitation + harmony	
51	03	48v	7-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	9 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody plus harmony (modulation)	
51	03	49r	1-3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876 1	Gm/Dm 2/2	2/2	Melody based on 4ths	
51	03	49r	4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Sths Melody	
51	03	49r	6-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	13 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 parts	
52	03	49v	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	12 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 parts	
52	03	49v	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 parts	
52	03	49v	9-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Sths Melody	C.O.
52	03	50r	1-4			8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
52	03	50r	5-11		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	12 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		C.O.
53	03	50v	1-3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Quote: 1st mvt. main theme - in 2/2	C.O.
53	03	50v-51r	4-12,3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	20 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Related to several motives in 3rd mov.	
53	03	51r	4-9		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	18 bars	1876 2	Bb/Bbm 2/2	1 2/2	1'	
53	03	51r	10-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb/Bbm 2/2	1 2/2	2' 'egallisere'	
54	03	51v			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	10 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Theme	
54	03	52r	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	1.	

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
54	03	52r	3-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2'	
54	03	52r	2-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	3,	
54	03	52r	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	4'	
54	03	52r	9-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	5.	
55	03	52v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	2bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2		
55	03	52v	4-5		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Descending sequence	
55	03	53r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	23 bars	1876 2	Fm	2/2	0	C.O.
99	03	53v	1-3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 1		2/2		
26	03	53v	4-5		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation 2 part	
26	03	53v	2-9		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.?	4 bars	1876 2	Dm	2/4	#	# C.O.
26	03	53v	8-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2		
26	03	54r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	
26	03	54r	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.				2/2?		
57	03	54v	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 1	Dm/Bb	2/2		
57	03	54v	6-9		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Ascending scale pattern	
57	03	55r	1-3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation with harmony	
57	03	55r	4-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	10 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part conuterpoint imitation	
28	03	55v	1-2			4 bars	1		3/4	Dotted rhythm, arpeggiated dim chords - modulation	
28	03	55v	4-9		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	16 bars	1876 2	Bbm	2/2	2 part conuterpoint imitation	
28	03	56r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	13 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part conuterpoint imitation	
28	03	56r	7-9			8 bars	1	F#m	3/4	Melody	
29	03	56v	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1	Bbm	2/2	Melodic sequence	
29	03	56v	3-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	16 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part conuterpoint imitation	
29	03	57r	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 1-2	Dm	2/2	Melody an harmony	
29	03	57r	3-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	19 bars	1876 2	-	2/2	2 part conuterpoint imitation	
09	03	57v			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	14 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part conuterpoint imitation	
09	03	58r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	10 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part conuterpoint imitation	
09	03	58r	7-9			2 bars	2	C#m	4/4	Melodic and harmony	
09	03	58r	10-12			3 bars	2	C#m	4/4	Melody, harmony, imitation	
61	03	58v			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	15 bars	1876 2	Bb/Mod 2/2	1 2/2	Melodic and harmony	
61	03	59r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	15 bars	1876 2	Bb/Mod 2/2	1 2/2	Melodic and harmony then imitation 8th notes	C.O.

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	e Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
62	03	59v	1-4		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.?	6 bars	1876 1	Dm	2/4	"Andantino"	C.O.Blue crayon
62		59v	5-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	9 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	Introductory?	
62	03	60r	1-5		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	13 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2		
62	03	60r	6-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	14 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2		
63	03	09	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	15 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
63	03	^09	5-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	14 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
63	03	61r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	11 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody	
63	03	61r	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	7 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Sequence	
64	03	61v	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	7 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody, theme. rel. to Grieg-motive	
64	03	61v	5-10			8 bars	1876 2	Bb/Mod 2/2	2/2	2 part counterpoint	C.O.Blue crayon
64	03	62r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb/Mod 2/2	2/2		1 C.O. Blue crayon
64	03	62r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb/Mod 2/2	2/2		2 C.O. Blue Crayon
64	03	62r	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
65	03	62v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody	
65	03	62v	3-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	12 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
65	03	62v	9-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	7 bars	1876 2	Bb/Mod 2/2	2/2	2 part counterpoint, ascending sequence	
65	03	63r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	12 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part imitation + tremolo	
99	03	63v	1-6			6 bars			2/4	2 part imitation	
99	03	63v	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1	Dm/Bb	2/2		
99	03	63v	9-12			4 bars	1876 1-2	Dm/Bb	8/9		
99	03	64r	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	7 bars	2	Mod	2/2		
99	03	64r	3-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
99	03	64r	5-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
29	03	64v			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	18 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
29	03	65r			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Ł	2/4		
89	03	65v			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	ш	2/4		
89	03	66r				10 bars	2	Bb?	3/4	2 part imitation + bass	
69	03	99v	1-6		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4, 5 bars	1876 2	L	2/4		
69	03	99v	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Melody	
69	03	67r	1-2			2 bars	1-2		2/2 4/4	2/2 4/4Melodic sequence	
69	03	67r	3-8		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	6 bars	1876 1-2	ш	2/4	Melodic ascending sequence	

Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	hase		Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
	67v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 1-2	1-2 Bb	P	_	Melody and harmony	
	67v	3-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876	2 B	Bb/Mod 2/2		Imitation 2 part	
1	68r	1-3		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	C 2		2/4	Melodic question answer, harmony bass rhythm	C.O.Blue crayon
	68r	2-6		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 bars		1-2	2	2/4	Dotted rhythm, 10ths (cadential)	C.O.Blue crayon
	68r	7-8			3 bars		1-2 A	Am 3	3/4	"Andante" Piano score	C.O.Blue crayon
	68v	1-6		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.?	8 bars	.,	2 D	Dm 2	2/4		C.O.Blue crayon
	68v	7-12		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	6 bars		2	4	4/4	Contrapuntal imitation 1 stave, + 2 staves	C.O.Blue crayon
	69r	1-4			6 bars		1 C?		6/8	Melody	
	69r	2-2		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 bars	1876	2 C	Cm/F	2/4	Motive in bass + pedal point and harmony Db-C	
	69r	9-11		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.		.,	2	4	4/4	Contrapuntal imitation 1 stave, + 2 staves	
	v69	1-3		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 bars	1876 2		2	2/4	Synchopated, complex texture.	
	v69	4-6		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 bars	1876 2		Am 2	2/4	2 part imitation	
	v69	7-12		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	10bars	1876	2 C		2/4	Cont. From 70:r:7-12	
	70r	1-3		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	2 bars	1876 1		(4)	2/4		
	70r-69v	4-12		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	22 bars	1876 2		F/Mod 2	2/4	Augmented rhythm. Cont. 69v:7-12	
	70v	1-3		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	2 bars	1876 1-2	1-2 G		2/4	Presents theme and acc.	
	70^	4-6		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	0		2/4	With scale accomp. from 2nd mov.	
	70v	8-11			8 bars		2 F,	/Mod/D	1/2 4/4	F/Mod/D 2/2 4/4 Homophonic chord prog.	#
	71r			Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	14 bars		1-2 E	Em/G 6	8/9		
	71v			Male choir	8 bars			4	4/4	"Stærke vi stande" Welhaven? 35 or not??	
	72r	1-6		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	7 bars		2 E	Em/G	2/4	Imitation and harmony	
	72r	7-10		Symphony 2, 3rd mvt.	B.270-278 9 bars		2 F		2/4	Final bars in 3rd movement op 15	
	72v						2 G	m/Am3	1/2 4/4	Gm/Am 2/2 4/42 part imitation	
				Inside cover							
				Back cover							
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Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	e Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
1	04				Front cover						
2	04				Inside cover					Lists of orchestral dispositions/forces/crew	
2	04	1r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	14 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	
2	04	1r	7-9			2 bars	2	D	4/4	S+B in parallel motion + harmony	
3	04	1v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Predecessor vs. of main theme?	
3	04	1v-2r	3-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	24 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Main theme early vs. with mod. to Dm	Partly C.O.
3-4	04	2r-2v	3-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	28 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	Main theme early vs. with mod. to Dm	Partly C.O.
4	90	2v	3-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	13 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	Main theme early vs. with mod. to Dm	Diagonal C.O.
4-5	04	3r-3v	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	36 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Main theme early vs. + Harmony	
2	90	3v-4r	5-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	47 bars. EXPOSITION VS.1 START	1876 2-3	Bb	2/2	Main theme eraly vs. + harmony -> 58	58 C.O.
9	04	4v	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	12 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Main theme, second subject. Octaves	C.O.
9	04	4^	2-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Main theme, second subject. Octaves	C.O.
9	04	4v	9-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Main theme, second subject. Octaves	C.O.
9	904	5r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	18 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Main theme, second subject. Octaves	C.O.
2-9	04	5r-5v	7-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	24 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Main theme, second subject. Octaves	Partly C.O.
7	90	5v	3-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	32 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		Last bars C.O.
7	90	6r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	28 bars	1876 2	Bb/Fm	2/2	Transition to secondary subject	
8-9	04	6v-8r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	89 bars	1876 2	Bb/Fm	2/2	2nd subject to end of exposition	Partly C.O.
10-19	904	8v-18r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	From B+17 to O+10	1876 3	Bb	2/2	Continuity draft of most of the mymnt.	
20-23	904	18v-21v			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	From M+17 to ca O/P	1876 3	Bb	2/2	Continuity draft	End C.O
23-24 04	904	22r-23r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	Ca 0-P	1876 3	Bb	2/2	Continuity draft, not as in score	
25	04	23v-24r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	Ca 0-P	1876 3	Bb	2/2	Continuity draft, not as in score. Diminuision	
26-27	04	24v-25v			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	Ca R to End	1876 3	Bb	2/2	Continuity draft, not as in score	
27	90	26r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	S (8 bars)	1876 2-3	Bb	2/2	draft of scale passage	
28	04	26v-27r			Romeo and Juliet	Allegro 28 bars	1876 2-3	Е	2/2	Passage also in Zorahayda 1874 in G	End C.O
29	04	27v-28r			Romeo and Juliet	Not in score. 55 bars	1876 2-3	Е	2/2	Alternative vs. of main theme?	Partly C.O.
30	04	28v			Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	15 bars	1879 1	О	3/4	Melody. Not as in score	
30	04	29r			Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	9 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	
31	04	29v			Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	6 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	
31	04	30r	1-6		Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	4 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	
31	04	30r	7-12		Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	4 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	e Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
32	04	30v			Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	8 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	Partly C.O.
32	04	31r	1-3		Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	2 bars	1879 2	C	4/4	Accompaniment	
32	04	31r	4-9		Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	4 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	
33	04	31v			Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	9 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	
33-34	04	32r-32v			Zuleikha (5 Mélodies)	18 bars	1879 2	C	4/4	Melody	Partly C.O.
34	04	33r			ЕМРТУ						
35	04	33v			Sang "Wenn der Frühlung"	21 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Text-Rhythm	
35	04	34r	1-3		Sang "Wenn der Frühlung"	9 bars	1879 2	U	4/4	Melody	
35	04	34r	10-12		Sang "Wenn der Frühlung"	1 bar	1879 2	U	4/4	Accompaniment	
36	04	34v			Sang "Wenn der Frühlung"	6 bars	1879 2	E?	4/4	Melody	
36	04	35r	10-12		Sang "der erste blüm"	2 bars	2	Е	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	
37	04	35v			Sang "Wenn der Frühlung"	9 bars	2	Ш	4/4	Melody	
37	04	36r			Sang "Wenn der Frühlung"	4 bars	2	Ш	4/4	Melody + accomp. Not as in score	
38	04	36v	1-4		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1	E (+- 4 bars = 8 bars)	1876 2-3	۵	2/4	Detailed draft very close to score!	
38	04	36v	5		Melody 4+3 bars		1	F#m	2/2		# in blue crayon
38	04	36v	6-12		Polonaise op 28	D Brass voicing	2	Ŋ	3/4	"Corni III&IV"	
38	04	37r	1-3		Prélude	B-motive. 2 bars	1898 1	Am	4/4		
38	04	37r	4-10		Prélude?	9 bars	1-2	E/B?	4/4	Motive in sequence and imitation	
39	04	37v-38r	1-3		Prélude	C+9 (15 bars) ca	1898 2-3	Е	4/4	Main theme. Treble texture - then bass	
39	04	38r	4-12		Prélude 8	8 bars	1898 2	В	4/4		
40	04	38v	1-9		Prélude?	12 bars	1898 2	Ш	4/4		
40	04	38v	10-12		Prélude	4 bars	1898 2	Ш	4/4	Continue from image 79! Page before	
40	04	39r			Prélude	14 bars?	1898 2	Ш	4/4		Partly C.O.
41	04	39v			Prélude	4 bars	1898 2	Ш	4/4	Descending scale in bass	
41	04	40r			Prélude	4 bars	1898 2	Ш	4/4	Descending scale in bass	
42	04	40v			Prélude /	A in score 4 bars	1898 2	В	4/4		
42	04	41r			Prélude	4 bars	1898 2	В	4/4	Chord progression	Partly C.O.
43	04	41v	1-3		-	4 bars	1	C	2/2?	Allegro motive? Octave leap and descending sequence	
43	04	41v	4-6			4 bars	2	Ċ	2/2?	Allegro motive? Melody, harmony chromatic descending bass	j bass
43	04	41v	7-12			6 bars	1-2	Am?	4/4 2/3	4/4 2/2 Melody in vln+vcl oct.? Harmony in vla.	C.O.
43	04	42r				12 bars	2	ప	4/4 2/3	4/4 2/1 Imitation treble, bass. + harmony	

