

## MUSIC WRITERS AND RESEARCHERS

Before the advent of specialist music periodicals, short pieces on the subject would be inserted into the daily papers and society journals, into moralistic weeklies and journals of art and literature – particularly the latter, such as the Stockholm Romanticists' organ *Lyceum* (1810–11) and the Uppsala “Phosphorists” (a group of neo-romantic poets) *Phosphoros* (1810–13) and *Elegant-tidning*. In 1810, *Lyceum* claimed that music had “never wished to be properly native in Sweden”, in contrast to sculpture and painting. That same year, J.C.F Hæffner's “About music” was published in *Elegant-tidning* containing “casual reflections” on the handful of printed Swedish compositions:

“Why, one has often asked, can Sweden list great or at least meritorious men almost in all the liberal arts, but has not yet fathered a Musikus who has been mentioned on the other side of the Belts or who at least could be placed amongst the second rank of composers?”

The answer, for Hæffner, was that Swedish music was dominated by a deep-rooted dilettantism that did not take the principles of music seriously.

### **Music journals**

Rather than the above kind of articles, the polemicising neo-romantic *Journal för litteraturen och theatern* (1809–13) published countless concert reviews. In the 1820s and 30s, the music scene was also covered by *Nya extra posten*, *Konstvännen*, *Athenaeum* and *Heimdall*. *Heimdall* (1828–32) in particular contains interesting reviews by the likes of Johan Erik Rydqvist. Here were reports on Franz Berwald's later works, and there an analysis of Adolf Fredrik Lindblad's C major symphony by Erik Gustaf Geijer. The essay “Ett ord om äldre kompositioner” (lit: A word on older compositions) tries to create an understanding of “the gravity, the poise, the crystal clarity” of masters such as Palestrina, Lasso, Handel and J.S. Bach – a far remove from “Spohr's sentimental effeteness” and “Rossini's gay flitting”.

Overseas journals also sometimes featured the Swedish music scene. In 1812–15, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in Leipzig had regular music columnists from Stockholm and in 1826–27 published A.F. Lindblad's articles “Über den Zustand der Musik in Schweden”. The first journal devoted purely to music was the short-lived *Euterpe* (1823). It attacked the shallow music tastes of the time and wrote of Rossini that a “more superficial, frivolous and vacuous composer would be hard to find”. It sought “the more elevated and independent cultivation that ought to derive from the Royal Academy of Music”. The next attempt at a journal was *Läsning uti musikaliska ämnen*, which was published in Kalmar in 1827–29. Publisher Hildebrand Hildebrandsson sourced most of his material from German music journals, such as the essay titled “Olikheter i omdömena öfver tonkonstens verk” by J.F. Rochlitz, one of the romanticism-inspired attempts to classify music listeners into four groups: those “who listen to music out of vanity and a desire to keep up with fashion”; those who “listen attentively but only with their reason”; those who “listen emotionally, perhaps enthusiastically, but still only with the ear”; and finally the few who “listen with the fullness of their soul”. Hildebrandsson likely penned himself the unreservedly worshipful meditation on Beethoven. But the journal also had appreciative words to say of Rossini too.

Over a succession of years, composer Johan Magnus Rosén wrote music reviews and travelogues from abroad in different Stockholm-based magazines. In 1835–36 he published *Tidning för teater och music*, following it with *Helios – Tidningen för litteratur och skön konst* in 1846. A review of Franz Berwald's concert in May 1846 reveals how some of the

audience regarded him. This “alchemist” was the type of artist “who has been encouraged, who has worked but of whom nothing has come or can ever come”.

With *Stockholms musiktidning* (1843–44), the music journals began to acquire larger staffs and more original contributions. The second volume was edited by music critic Wilhelm Bauck with articles contributed by Geijer, Jöns Peter Cronhamn, Petter Conrad Boman and others. Boman wrote primarily about contemporary Swedish music and pronounced favourably on Berwald’s *Jag går i kloster*, Lindblad’s *Trio* op. 10 and Violin Sonata op. 11, and Jan van Boom’s Piano Quartet. He also had a good word to say of Chopin, in contrast to the view of *Dagligt allehanda*, which in 1842 called him a “crude, half-baked Pole”.

