
F O R O R D

P R E F A C E

In the years up to the outbreak of the First World War Carl Nielsen had reached a high point in his composing career. He had three symphonies and a violin concerto behind him; both his operas, *Saul and David* and *Masquerade*, had been performed at the Royal Theatre, and he could look back on a large output comprising chamber music, choral works and songs with piano accompaniment. But familiarity with his works was still on the whole limited to Denmark – a situation the world war did nothing to alter.

Carl Nielsen began work on *The Inextinguishable* in the summer of 1914. He had then just left the burdensome position as conductor at the Royal Theatre and thus had more time to compose. On 3rd May 1914 he wrote in a letter to his wife, the sculptress Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen:

“[...] I have an idea for a new work which has no programme, but which is to express what we understand by Life Urge or Life Expression – that is, everything that moves, that has the will to life, that cannot be called either bad or good, high or low, large or small, but simply ‘That which is life’ or ‘That which has the will to life’ – you understand, no particular idea of anything ‘magnificent’ or anything ‘fine and delicate’ or warm or cold (violent perhaps) but just life and motion, yet different, very different, but in a context, and sort of constantly flowing, in one great movement in one flow. I must have a word or a short title that says this; that will be enough. I can’t properly explain what I want, but what I want is good. I feel it all coursing through me when I think about it, but words can really do nothing here.”¹

A couple of months later, in a letter to Emil Holm,² he writes:

“I can tell you that I am well started on a new, large orchestral work, a kind of symphony in one movement, meant to evoke all

I årene op til Første Verdenskrigs udbrud havde Carl Nielsen nået et højdepunkt i sin komponistkarriere. Han havde tre symfonier og en violinkoncert bag sig, begge hans operaer, *Saul og David* og *Maskarade*, var bragt til opførelse på Det Kongelige Teater, og han kunne desuden se tilbage på en stor produktion omfattende kammermusik, korværker og sange med klaver. Men endnu var hans værker kun i begrænset omfang kendt i udlandet – et forhold som verdenskrigen ikke lod ændre på.

Carl Nielsen påbegyndte arbejdet på *Det Uudslukkelige* sommeren 1914. Han var da netop fratruddet den byrdefulde stilling som kapelmester ved Det Kongelige Teater og havde dermed fået mere tid til at komponere. Den 3. maj 1914 skriver han i et brev til sin hustru, billedhuggerinden Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen:

“[...] jeg har en Idè til et nyt Arbejde, som intet Program har, men som skal udtrykke det vi forstaar ved Livstrang eller Livsytringer, altsaa: alt hvad der rører sig, hvad der vil Liv, hvad der ikke kan kaldes, hverken ondt eller godt højt eller lavt, stort eller smaat men blot: ‘Det der er Liv’ eller ‘Det der vil Liv’ - Forstaar Du: ingen bestemt Idè om noget ‘storslaaet’ eller noget ‘fint og sart’ eller varmt eller koldt (voldsomt maaske) men bare Liv og Bevægelse, dog forskelligt, meget forskelligt, men i en Sammenhæng, og ligesom bestandigt rindende, i en stor Sats i en Strøm.

Jeg maa have et Ord eller en kort Titel, der siger dette; det er nok. Jeg kan ikke rigtig forklare hvad jeg vil men det jeg vil er godt. Jeg føler det hele igennem mig naar jeg tænker derpaa, men Ord kan egentlig ingenting her.”¹

Et par måneder senere, i et brev til Emil Holm,² hedder det:

“Jeg kan fortælle Dem at jeg er kommen godt igang med et nyt, stort Orkesterværk, en Art Symfoni i en Sats, der skulde skildre alt hvad man føler og tænker ved det Begreb vi kalder Livet eller

1 Torben Schousboe (ed.), *Carl Nielsen. Dagbøger og brevsamling med Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen*, Copenhagen 1983, p. 385.

2 Danish singer (1867-1950), later head of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation.

1 Torben Schousboe (udg.), *Carl Nielsen. Dagbøger og brevsamling med Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen*, København 1983, s. 385.