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44	04	42v-43r	1-3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.?	25 bars	1876 1	Bbm	2/2?	Early vs. of Secondary theme?	C.O.
44	04	43r	5-8			8 bars	2	Db	2/2?	Descending scale and harmony	
45	04	43v	1-5			4 bars	2	Ċ	2/2?	Imitation and harmony	
45	04	43v	6-11			4 bars	1-2	Dp	3/4	Accompaniment (Introduction) 2 or 3 staves?	
45	04	44r	1-4			4 bars	2	ш	2/2?	Contrapuntal design	
45	04	44r	2-9			1 bar	1	Db/A	4/4 2/	4/4 2/3 Two chords Db/F -> A	
45	04	44r	9-12			2 bars	2	Mod	4/4 2/	4/4 2/ Ends with roughly chord progr. from 712	
46	04	44v	1-6			8 bars	1	C;	4/4 2/	4/4 2/3 Melody	
46	04	44v	2-9			4 bars	1-2	C;	4/4 2/	4/4 2/3Melody and bass (sequence)	
46-47	04	45r-46r			EMPTY						
48	04	46v				2 bars	2	Mod	4/4	Descending sequence.	# blue. C.O.
48	04	47r				4 bars	1	Bbm	4/4 2/	4/4 2/2 Melody	
49	04	47v			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	ca A-8 to A in s (15 b)	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody and descending chrom. harmony	
49	04	48r	1-3		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	2 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody + acc.	
49	04	48r	4-6		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	5 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody and descending chrom. harmony	
20	04	48v	1-3			4 bars	2	Bbm	4/4 2/	4/4 2/3 Compact texture (tutti?) Melody + acc.	#
20	04	48v	2-7			8 bars	1-2	E?	8/9	3 parts.	
20	04	49r				39 bars?	2	В	3/4	Harmonic basis/sceme Binary form	# C.O.
51	04	49v				8 bars	1-2	E/B	4/4 2/	4/4 2/1 Melody, harmony, chromatic asc. bass	C.O.
51	04	50r	1-6			8 bars	2	Em	4/4 2/	4/4 2/2 Chromatic lines, chord prog	C.O.
51	04	50r	7-10			8 bars	2	Em	4/4 2/	4/4 2/2 Chromatic lines, chord prog	# C.O.
52	04	50v	1-4			4 bars	1-2	C#m	4/4	"Violin Viola 8-basso"	
52	04	50v	2-8			4 bars	1	C#m	4/4	Melody	
52	04	51r	1-3			8 bars	11	C#	4/4 2/	4/4 2/3Obligato??	
52	04	51r	9-9			6 bars	1	C#m	4/4 2/	4/4 2/3 Obligato??	
52	04	51r	7-8			2 bars	1	F#m?	3/4	Short motive parallel 3rds	
52	04	51r	9-10			1 bar	1-2	F#m?	3/4	Short motive. imtitation parallel 3rds	
53	04	51v-52r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	H-4-> K+6. 61 bars	1876 2-3	Bb	2/2		C.O: large X
54-55	04	52v-54r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	Beginning to B+16	1876 3	Bb	4/4 2/	4/4 2/2 Cont. draft of introduction to Finale (56, 318)	C.O: large X
26	04	54v	1-3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	C.O.
26	04	54v	4-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	lase Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
26 (04	55r				8 bars	1	Bbm		4/4 2/1 Melody	
22 (04	55v			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876 1-2	2 Bb/Gm	m 2/2	Bass	
22 (04	56r	1-3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb/C	2/2	Epilogue theme.	.0.
22	04	56r	4-6			1 bar	1-2	2 Eb	4/4	String rep. accomp.	
28	04	26v	1-3		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876 1	Bb?	2/2	Epilogue theme. Number??	
28	04	56v	4-7			4 bars	1	C#m	4/4	Melody ascending	
58	04	57r			Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	ca G+9. 11 bars	1876 2-3	3 C#m	2/2	see f24-25	
29	04	57v	1-4		Andante Funebre	8 bars	1894 2	Db	4/4 2,	4/4 2/3 Melody and figured bass	
29 (04	57v	9-9		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	2 bars	1876 1-2	2 C#m	2/2	Melody	
29	04	57v	7-8			12 bars	2	C#m	C#m/E 2/4	Chord progression	
29	04	57v	9-10			3 bars	2	C#m	C#m/E 2/4	Chord progression	
29	04	58r	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars G-8 in score	1876 1	Am	2/2	Melody	
29	04	58r	3-5		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	F#m	F#m/C# 2/2	Melody and Harmony C.O.	.0.
09	04	58v	1-4			9 bars	2	Mod	2/2	Melody and harmony	
09	04	58v	2-6		Volkslied'	4 bars	1	C#m	4/4	Melody 4th notes # C	# C.O.
09	04	58v	7-9			2 bars	1	F#m		4/4 2/1 Melody Dotted 16ths / 8ths	
09	04	59r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 1-2	2 Bb?	2/2	Ascending sequence. Melody	
09	04	59r	7			1	П	F#m	4/4	Melody	
61 (04	59v	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody + harmony	
61	04	59v	5-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody	
61	04	59v	8-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5-6 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody	
61	04	60r				23 bars	2	F/C	4/4 2,	4/4 2/1 Melody with harmony	
62 (04	90v	3-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Early vs. of Main theme.Melody	
62 (04	90v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Early vs. of Main theme. Imitation	
62 (04	90v	2-6			3 bars	2	Fm	3/4	Imitation 2 part	
62 (04	,09	8-12			12 bars	2	U	4/4 2,	4/4 2/2 Descending Melody with harmony	
62	04	61r	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation 2 part	
62 (04	61r	3-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	9 bars	1876 1-2	2 Fm/Bb	3b 2/2	Secondary theme (early) with harmony C.O.	.0.
63 (04	61v	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	10 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Early vs. of main theme?? Imitation	
63	04	61v	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	2 bars	1876 1-2	2 Bb	2/2		
63	04	62r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	7 bars	1876 2	Bb/M	Bb/Mod 2/2	Sequence	

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre	Metre Comment Marks	Marks. Cross outs
		62r			phony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars (ca G)	1876 2	Mod	2/2		
64	04	62v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	Melodic	
64	04	62v	3-11		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	10 bars (ca G)	1876 2	Mod	2/2	Texture	
64	04	63r	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Melodic	
64	04	63r	5-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	15 bars (3 vs.)	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	
65	04	63v	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melody and harmony	
65	04	63v	7-9		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
65	04	64r	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2		
65	04	64r	3-9		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	13 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	2 part counterpoint sequence	
99	04	64v	1-6			7 bars	-11	Dm	3/4	Dotted note melody octaves VIn VIa?	
99	04	64v	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2		
99	04	65r	1-6			8 bars	11	Dm	2/2		
67	04	65v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2		
29	04	65v	3-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2		
29	04	65v	5-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2		
67	04	66r	1-6			8 bars	2	C2	2/2	Texture and motive. Pedal in treble on Bb	
67	04	66r	7-9			4 bars	1-2	В	4/4 2/	4/4 2/1 Melodic ascending sequence	
89	04	, 99	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	2 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	
89	04	, 99	3-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	tation
89	04	99v	2-6			3 bars	2	C5	4/4	Imitation	
89	04	99v	7-12			8 bars	2	Ċ	3/4	Springar? Imitation	
89	04	67r	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Melodic + harmony	
89	04	67r	7-8			4 bars	11	C/F/Dm 3/4	3/4	Springar? Imitation	
69	04	67v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Tutti chords + motive bass	
69	04	67v	3			1 bar	Ħ			4 8th notes	
69	04	67v	4-5			5 bars	2		2/2	Imitation, sequence.	
69	04	67v	2-9			6 bars	2	D/Dm?	2/2	"2"	
69	04	67v	8-9			6 bars	2	Bb	2/2	Imitation and harmony	
69	04	68r	1-2			5 bars	2	۵	4/4 2/	4/4 2/7 Check with 295 Zuleikha. Weak similarity	
69	04	68r	3-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 1	Bb/Gm 4/4	4/4	Early vs. of epilogue theme	
69	04	68r	2-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	6 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation and harmony	

Scan S	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	Ise Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
Ò	04	68v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 1	Bb?	2/2	Bass melody	
Ò		68v	3-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	2 bars	1876 1-2	Bb?	2/2		
70 0	04	68v	2-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb?	2/2	Imitation	
70 0		68v	7-9			7 bars	1876 2	Db	2/2	# C.	C.O.
70 0	04	69r	1-4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	
70 0	04	69r	2-8			8 bars	2	C/Bb?	2/2		
71 0	04	v69	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	10 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
71 0	04	^69v	7-8		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
71 0	04	^69v	9-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	4 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2		
71 0	04	70r	1-2			10 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	
71 0	04	70r	4-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	5-6 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation	
71 0	04	70r	7-9		Romeo and Juliet?	2 bars	2	Е	4/4		
72 0	04	70^	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	"Ikke hurtig" Imitation harmony # C.	C.O.
72 0	04	70^	7-8			5 bars	2	C	2/2	"1" Sequence long	
72 0	04	70v	9-10			5 bars	2	C;	2/2	"2" Sequence long	
72 0	04	71r	1-6			12 bars	2	Bb?	2/2	# C.O.	
72 0	04	71r	7-8			4 bars	2	Bb?	2/2	Melodic and sustained harmony C7 # C.O.	.o.
72 0	04	71r	9-12			8 bars	2	Bb	2/2	Melodic modulating and harmony PARTIAL SKETCH	
73 0	04	71v	1-2		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Early vs. of theme imitation related to 320	
73 0	04	71v	4		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	Early vs. of theme related to 320	
73 0	04	71v	6-7		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	8 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Early vs. of theme imitation related to 320	
73 0,	04	71v	9-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	2 bars	1876 1-2	Bb	2/2	Chords /cadence /textrue / tutti	
73 0,	04	72r	1		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	3 bars	1876 1	Bb	2/2	Early vs. of theme imitation related to 320	
73 0	04	72r	7-10		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	7 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Early vs. of theme imitation related to 320	
74 0	04	72v	1-6		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.?	8 bars	1-2	Bbm	2/2	Alternative vs. of Second theme? # C.O.	.o.
74 0	04	72v	8-12		Symphony 2, 4th mvt.	16 bars	1876 2	Bb	2/2	Imitation parallel thirds	
74 0	04				Inside cover						
75 0	04				Back cover						