However, the paper did make room in the autumn of 1839 for articles by Carl Love Almqvist, who wrote in true romantic spirit of the future of art and music. The articles re-appeared later under the heading “Om poesi i sak” in *Almqvists Monografi* (1844–45) and, in part, in *Musikalisk kyrkotidning* (1847–50), published by Carl Erik Södling, teacher of gymnastics, drawing and music theory in Västervik. School teacher C.J. Ericsson picked up where Södling left off with his *Mercurius* (Nyköping 1850–52), which according to its subtitle was a “Journal for the Church, School and their Employees in General, and Organists, Cantors, School Teachers and the Leaders of Church Singing and Bell-Ringers in Particular”. In 1852, the magazine changed its name to *Triaden – Tidning för kyrkomusikens och folkskolans vänner* (1852–56).

Two short-lived ventures were *Tidskrift för danskonstens vänner* (1849) and *Ny tidskrift för danskonstens vänner* (1857), both published by a dance society in Stockholm. Generally speaking, social and court dancing were treated under the motto “the more the dancing, the greater the civilisation”.

The most influential music journal of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was *Ny tidning för music* (1853–57), edited first by Bauck and then by organist and composer Johan Leonard Höijer. With its essays and special articles, the journal had a more scientific bent. Bauck was by this time one of the country’s most revered critics, writing for *Aftonbladet* (1842–59), *Nya dagligt allehanda* (1860–71) and then for *Dagens Nyheter* until his death in 1878. Höijer is most known for his *Musiklexikon* (1864, suppl. 1867), the most important of its kind in Sweden that century, whose only rivals were Jacob Niclas Ahlström’s little *Musikalisk fickordbok* (1843, 1852, 1858) and Bauck’s *Musikaliskt reallexikon* (1871).

Since his time on *Stockholms musiktidning*, P.C. Boman had developed into a conscientious and independent music writer with a particular interest in conditions in Sweden. In different articles for *Ny tidning för music* he catalogued Johan Fredrik Berwald’s compositions, appealed for a staging of the Gustavian opera *Aeneas i Carthago* by Joseph Martin Kraus, described Edouard du Puy’s importance for a national operatic style, and chronicled, in “En blick på tonkonsten i Sverige” (1857), the evolution of Swedish music. Other contributors to the journal included musicologist Carl Johan Fröberg and composers Jacob Axel Josephson, who wrote articles from Leipzig and Paris, Albert Rubenson, who covered the music scene in Copenhagen and Ludvig Norman.

Rubenson and Norman went on to produce their own journal, *Tidning för theatre och music* (1858–59), where they continued to pull no punches in their campaign for contemporary music:

“No prospective chronicler of Swedish music history, or more correctly the history of music in Sweden, will be able to avoid naming, amongst Sweden’s composers, the dilettantes: Åhlström, Geyer, Brendler, Wennerberg, Boman, Gille, Cronhamn &c. This long regnant semi-artistry has, first and foremost, had such an effect that we do not have a genuine native,

Swedish music.” (A. Rubenson, *Tidning för theater och musik* 1859, “Den inhemska tonkonsten och diletantismen”.)

Rubenson was referring here mainly to instrumental music. Native song production, for its part, more inhibited than promoted the nation’s music cultivation, as is most evident in the “simplicity” that characterised the quartet song and that was found to “return the musical factors of melody and harmony to the limited resources of the bugle”. The response, penned by public secretary Ludvig Fries, claimed that Rubenson lacked “the required scientific position in aesthetics and history for a critic”. The campaign for new music led, amongst other things, to the formation of the Swedish Art Music Society, which began to publish new works by Swedish composers.