2 Sanger (1867-1950), senere leder af Statsradiofonien.

that one feels and thinks about the concept of what we call life, or rather 'Life' in its deepest meaning. That is, everything that has the will to live and stir itself. Everything can come in under this concept and after all, music is, more than the other arts, an expression of life, since it is either wholly dead – in the instant it does not sound – or wholly alive, and for that very reason can express the concept of life, all the way from the most elementary form of expression to the highest spiritual rapture.”³

So from the outset Carl Nielsen wanted to make the music not only symbolize, but manifest itself as an example of *the elementary will to life*. Probably to achieve a more dynamic effect and to give his work a more organic character, he was prepared from an early stage to merge the four movements of the traditional symphony type together in one interrupted flow. The work on the symphony however caused him difficulties; on 18th March 1915 he wrote to his wife:

“Now and then it seems as if I could really get down to work, but I don't know how it will go with the symphony, I don't think it will do.”⁴

That things began moving in the composition process soon afterwards is evident from a letter of 4th May 1915 to his friend Julius Röntgen;⁵ Nielsen writes that he

“will soon have a new symphony finished. It is very different from my three others, and it is based on a particular idea: that the most elementary essence of music is light, life and movement, which chop the silence into pieces. In other words, what I have wanted to describe is all that has the will and the urge to life that cannot be kept down. *Not* in the sense of demeaning my art to mere nature imitation, but of letting it try to express what lies behind. The calls of the birds, the cries of sadness and joy of animals and human beings, their hungry murmurings and shouting, fighting and mating, and whatever all the most elementary things are called.”⁶

But later the work on the symphony was again hampered by difficulties. In a letter dated Fuglsang, 6th August 1915 to Adolph Riis-Magnussen,⁷ Carl Nielsen writes:

rettere 'Liv' i videste Betydning. Altsaa: alt hvad der har Villien til at leve og røre paa sig. Alt kan gaa ind under dette Begreb og Musikken er jo mere end de andre Kunster Livsytring idet den enten er fuldkommen død – i det Øjeblik den ikke lyder – eller fuldkommen levende, og den kan derfor netop udtrykke Begrebet Liv ligefra den elementæreste Ytringsform til den højeste sjælelige Betagelse.”³

Allerede fra første færd har Carl Nielsen således ønsket at lade musikken ikke blot symbolisere, men fremstå som eksempel på *den elementære vilje til liv*. Formodentlig for at opnå en mere dynamisk virkning og forlene sit værk en mere organisk karakter har han fra et tidligt tidspunkt været indstillet på at lade de fire satser i den traditionelle symfonitype smelte til ét ubrudt forløb. Arbejdet på værket voldte ham dog vanskeligheder; den 18. marts 1915 skriver han til sin hustru:

“Engang imellem synes det som om jeg kunde komme i rigtig Arbejde, men jeg ved ikke hvordan det vil gaa med Symfonien, jeg tror ikke det gaar.”⁴

At der snart efter må være kommet skred i kompositionsprocessen fremgår af et brev fra den 4. maj 1915 til vennen Julius Röntgen;⁵ Nielsen skriver, at han

“snart har en ny Symfoni færdig. Den er meget forskjellig fra mine andre tre og der ligger en bestemt Ide til Grund for den, nemlig: at Musikens elementæreste Væsen er Lys, Liv og Bevægelse der hugger Stilheden istykker. Det er altsaa alt hvad der har Villien og den Trang til Liv som ikke kan holdes nede, jeg har villet skildre. *Ikke* saaledes at jeg vilde nedværdige min Kunst til Naturefterligning, men lade den forsøge at udtrykke hvad der ligger bagved. Fuglenes Skrig, Dyrenes og Menneskenes Jammer- og Glædeskrig, deres Knurren og Raaben under Sult, Kamp og Parring og hvad alt det elementæreste nu hedder.”⁶

Arbejdet på værket blev atter ramt af vanskeligheder. I et brev dateret Fuglsang den 6. august 1915 til Adolph Riis-Magnussen⁷ skriver Carl Nielsen:

3 Letter dated Damgaard, 24.7.1914, DK-Kk, CNA I.A.C.

4 Letter erroneously dated Damgaard 18.3.1914 for Damgaard 18.3.1915. Torben Schousboe, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

5 Dutch pianist and composer (1855-1932).

6 Irmelin Eggert Møller and Torben Meyer, (eds.), *Carl Nielsens Breve. I Udvalg og med Kommentarer*, Copenhagen 1954 pp. 145f.

7 Danish organist and composer (1883-1950).

3 Brev dateret Damgaard 24.7.1914, DK-Kk, CNA I.A.C.

4 Brev fejlagtigt dateret Damgaard 18.3.1914 for Damgaard 18.3.1915. Torben Schousboe, *op. cit.*, s. 397.

5 Hollandsk pianist og komponist (1855-1932).

6 Irmelin Eggert Møller og Torben Meyer, (udg.), *Carl Nielsens Breve. I Udvalg og med Kommentarer*, København 1954, s. 145f.