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	e Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
н	05				Front cover						
2	05				Inside front cover						
1-2	05	1r-1v	1-8		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1	Opening vs. 1 (50 b.)	1876 3	Bm	3/4	Continuity draf ot opening - vs. 1	
5-9	05	1v-8r	9-12		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1	Bar 1 -> K-8	1876 3	Bm	3/4	Continuity draft. Mostly as in score. Near complete	
10	05	8v-9r			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1	21 bars	1876 2-3	Bm	3/4	Drafts for coda?	
11-12	. 05	9v-10v			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 1	K-16 (stretto) to end	1876 3	Bm	3/4	Continuity draft of coda	
12	05	11r			Two Icelandic Melodies, no. 2	10 bars	1876 2	U	4/4	Melody, harmony and voicing	
13	05	11v-12r	1-4		Two Icelandic Melodies, no. 2	Ca Bar 1-10+ 15 b.	1876 2-3	U	4/4	Continuity draft	
13-14	. 05	12r-13r	5-12		Two Icelandic Melodies, no. 2	Bar 11-37 (3 b. missing)	1876 3	U	4/4	Continuity draft	
15	05	13v			Two Icelandic Melodies, no. 2	1 bar	1876 3	U	4/4	Melodic fragment	
15-16	. 05	14r-15r			Two Icelandic Melodies, no. 1	Bar 2-35	1876 3	O	4/4	Bar 1, 36-39 missing. B. 28-35 no harmony	
17	05	15v-16r			Sinklar's March	20 bars		Dm	2/4	which Grieg used in Op. 35,1	
18	05	16v			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	20 bars (not in score)	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody harmony, texture	
18	05	17r	1-2		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	4 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody	
18	05	17r	3-5		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	6 bars (Similarity w B)	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody harmony, texture	
18	05	17r	2-9		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	4 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody harmony, texture	
18	05	17r	8-9		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	4 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody harmony, texture	
18	05	17r	10-11		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	4 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody harmony, texture	
19	05	17v	1-6		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	8 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody harmony, texture	
19	05	17v	7-12		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	13 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody harmony, texture	
19	05	18r	1-3		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	4 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Imitation	
19	05	18r	4-6		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	3 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Imitation	
19	05	18r	7-9		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	1-2 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Thickened line	
19	05	18r	10-11		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	2 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Thickened line	
20	05	18v	1-3		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	3 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Texture imitation.	
20	05	18v	5-12		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	8 bars	1876 2	٨	2/4	Main theme. Detailed orchestration	Partly crossed out
20-23	. 05	19r-21v			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	B.1 - D	1876 3	Α	2/4	Continuity draft. Discrep. in orchestration	Partly crossed out
23	05	22r			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	E-8 - E (8 bars)	1876 2-3	Α	2/4		
24	05	22v			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	D - D+4 (4 bars)	1876 2-3	٨	2/4		
24	05	23r			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	D - D+4 (4 bars)	1876 2-3	٨	2/4		
24	05	23v-24r			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	D - D+8 (8 bars)	1876 3	٨	2/4	Continuity draft	

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work	Work	Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ase Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
25-35	05	24v-33v	1-3		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	E - End	1876 3	A	2/4	Continuity draft p. 51 "Tabernakel" :)	Partly crossed out
35	05	34r			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	15 bars	1876 1-2	2 D	2/4	Theme "Allegro moderato" Melody/obligato	
36	05	34v-35r			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 2	23 bars	1876 1-2	2 D	2/4	Theme "Allegro moderato" Melody	
37	05	35v			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 4	8 bars	1877 2	Dm	8/9	"Andante"	Crossed out
37	05	36r			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 4	8 bars	1877 1-2	2 Dm	8/9		Crossed out
38	05	36v			Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	12 bars	1876 1	Dm	8/9	Theme for Andante (Gm)	
38	05	37r	1-3		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	4 bars	1876 2	U	3/4	Melody, synch. harm. chrom desc. bass	
38	05	37r	4-12		Norwegian Rhapsody no. 3	A-8 - A (8 bars)	1876 2-3	υ ε	3/4	Melody, harm. chrom desc. bass	
39	05	37v			Polonaise op. 28	12 bars	1882 2	Ω	3/4	Theme + accomp.	
39	05	38r			Polonaise op. 28	7 bars	1882 2	۵	3/4	Theme + accomp.	
40	05	38v			Polonaise op. 28	2 bars	1882 2	٥	3/4	Melody	
40	05	39r			EMPTY						
41-45	05	39v-43v			Polonaise op. 28	Complete cont. draft	1882 3	Ω	3/4	Complete continuity draft	
45	05	44r			EMPTY						
46	05	44v-45r			Symphony no. 3?/Prelude?	21 bars	2-3	3	4/4	Opening chords, 4 part treble reg. melody	
47	05	45v	1-3		Symphony no. 3?/Prelude?	3 bars	1	ш	4/4		Crossed out
47	05	45v-46r	4-9		Symphony no. 3?/Prelude?	18 bars	2	ш	4(4		
47-48	05	46r-47r	9-4		Symphony no. 3?/Prelude?	12 bars	1-2	2 Am(E)	E) 4(4		
49	05	47v			Symphony no. 3?	5 bars	2	E/Em	n 4(4		
49	05	48r				2 bars	1-2	2 C	4/4	Melody and cadence II bII I	#
50	05	48v				2 bars	1-2	2 C	4(4	"# Se foregående side" String accompagnement	#
50	05	49r			EMPTY			\dashv	4		
51	05	49v	1-3		Symphony no. 3? 2nd mvt.	7 bars	1-2	2 Am	4/4		Crossed out
51	05	49v	4-9		Symphony no. 3? 2nd mvt.	8 bars	2	Am	4/4		Crossed out
51	05	49v	10-12		Symphony no. 3? 2nd mvt.	4 bars	2	Am	4/4	"2"	
51	05	50r	1-9		Symphony no. 3? 2nd mvt.	10 bars	2	Am	4/4	"1" Compare to 352	
51	05	50r	10-12		Symphony no. 3? 2nd mvt.	0 bars				"3"	
52-53	05	50v-51v			Symphony no. 3? 2nd mvt.	27 bars	2-3	3 Am	4(4	Continuity draft	Partly crossed out
53-54 05	05	52r-52v			Symphony no. 3? 2nd mvt.	15 bars	2-3	3 Am	4(4	Continuity draft	
54-60	05	53r-59r			EMPTY			\dashv			
61	05	59v-60r			Symphony no. 3? 3rd mvt.	26 bars	2-3	3 C/E	3/4	Invisible key sign. C mod. back to E	