The next two decades saw a marked decline in music journals, producing only a couple of short-lived attempts – the church-music journal *Cecilia* (Landskrona 1868–69) and the illustrated *Teater och musik* (1876), containing biographies of Swedish composers. Instead, it was the general *Illustrerad tidning* (1855–67) and (primarily) *Ny illustrerad tidning* (1865–1900) that offered the most interesting illustrated music articles over these years.

Then, in the 1880s, a marked change came in the shape of the long-standing and well-edited *Svensk musiktidning* (1881–1913) – here we will disregard the many short-lived attempts from the same time. Its immediate predecessor was *Necken* (1880), edited by music director Alfred Lundgren, according to whose manifesto – later adopted by *Svensk musiktidning* – the Nordic people were “gifted with a profound musical sensibility” that derived from “our ancestors in ancient bygone times”. Musicologist Johan Lindegren underpins this view in his article on the water sprite Näcken, or Strömkarlen:

“Has any other nation in the world brought forth in the dragnet of its consciousness a legend comparable to the charming legend of Strömkarlen and that, at the same time, appositely displays the essence of the notes precisely by denoting them as secretive, vivacious, irresistibly effective, remote from all convention, the original sparks of pure spiritual life. Necken is originality personified.”

*Necken*’s primary intention was to be a “magazine for the home” that reported on “everything of importance that occurs in the world of music” with its essays, features on composers and musicians, anecdotes and so forth. The rosy picture it painted of the music life of the cultivated homes, at the conservatory and in the school, theatre and church, certainly had a grain of veracity about it and formed the foundation of the magazine’s success. The firm of Huss & Beer continued its publication in 1881 under the name *Svensk musiktidning*, with Adolf Lindgren as editor.

A. Lindgren was one of the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s leading music writers and debuted as a music critic the year after graduating from Uppsala in 1873 for *Aftonbladet*, with critical articles about Wagner. He wrote the music-related entries for the first edition of the encyclopaedic *Nordisk familjebok* (20 volumes, 1876–99) and a series on Swedish *hovkapellmästare* (court chief conductors) for *Svensk musiktidning*, which was later published in book form (1882). Lindgren’s polymathism is evident in the essays he collected in *Musikaliska studier* (1896), which opens with a musico-aesthetic credo titled “Tonkonstens väsen” (lit: the nature of the art of music). The origins of music were conditioned “materially” by mankind’s desire to express its emotions in sound, and “formally” by its need to reconstruct its sensory impressions into a harmonic, organised whole. The history of music was the continual interplay of these two principles: “the climaxes are formed when they are both in harmonic union”. He stresses that music does not imitate particular emotions; it is more “*the general character of emotion* than its specific content that music accesses”. Lindgren proclaims the

“classical” to betoken the equilibrium of formalism and materialism: it does not need to be “confined to a certain epoch but may be applied to every work of art in possession of the aforementioned harmonic property”. He refers here to the term classical in the Swedish literary debate of the late 1800s.

In 1884, Frans Huss took over as editor of *Svensk musiktidning*. His staff included Norman, whose *Musikaliska uppsatser* were published posthumously in 1888 in book form; Royal Academy of Music librarian Frithiof Cronhamn; church musician Richard Norén, music critic Johan Flodmark (on “Bellmansmelodiernas ursprung”); and contrapuntist Lindegren. The magazine paints a fair picture of the Swedish music scene, although largely from a Stockholm perspective. It also served as a platform for the incipient field of Swedish musicology.

A more practically disposed “organ för svenska musici” was *Musiktidningen* (1899–1927), which was published in Gothenburg with music director Assar Olsson (pseudonym O. Assar) as its most important editor. The technical orientation dominated in *Musikern* (later *Svenska musikerförbundets tidning*) from 1908, and it is the only one of these magazines to remain in publication, nowadays back under the title *Musikern*. A more pedagogical line was taken by Olof Holmberg’s *Kyrkomusik och skolsång* (1906–10). The first specialist organ for singers was *Svenska sångarförbundet*, which was first published in 1915 (in 1922–92 under the name *Sångartidning*).