7 Organist og komponist (1883-1950).

“For my part, things are not yet going as I would wish with my own work. I cannot get past a particular point in my new symphony, not for lack of invention, but for the want of a certain inner driving force which at certain points in major works is more important to me than the actual quality of the music.

Well, a day will come, and then I know it will move fast towards the end.”⁸

Finally, on 14th January 1916, the composer can note in his diary that the new symphony is now finished,⁹ but it is evident from a letter to Ture Rangström,¹⁰ dated 27th January, that only then – five days before the first performance! – is he quite finished with the symphony:

“I have been tremendously busy until three this morning, then I was finished with it all.”¹¹

In this letter Carl Nielsen describes the symphony as his “best work in recent years”, and in a letter to Bodil Neergaard¹² he actually speaks of it as his best work.¹³

The thoughts about the conceptual content of the symphony that we find expressed in several of the letters quoted here appeared in their final form in the note printed in the concert programme for the first performance on 1st February 1916:

“The composer, in using the title *The Inextinguishable*, has attempted to suggest in a single word what only the music itself has the power to express fully: the elementary will to life. Faced with a task like this – to express life abstractly, where the other arts stand without resources, forced to go roundabout ways, to extract, to symbolize – there and only there is music at home in its primal region, at ease in its element, simply because solely by being itself it has performed its task. For it is life there, where the others only represent and write about life.

“For mit Vedkommende gaar det ikke endnu efter Ønske med mit eget Arbejde. Jeg kan ikke komme ud over et bestemt Punkt i min ny Symfoni, ikke paa Grund af manglende Opfindsomhed, men ved Savnet af en vis indre Drivkraft, der paa visse Steder i større Arbejder er mig vigtigere end selve Musikkens Kvalitet.

Naa, det kommer nok en Dag og saa ved jeg det vil gaa rask imod Enden.”⁸

Endelig den 14. januar 1916 kan komponisten i sin dagbog notere, at den nye symfoni nu ligger færdig,⁹ men det fremgår af et brev til Ture Rangström,¹⁰ dateret 27. januar, at han først da – fem dage før uropførelsen! – er helt færdig med symfonien:

“Jeg har haft umaadelig travlt indtil inat Kl. 3 var jeg færdig med alt.”¹¹

I dette brev karakteriserer Carl Nielsen symfonien som sit “bedste Værk i de senere Aar”, og i et brev til Bodil Neergaard¹² omtaler han den ligefrem som det bedste af sine arbejder.¹³

De tanker vedrørende symfoniens idéindhold, man finder udtrykt i flere af de her citerede breve, fandt deres endelige form i den note, som aftryktes i koncertprogrammet til uropførelsen den 1. februar 1916:

“Komponisten har ved Anvendelsen af Titelen ‘Det uudslukkelige’ med et enkelt Ord søgt at antyde, hvad kun selve Musiken har Magt til fuldt at udtrykke: den elementære Villie til Liv.

Overfor Opgaver som denne: at udtrykke Liv abstrakt, hvor de andre Kunstarter staar uformuende, tvungne til at gøre Omveje, gøre Udsnit, symbolisere, dér og først dér er Musiken hjemme paa sit Ur-Omraade, ret i sit Element, simpelthen fordi den, ved kun at være sig selv, har løst sin Opgave. Thi den er Liv dér, hvor de andre kun forestiller og omskriver Liv. Livet er ukueligt og uudslukkeligt, der kæmpes, brydes, avles og fortælles idag som igaar, imorgen som idag, og alting vender tilbage.

8 *DK-Kk*, CNA I.A.c.

9 Torben Schousboe, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

10 Swedish composer and conductor (1884-1947).

11 Irmelin Eggert Møller and Torben Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 155. “Finished” must here be understood as “finished with the proofreading”, according to a letter to Wilhelm Stenhammar dated Copenhagen 26.1.1916. *DK-Kk*, CNA I.A.c.

12 Landed proprietress (1867-1959), owner of Fuglsang and Priorskov on Lolland.

13 Letter dated 10.4.1916 from Carl Nielsen to Bodil Neergaard. Carl Nielsen Museum, The Museums of the City of Odense.

8 *DK-Kk*, CNA I.A.c.

9 Torben Schousboe, *op. cit.*, s. 405.

10 Svensk komponist og dirigent (1884-1947).

11 Irmelin Eggert Møller og Torben Meyer, *op.cit.*, s. 155. Færdiggørelse må her forstås som tilendebragt korrekturlæsning iflg. brev til Wilhelm Stenhammar dateret København 26.1.1916. *DK-Kk*, CNA I.A.c.