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (3S Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Kev	ase Kev	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
62	05	90v			٨						
62	05	61r			Symphony no. 3?/Prelude?	8 bars	1-2	2 E	4/4 2/	4/4 2/2Melody and harmony	
63	05	61v				3 bars	1-2	2 C	4(4	"1" Chord progression, chromatic lines	
63-64	05	62r-63r			ЕМРТУ						
65	90	63v				3 bars	2	C#m/	C#m/A 4/4	Sequence / chord progression + mel	Crossed out
65	05	64r			ЕМРТУ						
99	05	64v			Norwegian Rhaps. 2	10 bars	1876 2	٨	2/4	Development of main theme	
99	05	65r			Norwegian Rhaps. 2	14 bars	1876 2	A	2/4	Development of main theme	
29	05	65v			Norwegian Rhaps. 2	6 bars	1876 2	۷	2/4	Development of main theme	
29	05	66r			Norwegian Rhaps. 2	8 bars	1876 2	Ш	3/4	Springar theme	
89	05	, eev			Norwegian Rhaps. 2	11 bars	1876 2	Ш	3/4	Springar theme. Contrapuntal	
89	05	67r	1-4		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	2 bars	1876 2	Ш	3/4	Springar theme. Contrapuntal	
89	05	67r	2-6		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	3 bars	1876 1	C#m	2/4	Folk dance melody and harmony?	
69	05	67v	1-4		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	5 bars	1876 2	U	4/4	Springar motive in 4/4. Melody some harmony	
69	05	67v	2-6		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	2 bars	1876 2	∢	2/4	Meoldy + harmony	
69	05	67v	7-8		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	2 bars	1876 2	∢	2/4	Meoldy + bass	
69	05	68r	1-4			4 bars	1	۵	4(4	"Andante" Melody	
69	05	68r	5-9		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	4 bars	1876 2	Ш	3/4	Parallel thirds	
70	05	,88v	1-2			2 bars	1	U	4(4	Parallel desc. thirds	
70	05	08v	3-4			2 bars	1	U	4(4	Chord prog. Cadence	
70	05	69r	1-2			4 bars	2		4(4	Complex texture	
70	05	69r	3-12		Folk dance	18 bars	2	۵	2/4	Melody + acc.	
71	05	v69	1-3		Folk dance	4 bars	1-2	2 Em	3/4	Imitation	
71	05	v69	4-6		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	1 bar	1876 1		3/4	Melodic fragment	
71	05	70r			Norwegian Rhaps. 1	16 bars	1876 2		2/4		
72	05	70v	1-6		Norwegian Rhaps. 1	16 bars	1876 1	Bbm	2/4	Melody. Not used in score	
72	05	70v	2		Norwegian Rhaps. 1	8 bars	1876 1	Bm	4(4	"1" Sim. to opening of NR.1	
72	05	71r	1-4		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	6 bars	1876 1-2		Dm/Gm 2/4	or new number. Sequence	
72	05	71r	5-7			4 bars	1-2	2 Mod.	4/4 2/	4/4 2/1 Chrom. asc. progression	
73	05	71v			Norwegian Rhaps. 1	8-10 bars	1876 2	ŋ	2/4	Mel. Obl.igat. bass harmony	
73	05	72r	1-4		Norwegian Rhaps. 2	12 bars	1876 2	E)	3/4	Two part (treble bass) sequence asc.	

s outs																			
Marks. Cross outs																			
Ma																			
				ythm															
			. bass	nented rh															
	rmony	rmony	Melody + chrom. desc. bass	Melody harmony augmented rhythm	rmony														
nment	Melody + harmony	Melody + harmony	ody + chi	ody harm	Melody + harmony														
Metre Comment																			
	2/4	2/4	2/4	2/4	2/4														
se Key	ŋ	Ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	Ŋ														
Year com Phase Key	1876 2	1876 2	1876 2	1876 2	1876 2														
Year	-		-	П	1														
Bar / Section	Z.	ca 10 bars	rs.	rs.	rs														
Bar/	4 bars	ca 1(8 bars	8 bars	8 bars														
	1	1	1	1	1														
	Rhaps.	Rhaps.	Rhaps.	Rhaps.	Rhaps.	k cover													
ork	Norwegian Rhaps. 1	Norwegian Rhaps. 1	Norwegian Rhaps. 1	Norwegian Rhaps. 1	Norwegian Rhaps. 1	Inside back cover	Back cover												
Pag. (JS Work	z	Z	z	z	Z	Ir	В												
_ <u>P</u>																			
Staff	6-7	8-11	1-4	2-7	8-11														
Folio	72r	72r	72v	72v	72v														
Source																			
Scan So	3 05		t 05	t 05	1 05	1 05													
S	73	73	74	74	74	74	75												

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
1	90				Front cover						
2	90				Inside front cover						
2	90	1r			Symphony movement 1	6 bars	2	Em	4(4	Main theme vs. 1	Partly crossed out
3	90	1v			Symphony movement 1	8 bars	2	Em	4(4	Main theme vs. 2	
3	90	2r			Symphony movement 1	8 bars	2	Em	4(4	Main theme vs. 3	
4	90	2v-3r			Symphony movement 1	13 bars	2	Em	4(4	Main theme vs. 4	
5-9	90	3v-8r			Symphony movement 1	Exposition + missing page	3	Em	4(4	Continuty draft. Main theme vs. 5 etc.	
10	90	8v-9r			Symphony movement 2	20 bars	3	Am	4(4	"Andante con moto"	
11-12	90	9v-10v			Symphony movement 2	25 bars	3	A	4/4	Secondary theme ??	
12	90	11r			ЕМРТУ						
13-18	90	11v-16v			Symphony movement 3		3	П	3/4	Continuity draft. Nearly complete mov.	
18	90	17r	1-4			2 bars	1-2	U	4/4	Chord progression Ab7-Bb-C	
18	90	17r	2-9		Symphony movement 3	3 bars		F#m	4/4	Secondary theme? Fragment	
19	90	17v	1-2			3 bars	1	U	4/4	Melody. Solemn	
19	90	17v-18r	9-8			16 bars	2	U	4/4	Melody + imitation	
19	90	18r				1 bars	1	Mod.	3/4	Descending sequence	
20	90	18v	1-3			2 bars	1	U	2/2	Bass melody	
20	90	18v	4-5		Symphony movement 3	3 bars	2	Am	4/4		
20	90	19r			Symphony movement 3	8 bars	1	Am	2/2		
21	90	19v-20r			"Kvivlemøyane II"		3	Α	2/4	Feleslått	
21	90	20r			Text					Chronology of fiddle players	
22	90	20v-21r			"Kvivlemøyane III"		З	A	2/4	Feleslâtt	
23	90	21v	1-3			4 bars	1	U	2/2	Melody	
23	90	21v-22r	4-3			12 bars	2	U	2/2	Imitation	
23	90	22r	4-5			7 bars	2	U	2/2	"1" Imitation	
23	90	22r	8-9			8 bars	2	U	2/2	"2" Imitation	Crossed out
23	90	22r	9-10			8 bars	2	U	2/2	Imitation	
24	90	22v				8 bars	2	U	2/2	Imitation	
24	90	23r				8 bars	2	U	2/2	Imitation	# Crossed out
25	90	23v				8 bars	2	U	2/2	Imitation	
25	90	24r	1-6			8 bars	2	U	2/2	Imitation	# Crossed out