### ***The rise of musicology***

Interest in folk music, the cornerstone of a national musical aesthetic, runs like a thread through the century in both academic and bourgeois circles. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Norse and folk culture were regarded as two sides of the same coin, and around the country efforts were made to collect and publish Swedish folk poems and music.

Academically, music was represented by a *director musices* at Uppsala university (Hæffner, Nordblom, Josephson, Hedenblad, Alfvén) and a university *kapellmästare* (chief conductor) in Lund (Wenster, Gnosselius, Heintze, Berg). Their duties, however, were of a purely practical kind: music teaching, choir-leading and conducting, occasional composition. The history and aesthetics of music fell under the general subject of aesthetics, where they were dealt with on a philosophical and theoretical level. In 1801, Lund received its first professor in something akin to the field of aesthetics and modern languages, Anders Lidbeck, whose *Anmärkningar angående ämnen ur psykologien, esthetiken och svenska synonymiken* (1830) was published one year after his death.

It was not until 1835 that aesthetics was made its own discipline at Uppsala, with *skald* (a writer and reciter of epic poems) Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom as its first professor. His primary field was literary history, but he was also a scholar of theoretical aesthetics, pictorial art and music. Thus was J.A. Josephson’s thesis on contemporary music *Några momenter till en karakteristik af den nyaste musiken* debated in 1842; these eight pages not only were the first thesis in 44 years on a musical subject in Uppsala, but they also broke with the old tradition of writing theses in Latin. The musical yardstick was Viennese Classicism, and the judgement criteria were steeped in the spirit of German idealism. The more recent Italian opera music – Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and Meyerbeer – were described as purely sensual, favouring “show” and “effect” over “beauty” and “truth”. In the spirit of rationalism and idealism, Josephson held that beauty and truth required an interplay of “sensuality” and “sense” and vaunted Mendelssohn as music’s “rosy dawn”.

A similar aesthetic underlies the writings of Stockholm organist and music teacher Abraham Mankell. He gave lectures on the history of music, championed the concept of melody and the “simple song” as being the primary elements of music, promoted the more dignified kind of church music represented by Palestrina and Handel, and wrote about it all in

several books, such as *Harmonia, anteckningar till befrämjande af en allmännare bildning i musikaliska ämnen* (1833) and *Sveriges tonkonst och melodiska national-dikt* (1853).

With time came a demand for different textbooks from the educational institution of the Royal Academy of Music. First was Erik Drake's *Elementarcours i harmoniläran* (1839–40) and *Läran om kontrapunkten* (1845). There also appears to have been a need for harmony theory at other schools as well, and amongst the general public, if the number of such books published around the middle of the century is anything to go by: J.L. Höijer ("for dilettantes"), J.B. Logier (translation, 1853), O.D. Winge (1862), J.F. Törnvall (1865, 1876), A. Lundh ("for seminars and higher education institutions as well as for self-study" 1871, 1881, 1905); in addition to which was A. Bergenson (1899), whose book was sanctioned by the conservatory despite its relative meagreness. The material in these textbooks matched that covered by regular music teaching.

Some authors tried to approach problems of music theory from more scientific angles. Most remarkable of all, perhaps, is the eccentric Carl Johan Fröberg – whom we met previously as a theatre director. Despite his academic independence, he represented the Boströmian scientific and aesthetical view that dominated in Uppsala. His weighty *Försök till grundläggning af en verkligt rationel harmoni- och tonsättningslära* was published only in part in 1878 (a manuscript of a second part is in the Royal Academy of Music library).