12 Godsejer (1867-1959), ejer af Fuglsang og Priorskov på Lolland.

13 Brev dateret 10.4.1916 fra Carl Nielsen til Bodil Neergaard. Carl Nielsen Museet, Odense Bys Museer.

Life is indomitable and inextinguishable; the struggle, the wrestling, the generation and the wasting away go on today as yesterday, tomorrow as today, and everything returns.

Once more: music *is* life, and like it inextinguishable. For that reason the word that the composer has set above his work might seem superfluous; however, he has used it to emphasize the strictly musical character of his task. No programme, but a signpost into music's own domain.”¹⁴

However, it was not Carl Nielsen who had been responsible for the final wording of the text. He was, as will have been evident, under considerable pressure of time, as the symphony had to be finished, so it was left to his pupil Knud Jeppesen¹⁵ to draw up the final text.¹⁶

The kind of description of the conceptual content of music represented by the above texts accords with the view Carl Nielsen expressed in the article “Ord, Musik og Programmusik” (“Words, music and programme music”) in 1909,¹⁷ where we can read the following about the expressive potential of music:

“Music, even with all its resources, cannot even express the very simplest concepts of yes or no, and even when joined with words it expresses one thing or another just as well or just as poorly.”¹⁸

More specifically about the use of titles and programmes in music, Nielsen writes:

14 Among Carl Nielsen's posthumous papers is an undated manuscript, including what appears to be a sketch for this programme note: “The composer, in using the title *L'inestinguibile* ('The Inextinguishable'), has attempted with a single word to put into writing what music in its diversity can express; that is, the elementary will to life, the driving force, the great movement behind everything. Music is in itself life: ∴: motion. Faced with a task like this, to express life abstractly where the other arts stand without resources, bound as they are to the concrete, obliged to symbolize, music is like a fish in the sea.” *DK-Kk*, CNA I.D.3a. My thanks are due to the author John Fellow for pointing out this text to me.

15 Danish music scholar and composer (1892-1974).

16 Finn Mathiassen, *Livet, musikken og samfundet: en bog om Carl Nielsen*, Århus 1986, p. 70; Finn Mathiassen, “Carl Niensens forord til ‘Det Uudslukkelige’: et korrigerende og supplerende notat”, *Dansk Musiktidsskrift* XLII/1 (1987-1988), p. 17.

17 *Tilskueren* 1909, pp. 85-97. Reprinted in and quoted here from Carl Nielsen: *Levende Musik*. Copenhagen 1925, pp. 25-45.

18 Carl Nielsen, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Endnu engang: Musik er Liv, som dette uudslukkeligt. Derfor kunde det Ord, Komponisten har sat over sit Værk, synes overflødig; han har imidlertid anvendt det for at understrege sin Opgaves strengt musikalske Karakter. Intet Program, men en Vejviser ind paa Musikens eget Omraade.”¹⁴

Det var imidlertid ikke Carl Nielsen selv, der havde stået for den endelige udformning af teksten. Han var, som det vil være fremgået, i betragtelig tidnød, da symfonien skulle færdiggøres, så det blev overladt hans elev Knud Jeppesen¹⁵ at besørge den endelige tekst.¹⁶

Den form for beskrivelse af et idéindhold i musik, som de ovenstående tekster repræsenterer, er i overensstemmelse med den opfattelse, Carl Nielsen havde givet udtryk for i artiklen “Ord, Musik og Programmusik” i 1909.¹⁷ Heri kan man bl.a. læse om musikkens udtryksmuligheder:

“Musikken kan da, selv med alle sine virkemidler, end ikke udtrykke de allersimpleste begreber ja eller nej, og selv i forbindelse med ordet udtrykker den lige saa godt eller lige saa lidt det ene som det andet.”¹⁸

Mere konkret om benyttelsen af titler og programmer i musik skriver Carl Nielsen:

“Indskrænker man sig til en kort antydning eller titel, kan musikken fra flere sider og paa mange maader belyse og

14 Blandt Carl Niensens efterladte papirer findes et udateret manuskript, som rummer, hvad øjensynlig er en skitse til denne programnote: “Komponisten har ved Anvendelsen af Titelen *L'inestinguibile* ('Det Uudslukkelige') søgt i et enkelt Ord at omskrive hvad Musikens i sin Mangfoldighed kan udtrykke, nemlig, den elementære Villie til Liv, Drivkraften, den store Bevægelse bag det hele. Musik er i sig selv Liv ∴: Bevægelse. Overfor Opgaver som, denne at udtrykke Liv abstrakt hvor de andre Kunstarter staar uformuende, bundet som de er til det konkrete, henvist til [at] symbolisere, befinder Musikens [sig] som en Fisk i Havet.” *DK-Kk*, CNA I.D.3a. Jeg skylder forfatteren John Fellow tak for henvisningen til denne tekst.