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	hase Ke		Metre C	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
25	90	24r	7-8			4 bars	2	C	2/2		Imitation	
26	90	24v	1-3			5 bars	2	C	2/2		Something like op. 11 bar. 9->	
26	90	24v	4-5			4 bars	Ţ	1-2 C	3/4		"Presto" Chord progression Part writing	
26	90	24v	8-9			4 bars	2	C	2/2			
26	90	25r	1-2			1 bar	1	1-2 A	3/4	4		
26	90	25r	4-5			1 bar	Ţ	1-2 A	3/4	4		
26	90	25r	7-8			1 bar	1	1-2 A	3/4	4		
27	90	25v	1-3			3 bars	2	O	2/2	2		
27	90	25v	4-6			4 bars	2	O	2/2	2		Crossed out
27	90	25v	8-10			4 bars	2	C	2/2	.5		
27	90	26r	1-3			4 bars	2	O	2/2	.2 #		#
27	90	26r	4-6			4 bars	2	C	2/2	.5		Crossed out
27	90	26r	7-10			4 bars	2	U	2/2	.5		
28	90	26v	1-3			2 bars	1	Ш	4/	4/4 2/2		
28	90	26v	4-6			2 bars	1	Ш				
	90	26v	7-10			4 bars	2		C/Mod 4/	4 2/3 E	4/4 2/2 Development. Compare 376	Crossed out
28	90	27r				8 bars	2		C/Mod 4/	4 2/2 E	4/4 2/3 Development	
29	90	27v-28r			Poem by Lenau							
30	90	28v-29r			EMPTY							
31	90	29v				8 bars	2	U	2/2		Imitation	
31	90	30r				8 bars	2	U	2/2		Imitation	
32	90	30v				8 bars	2	U	2/2		Imitation	
32	90	31r	1-6			8 bars	2	U	2/2		Imitation	# Crossed out
32	90	31r	7-8			6 bars	2	U	2/2		Imitation	
33	90	31v				9 bars	2	U	2/2		Imitation	# Crossed out
33	90	32r	1-6			8 bars	2	U	2/2		Imitation	Crossed out
33	90	32r	7-8			5 bars	2	U	2/2		Imitation	
34	90	32v			Treble+bass cleff, bracket							
34-36	90	33r-35r			ЕМРТҮ							
37	90	35v				8 bars	2	В	4(4	4		
37	90	36r	1-2			2 bars	2	СP	4(4	4		

Marks. Cross outs																			
M																			
Metre Comment				Melody	4/4 2/2 Chord progression														
Metre	4(4	4(4	4(4	3/4	4/4 2/														
Key	Db	Db	Db	Ш	С														
Year com Phase Key	2	2	2	П	1-2														
ear com																			
Bar / Section	3 bars	1 / 3 bars	1 / 3 bars	8 bars	3 bars														
Work				Symph. 3,3??		Inside back cover	Back cover												
Pag. (JS Work																			
Staff	9-9	2-8	9-10	1-2	3-5														
Folio [36r		36r !		36v														
Source	90		90	90	90	90	90												
Scan	37	37	37	38	38	38	39												

Mus.ms. 1901

Marks. Cross outs		EMPTY	1v, 2v-4v EMPTY	8v-10v EMPTY		3r-4v EMPTY		1v-2v EMPTY												
Marks.		4r-4v EMPTY	1v, 2v-	8v-10		3r-4v	√ Empty	1v-2v	ΥT											
Metre Comment	Title page (not written by JS)	Autograph score	Piano score + Solo	Autograph score	Fair copy	Unfinished autograph score	Unfinished autograph score for the 1876 version. 4r-4v Empty	Lyrics only	2 parts: VIn. I and Cb. in score. Cadence to D. 1v EMPTY											
Metre		3/4	3/4	4/4	3/4	4/4	2/2		4/4											
Key		Cm	Ш	Eb	ч	Fm	E		C-D											
Phase																				
Year com Phase Key		1874	nelle (18	1876		1895	1876													
Bar / Section		radella, JSV 61	Copy 11 bars from Gioachino Rossini: O salutaris, from Petite Messe Solennelle (1864)	JSV 64		ınn, JSV 94		j'. Lyrics	2 bars											
S Work	Johan Svendsen: Skizzer'	Aria di Chiesa by Allesandro Stradella, JSV 61	1 bars from Gioachino Rossini: O	(1-2)3-111 va venir by Jacques Halévy, JSV 64	Julia. Vals./av J. Johanson.	Funeral March by J.P.E. Hartmann, J	Romeo and Juliet	Hvad mig til dig så mäktig drog'.												
Pag. (JS Work			Copy 1	(1-2)3-																
Staff																				
Folio	1r	1r-3v	1r, 2r	1r-8r	1r-2v	1r-2v	1r-3r	1r	1r											
Source	1901	1901:1	1901:2	1901:3		1901:5		1901:7	1901:?											
Scan	1	2-7	8	9-23	24-27 1901:4	28-31	32-36 1901:6	37	38											

Mus.ms. 1615

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (.	Pag. (JS Work	Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	se Key	Metre	Metre Comment M	Marks. Cross outs
1	1615				Front cover	13,3x20,3 cm				20,3 cm x 13,3	
2	1615				Inside front cover						
3	1615				2 Flyleaves						
4	1615				Christiania 30/2 - 77 (2nd recto)	(c					
	1615	1r			Empty						
2	1615	1v		2	Arabisk sang no 1-3						
9	1615	2r			Arabisk sang no 4-5						
7	1615	2v		4	Arabisk sang no 5(cont)-6						
8	1615	3r		5	Arabisk sang no 6(cont)-7						
6	1615	3v		9	No 8 Tyrkisk marsj						
10	1615	4r	1-2	7	Not by J. Svendsen	7 bars		Bbm	2/2	Piano score	
10	1615	4r	3-9	7	Not by J. Svendsen	9 bars		Bm	4/4	in blue pen	
10	1615	4r	9-9	7	Not by J. Svendsen	2 bars		Bm/Mod 4/4	4/4	Sequence	
10	1615	4r	9-9	7	Not by J. Svendsen	1 bar		E??	4/4	Two chords	
10	1615	4r	7-8	7	Not by J. Svendsen	3 bars		В	4/4		
11	1615	4^	1-3		Not by J. Svendsen	3 bars		Bm	4/4	Melody (instrumental) Piano acc.	
11	1615	4v	2-6		Not by J. Svendsen	5 bars		Ш	4/4	Piano score?	
11	1615	4^	7-9		Not by J. Svendsen	9 bars		Bb	4/4	Melody (instrumental) Piano acc.	
12	1615	5r	1-2		Not by J. Svendsen	2 bars		G/F	4/4	Melody (instrumental) Piano acc.	
12	1615	5r	3-6		Not by J. Svendsen	13 bars		F/Gm	4/4	Piano score?	
13	1615	5v			Not by J. Svendsen	8 bars		Ŋ	4/4		
13	1615	6r	1-2		Not by J. Svendsen	2 bars		U	4/4		
13	1615	- er	3-6		Not by J. Svendsen	5 bars		Gm	4/4	Melody "Grieg motive"	
14	1615	, 9			Not by J. Svendsen	8 bars		Dm?	2/4		
	1615	7r-84v			EMPTY						
	1615				2 Flyleaves						
	1615				INSIDE BACK + BACK						

Mus.m.s 7880-7881

П																		
ss outs																		
Marks. Cross outs																		
					Sequence													
	£		c. Piano?	Song and piano. Unfinished	Piano fragment. Imitation. Sequence													
Metre Comment	Continuity draft	Violin 1 part	Melody and acc. Piano?	Song and piar	Piano fragmer													
Metre			2/4	4/4														
	Cm/E/A 4/4	Cm/E/A 4/4		Em ,	Fm/Mod. 4/4													
hase K			A															
Year com Phase Key	1867 3	1867 4	3	3	2													
>																		
ion																		
Bar / Section			34 bars	16 bars	2 bars													
	Zwei Könige	Zwei Könige		Gyldenlak														
Pag. (JS Work	Zwei	Zwei		Gyld														
Pag. (.																		
Staff																		
S																		
Folio	1r-2v	1r	1v	1r-1v	2v													
Source	7880a	7880b	7880b	7881	7881													
Scan	3,5			1,2														