A. Lindgren's probing studies in *Svensk musiktidning* in 1885 on "Konsonans och dissonans" and "Om kvintförbudet" (lit: on the fifth prohibition) were probably always just fragments. Lindgren returned now and then to the problem of musical national characters. His theoretical attempts to justify a degree of parallel fifths appear to be a kind of legitimising of a Nordic character:

"...some Nordic idiosyncrasies of harmonisation, such as the contempt for the fifth prohibition, a penchant for so-called pedal points and drone parts, the appetite for the chordic in contrast to the modern German, the appetite for the chromatic and enharmonic". (A. Lindgren, *Svensk musiktidning* 1898, "Svenska tonkonstens karaktär".)

Although from its very inception, the Royal Academy of Music was tasked with handling "music in all its entirety", it was not until the 1850s that it began in earnest to hold lectures on the history of music. P.C. Boman lectured from 1852 on "the aesthetics of music and literature", and in 1856 it created a special post, with W. Bauck as its first incumbent. He began his lectures, which were open to the public, in 1858. In Uppsala too, *director musices* J.A. Josephson introduced similar music history lectures in 1863. This generated a demand for books on the field, and within a few years there were no fewer than three such works: *Grunddragen till musikens historia* (1861, with entries on Swedish music) by Frans Huss; *Handbok i musikens historia* (1862) by Bauck; and the largest of the three, A. Mankell's somewhat personal *Musikens historia* (1864).

None of these books are based to any significant degree on the authors' own research. Source-critical music history research, which was developed above all in Germany, was introduced here through the translation of Otto Jahn's monumental Mozart biography (1865). Swedish universities also began more and more to apply source-critical methods, especially since the appointment of Gustaf Ljunggren as professor of aesthetics with the history of literature and art in Lund in 1859 and Carl Rupert Nyblom to the corresponding post in Uppsala in 1867. Nyblom sided with Boströmian rational idealism, but in practice aesthetics grew increasingly into a sphere of activity for fact-gatherers, while theoretical education on music (amongst other subjects) was left to the philosophers. Ljunggren turned to ordering

artistic products after a system of genres, which was regarded as something more than just practical categorisation, in accordance with the genre concept of the idealistic German aesthetician Friedrich Theodor von Vischer.

The occasional thesis on a music-related theme now started to appear. In 1856, there was M. Ullman's *Huru kan en tidsenlig upplaga af Bellman åstadkommas, fullt värdig såväl svenska folket, som dess skald?* The answer would have to wait until 1919, when the scientifically orientated Bellman Society was formed for the purpose of publishing Bellman's works and furnishing them with a thorough literary and musical commentary. The first volume of this "standard edition" came out in 1921. Other theses in Lund included the genre studies *Om sonaten och dess historiska utveckling* (1859) by F. Sandberg and *Om den evangeliska kyrkosången* (1862) by C.W. Skarstedt. In Uppsala there was more of an interest in Swedish music history. Conrad Piscator defended his thesis *Historisk öfversikt af musiken i Sverige under Gustaf III* in 1860, and in 1872 came Carl August Forssman's *Om Hæffner's verksamhet för tonkonstens utveckling i Sverige*.

By now, acoustics had achieved a degree of technical sophistication, with Chalmers University rector Carl Palmstedt being one of those to take an interest in the science. Already in 1856 he had petitioned the Royal Academy of Music to introduce the standard tuning fork and standard pitch ( $a^1 = 435$  Hz), something that an international commission introduced two years later in Paris. Palmstedt held lectures in acoustics at the Academy from 1859 to 61, and a thesis on the subject – *Undersökning angående ljudande rörs tonhöjd, intensitet och klangfärg* (1861) by A.M. Möller was published in Lund.

Instrument classification remained largely neglected in Sweden until Hedvig Boivie, who began to arrange and catalogue the Nordic Museum's collection of musical instruments in 1898. She also published several studies of instruments, as did linguist Daniel Fryklund, who wrote a series of articles from 1910 onwards and amassed an impressive collection of music ("The Fryklund Collection", donated to the Royal Academy of Music in 1965). In 1899, the Museum of Musical History was established in Stockholm by Johannes Svanberg and Dane Carl Claudius, who donated some of their own instrument collection – another part having been donated to the newly founded Danish Museums of Musical History in Copenhagen back in 1897. The Swedish museum was initially accommodated in a room in the Royal Opera (of which Svanberg was the secretary), but was given more spacious premises later. The museum collection was finally properly arranged and catalogued by Tobias Norlind, who became its director in 1919.