Mus.ms. 7882

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year con Phase Key	e Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
1	7882				Skrevne Partiturer'					Front cover	
2	7882a	1r	1-6			12 bars	1	ŋ	4/4	Piano sketch	Crossed out
2	7882a	1r	2-6			3 bars	2	Ŋ	4/4	Piano sketch	Crossed out 16 stave pape
2	7882a	1r	7-14			21 bars	2	Ŋ	4/4	Piano sketch	Crossed out
2	7882a	1r	15-16			2 bars	2	Em/G	4/4	Progression / Cadence	# Crossed out
2	7882a	1r	15-16			2 bars	2	Em/G	4/4	Progression / Cadence	# Crossed out
3	7882a	1v	1-6			6 bars	2	ட	4/4	Sequence. canon Treble-Bass	
3	7882a	1v	7-9			2 bars	2	F/Bbm	4/4	Sequence. canonic Treble-Bass	
3	7882a	1v	10-12			2 bars	2	Ebm	4/4	Sequence. canonic Treble-Bass	
3	7882a	1v	14-16			5 bars	2	C#m/A	4/4	Sequence. canonic Treble-Bass	
4	7882a	2r	1-6			4 bars	2	C#m	4/4	Sequence. canonic Treble-Bass	
4	7882a	2r	8-10			5 bars	2	C#m	4/4	Sequence. canonic Treble-Bass	16 stave paper
5	7882a	2v	1-6			8 bars	1	Em	4/4 2/3	4/4 2/3 Melody	16 stave paper
5	7882a	2v	7-9		Romance op 26??	4 bars	1-2	ŋ	4/4	Violin solo sequence	
5	7882a	2v	10-11			1 bar	1	Ŋ			
5	7882a	2v	12-14			4 bars	2	G/Em	4/4	Ascending sequence	Crossed out
9	7882b	1r			Beethoven: 9,3 4th Hom solo	18 staves paper	1881	Eb	4/4	Transposed for F Hom	
7	7882b	1v	1-2			4 bars	2	L	2/4	Accompaniment	Crossed out
7	7882b	1v	3-4			7 bars	2	Ŋ	2/4	Accompaniment	Crossed out
7	7882b	1v	2-6			6 bars	2	Fm	2/4	Accompaniment	Crossed out
7	7882b	1v	9-14			8 bars	1	Op	3/4	Melody	
8	7882c	1r	1-4		Symphony 2,4	8 bars	1876 2	F/C	2/2	Imitation. Check number	
8	7882c	11	5-7		16 staves paper	8 bars	п	U	3/4	Melody	
8	7882c	11	6			3 bars	п	ш	3/4	Melody	
8	7882c	11	11-13			4 bars	2	Ш	3/4	Melody + accompaniment	
6	7882d	11	1-3			3 bars	2	G/C/Mod 4/4	4/4	Progression + motivic. Strings	
6	7882d	11	5-7		12 staves paper	2 bars	2	Mod/Bm 4/4	4/4	Progression + motivic. Strings	
6	7882d	11	8-10			4 bars	2	Ш	3/4	Melody and harmony	
10	7882d	10				7 bars	7	Bbm?	4/4	Melody with chromatic harmony	
11	7882d	2r				6 bars	2	Bbm?	4/4	Melody with chromatic harmony	
12	7882d	2^	8			1 bar	2		8/9	Chromatic desc. bass	

Mus.ms. 7882

2 D/A 6/8 Melody + harmony
D/A 6/8
2 C 2/2
7 2 0
8 bars 42 bars 7 bars
42 bars Andante con moto? 7 bars
7. V. r. r. 7.10
1 1 1 1 1 1

Ms.80 1191

Scan	n Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year con Phase Key	hase Key		itre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
	1191:2				Front cover							
	1191:2	1r	14-13		Adagio?	2 bars			3/4		Melody	Upside down
	1191:2	1v	8-5		"Allegretto"	7 bars	1	Em	4/4		Melody	Upside down
	1191:2	1v	13-10		Zuléîkha		1			Ā	Another idea than in book 04	Upside down
	1191:2	2r	2-7			6 bars	1	Gm	4/4		Melody	
	1191:2	2v			ЕМРТУ							
	1191:2	3r	2-7			12 bars	1	Am	3/4		Melody	
	1191:2	3r	1-3			7 bars	1	Gm	4/4		Melody	
	1191:2	3v				8 bars	1	Am	3/4		Меїоду	
	1191:2	4r			"Længsel"	2 bars	1879 1	#4	4/4		Piano accomp. Letter to CW 1885	
	1191:2	4^			"25/6 - 85"	8 bars	П	Fm	2/2		Melody	
	1191:2	5r				14 bars	1885 1	Fm	2/2		Melody	
	1191:2	5v				8 bars	1		Cm/Eb 2/2		Diatonic ascending line 1 octave	
	1191:2	9			EMPTY							
	1191:2	6r			EMPTY							
	1191:2	7r			"Andante"	10 bars	1	C	3/4		Violin melody	Upside down
	1191:2	7				4 bars	1	+		Σ	Melody	Upside down
	1191:2	8r				3 bars	П	1-2 Dm	4/4		Chromatic desc. mel. + acc.	Upside down
	1191:2	8v	11-7			10 bars	П	Am	3/4		Melody	Upside down
	1191:2	8v	14-13			6 bars	1	Fm	4/4		Melody	Upside down
	1191:8	L-1r				3 bars	1	1-2 Bm	3/4		Melody + imitation	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8				Front cover							
	1191:8	L-1v-2r	1			8 bars	1	Am	3/4		"Thema Allegretto"	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8	L-1v-2r	2			6 bars	1	Bm	3/4		Melody	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8	L-1v-2r	3			5 bars	1	Bm	3/4		Melody	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8	L-1v-2r	4-5			4 bars	1	1-2 Bm	3/4		Melody + bass	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8	L-1v-2r	8-9			21 bars	1	Bm	3/4		Melody	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8	L-2v	1				1			Σ	Melodic fragment	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8	L-2v	3				1			0	One note b2	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8	L-2v	7-8		Matrix	Upside down	1			-	"Tordenskjold Gade Nr. 4"	Separate leaf/sheet
	1191:8	1r				4 bars	1	1-2 C#m	m 4/4		Melody + accompaniment.	

Ms.80 1191

Marks. Cross outs																												
Metre Comment	Меїоду		Melody	Bass motive	Bass motive	Melody	String tremolos	Imitation and harmony		Percussion and "5ths motive"		Link to 58. Main theme - early vs. fragment	Alternative 2ndary theme? see 341		Melody. Double neighbour tone	Kong kone'				Syncopated melody			"Veiøy"???					
Metre	4/4		4/4	2/4	12/4	4/4						2/2	2/2	2/2	2/4	4/4	4/4	4/4	2/2	2/4			8/9	2/2	4/4			
Key	Cm		Gm	Fm?	Fm/Bbm 2/4	Cm	Mod.	Mod.		U		Bb	Fm	Bb	Fm	Fm	C	Cm	F	Е	A	⋖	C	C	9			
Phase	1		1 (1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1					
Year com Phase Key																					1867 1	1867	1867	1867 1	1867			
Bar / Section	12 bars		4 bars	2 bars	4 bars	8 bars	4 bars	4 bars		4 bars		4 bars	8 bars	2 bars			6 bars	4 bars	8 bars	5 bars	6 bars	5 bars	2 bars	2 bars	8 bars			
Swork									List of instruments	"Arabique"		Symphony 2,4	Symphony 2,4?	Symphony 2,4											Folk song? Iceland			
Pag. (JS Work																												
Staff			1	3	4	5-6	1-3	4-6				1	3-4	9	1	2	1	1-3	1	2-3	1	2	1	2	3-5			
oj.	1v	2r	3r	3r	3r	3r	4r	4r	4v	4v		22-24 Aug	22-24 Aug	25-27 Aug	22-24 Nov	25-27 Nov	25-27 Nov	1-3 Dec	4-6 Dec	7-9 Dec								
Folio																- 1												
Scan Source Foli	1191:8	1191:8	1191:8	1191:8	1191:8	1191:8	1191:8	1191:8	1191:8	1191:6	1191:1	1191:1	1191:1	1191:1	1191:1	1191:1	1191:1	1191:1	1191:1	1191:1	1191:9	1191:9	1191:9	1191:9	1191:9			