The number of private researchers in the field of music history grew from the 1860s on, often following the lodestar of fact-gathering. In 1866, Fredrik August Dahlgren published his invaluable and reliable *Förteckning öfver svenska skådespel uppförda på Stockholms theatrar 1737–1863*. The extensive researches conducted by Carl Erik Södling in the folk music field and by Bengt Wilhelm Hallberg in the hymnological – Hallberg received state funding to undertake trips overseas in 1871 and 1873 – never led to any printed works. Johan Flodmark, on the other hand, was able to publish his research on Gustavian opera in *Stenborgska skådebanorna* (1893) and other books. The musical history of Gothenburg was studied in detail by Wilhelm Berg, who published his results in *Anteckningar om Göteborgs äldre teatrar* (1896–1900) and other works.

After 1880, music history and biographical literature grew far too abundant to be described in detail here. The same is true of music criticism. The most feared of all critics, Wilhelm Peterson-Berger, debuted in Dagens Nyheter in 1896, on which he wrote for 34 years under the signature "P.-B.". In 1911 he published the seminal tract *Svensk musikkultur*.

One critic cut from a completely different cloth than the polemically and cultural-philosophically inclined Peterson-Berger was Patrik Vretblad. Both were musicians and lacked any academic scientific schooling, but both were deeply interested in the subject field of musicology. Vretblad was primarily known for his pioneering works on Johan Helmich Roman and on the 18th century Stockholm concert scene. Another fin de siècle music critic was composer Andreas Hallén, a selection of whose reviews in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* were published in *Musikaliska kåserier* (1894). Other music writers active during the first decade of the new century included the likes of Lindgren and Karl Valentin, who are normally credited as being the country's leading pioneers of musicology. Valentin's *Populär allmän musikhistoria*, for which Lindgren authored the Swedish section, was published in 1900–01.

The most important name in Swedish musicology in the first decades of the 1900s was Tobias Nordlind. Already as a teenager in Berlin he had been given responsibilities when the *Internationale Musikgesellschaft*, an association for musicologists, was formed in 1899. In 1900, Nordlind spent a year studying in Uppsala, where Henrik Schüek's classes in literary history made a profound impression on him. In 1901 he published the seminal *Svensk musikhistoria*, the largest survey to date of the field. "Cultural history" was something of a watchword for Schüek and Nordlind, even if Nordlind advocated a broader use of the term and like Hildebrand, Strindberg and Hazelius, interpreted it in a way that approximates to today's "ethnology". This is manifested in the doctoral thesis *Latinska skolsånger i Sverige och Finland* (1909) and even more so in the weighty folkloric handbook *Svenska allmogens lif* (1913). Pride of place is given to Swedish music in *Allmänt musiklexikon* (1916). All this was achieved while Nordlind was teacher and rector at a folk high school in Skåne at the same time as he occupied an unsalaried position in Lund as a docent of the history of literature and music. In 1918 he moved to Stockholm as a teacher of music history at the Royal Conservatory of Music and director of the Museum of Musical History. He continued to be a productive author, above all of Swedish music; one of his books, for example, was on E.G. Geijer as a musician (1919).

Ideas concerning a Swedish society of musicologists and a journal matured during the First World War, when Sweden could no longer be a section of *Internationale Musikgesellschaft*. February 1919 saw the founding of the Swedish Society for Musicology, of which the publication of the *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* (STM) was one of its chief statutory obligations. The journal has been published ever since, from 1920 with a government subsidy. It has become more or less the official organ of Swedish music research and been instrumental in the institutionalisation of Swedish musicology.

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