Other Sources at The Royal Library and The Music Museum

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ase Key	Metre	Metre Comment	Marks. Cross outs
	Ma.ms.34	Ma.ms.3496 Chatarina-Valzer, Royal Libr.	-Valzer, Roya	al Libr.	Trio	8 bars	1862	1 Bb	4/4 2,	4/4 2/3 March like melody	
	Div.m	Ŀ			BLUE COVER						
	Div.m	>			INSIDE COVER						
	Div.m	Ŀ			"11 Kompositions-Udkast"						
	Div.m	>			Verso						
	Div.m:1	1r			JSV 88 Dans	16 bars		4 E	3/4	Piano piece. Manuscript	
	Div.m	1v			ЕМРТУ						
	Div.m:2	1r-2v?		7-10	Rödnæseriddermarsch Op 16	49 bars	1874			Score. Incomplete	Partly crossed out
	Div.m:3	1r-1v			NOT BY JS	25 bars				JS student's string quintet???	
	Div.m:4	1r			Zorahayda	Bar 1-10 in 1874-vs	1874 3-4	4 Gm	4/4	Score page	
	Div.m	1v			EMPTY						
	Div.m:5	11			JSV 87	22 bars	3-4	4 Em	3/4	Melody and piano	
	Div.mindr. 1v	. 1v			EMPTY						
	Div.m:6	1r	1-6			11 bars	2	U	3/4		
	Div.m:6	1r	8-10			3 bars	2	Em/E	3/4		
	Div.m	1v			EMPTY			-			
	Div.M.7	1r-3r	1-12	3-6	Symphony 2,3	b.101, D+7 to end	1876 3	ш	2/4	Continuity draft.	18 staves paper
	Div.M.7	3r	14-16		Symphony 2,3	2 bars	1876 2	F/C	2/4		
	Div.M.7	3v			Romance op 26	F-8 to F+8	1882 2-3	3 G	3/4	Continuity draft / sketch	
	Div.m	4r-9r			ЕМРТҮ						
	Div.m	٥٨			Treble and bass cleff + 3 notes in bass	in bass				С, Db, В	
	Div.m	1r	1-3			4 bars	2	Bm?	3/4	Difficult to read	
	Div.m	1r	4-6			8 bars	1.2	C 2	2/4	Difficult to read	
	Div.m	1r	10-14			6 bars		E??	8/9	Difficult to read	
	Div.m:8	1v-2r			Dikt av Molbæk (Dæmring)		1863	Gm	3/4	Svendsen / den 14. Februar 1863	Autograph
	Div.m:8	2v			Exercise in counterpoint	23 bars	1865?	Dm	3/4	Autograph 02:31r-32r	
	Div.m:8	1r				4 bars		Db/Ab		4/4 2/2 Chord progression	
	Div.m.9	1v	1-2		Holberg Cantata	4 bars	1884	ш	4/4	Choir parts	
	Div.m.9	10	18-21		Holberg Cantata?	6 bars	1884	Ш	4/4	Melody and lyrics	
	Div.m	11				4 bars		A?	4/4 2,	4/4 2/4 Melodic fragment	
	Div.m	1v				11 bars		U	4/4 2,	4/4 2/34 staff score. 2 treble lines	

Other Sources at The Royal Library and The Music Museum

Scan	Source	Folio	Staff	Pag. (JS Work		Bar / Section	Year com Phase Key	ase Key	Metre	Comment	Marks. Cross outs
	Div.m	2r				11 bars		C	4/4 2/	4/4 2/235-motive piano score, modulating	
	Div.m:10	2v	1-2		Holberg Cantata	4 bars	1884	υ	4/4	Choir parts	
	Div.m:10	2v	3-4		Holberg Cantata	2 bars	1884	U	4/4	Melody	
	Div.m:10	2v	2-6		Holberg Cantata	2 bars	1884	C	4/4	Choir parts	
	Div.m:11	2v	7-8			2 bars		Am?	4/4	Melodic fragment	
	Div.m:11	1r	1-3			2 bars		Ŋ	4/4	Melody + empty piano score	
	Div.m:11	1r	4-9			8 bars		C	4/4 2/2	2	
	Div.m:11	1v-2r				22 bars		U	4/4 2/	4/4 2/1 Bass line	
	Div.m:11	2v			EMPTY						
	Div.m:11	J53-54 OR VV.	>			4-5 bars		U	4/4 2/	4/4 2/2 Melody and harmony.	
	Div.m:11		1-8			16 bars		U	4/4 2/	4/4 2/2"Continuity draft" Development cadential	
	Div.m:11		9-12			2 bars		C#m3		4/4 2/4 Chromatic descending bass + harmony	
	Div.m:11		13-15			3 bars		C#m?		4/4 2/2 Polyphonic then chromatic desc. bass	
	Div.m:12	1r			JSV 88	ca 16 bars		Em	3/4	Melody and piano	
	Div.m:12	1v				1 bar		D	3/4	3 notes	
	Div.m.14				Title page	"à sa petite Bergljot"					
	Div.m				Romanse JSV305					Manuscript	
	Div.m				EMPTY						
	Div.m				Title page	"Guldbryllupssangen"					
	Div.m				Festkanatate. Sangernes morgenhil	enhilsen	1892	Db	4/4	Choral score with piano reduction	
	Div.m				EMPTY						
	Div.m				"Kompositionsmanuskripte. 1. s	skrevne 2. trykte"					
	MM1										
	ММ2										
	ммз				Title page Zorahayda		1879				
	4MM				"Johan Svendsen: Manuskript	=.					
	ММ5				Norsk Kunstnerkarneval	2 bars	1874	∢	3/4	2 part imitation	
	ММ6				EMPTY						
	MM7				GABH						
	MM8-11				Ich steh auf des Berges Spitze		1863				
	MM12				Albumblad GABH			Ŋ	4/4	Plano Manuscript	

Other Sources at The Royal Library and The Music Museum

oss outs																			
Marks. Cross outs																			
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				ete															
		ot	ot	Manuscript. Score. Not complete															
		1anuscirp	1anuscirp	Score. N															
nment		Male choir. Manuscirpt	Male choir. Manuscirpt	nuscript.		ıft													
Metre Comment		Ма	Ма	Ма		Draft													_
																			-
hase Ke		Ab	Ab	Eb															-
Year com Phase Key				1876															
χ.																			
ion																			
Bar / Section																			
В																			
				.ch	je.	GABH)													
	age	red	red	Coronation March	Before the Battle	Album Leaf (To GABH)													
Pag. (JS Work	Title page	Guds fred	Guds fred	Coron	Before	Album													_
Pag. (.																			_
Staff																			
																			-
Folio				2															_
Source	MM13	MM14	MM15	MM16-12	K.178a	K.178c													_
Scan																			•