15 Musikforsker og komponist (1892-1974).

16 Finn Mathiassen, *Livet, musikken og samfundet: en bog om Carl Nielsen*, Århus 1986, s.70; Finn Mathiassen, “Carl Niensens forord til ‘Det Uudslukkelige’: et korrigerende og supplerende notat”, *Dansk Musiktidsskrift* XLII/1 (1987-1988), s. 17.

17 *Tilskueren* 1909, s. 85-97. Genoptrykt i og her citeret fra Carl Nielsen: *Levende Musik*. København, 1925, s.25-45.

18 Carl Nielsen, *op. cit.*, s.33.

“If one confines oneself to a short suggestion or title, the music can clarify and emphasize from several sides and in many ways, as we saw in its relationship with words. Naturally. But the programme or title must then in itself involve an element of mood or of the moving – never a motif of thought or specific action.”¹⁹

There is yet another note on the symphony. In 1917 Gerhardt Lyng published the book *Danske Komponister i det 20. Aarhundredes Begyndelse*, to which Carl Nielsen sent the first page of a manuscript score of *The Inextinguishable* which in some respects – first and foremost in the instrumentation and articulation – oddly enough differs from all other known sources (see Source F). There are indications that Nielsen also sent Lyng a note on the symphony, since in a concert programme in 1938 Lyng used an “explanation” which “the composer has left us”. Since this is quite detailed, and differs from the others given here, we reproduce it unabridged below:²⁰

“Music is Life.

As soon as even a single note sounds in the air or through space, it is the result of life and movement; that is why music (and the dance) are the most immediate expressions of the will to life.

The symphony evokes the most primal sources of life and the wellspring of the life-feeling; that is, what lies behind all human, animal and plant life, as we see perceive or live it. It is not a musical, programme-like account of the development of a life within a limited stretch of time and space, but an unprogramme-like dip right down to the layers of the emotional life that are still half-chaotic and wholly elementary. In other words the opposite of all programme music, despite the fact that this sounds like a programme.

The symphony is not something with a thought-content, except insofar as the structuring of the various sections and the ordering of the musical material are the fruit of deliberation by the composer in the same way as when an engineer sets up

fremhæve, ligesom vi saa det i dens forhold til ordet. Naturligvis. Men programmet eller titlen maa da i sig selv indeholde et stemnings- eller bevægelsesmoment, men aldrig et tanke- eller konkret handlingsmotiv.”¹⁹

Der foreligger endnu en note til symfonien. I 1917 udgav Gerhardt Lyng bogen *Danske Komponister i det 20. Aarhundredes Begyndelse*, hvortil Carl Nielsen indsendte den første partiturside af *Det Uudslukkelige* i manuskript, som ejendommeligt nok på nogle punkter – først og fremmest instrumentations- og artikulationsmæssige – afviger fra samtlige andre kendte kilder (se kilde F). Noget tyder på, at Nielsen også har sendt Lyng en note til symfonien, idet Lyng i 1938 i et koncertprogram benyttede en “Forklaring”, som “Komponisten har efterladt sig”. Da denne er ret udførlig og adskiller sig fra de øvrige her gengivne, bringes den uforkortet nedenfor:²⁰

“Musik er Liv.

Saasart blot en eneste Tone klinger i Luften eller gennem Rummet, er det Følgen af Liv og Bevægelse; derfor er Musiken (og Dansen) det mest umiddelbare Udtryk for Livsvilje. Symfonien skildrer Livets oprindeligste Kilder og Livsfølelsens Udspring, altsaa: det, der ligger bag ved Menneske-, Dyr- og Plantelivet, som vi ser, opfatter eller lever det. Den er ikke en musikalsk, programmæssig Skildring af en Livsudvikling inden for et begrænset Omraade i Tid og Rum, men et uprogrammæssigt Greb helt ned i de Lag af Følelseslivet, som endnu er halvt-kaotiske og helt-elementære. Altsaa det modsatte af al Programmusik, til Trods for at dette lyder som et Program.

Symfonien er ikke et Tankeindhold, uden for saa vidt som Bygningen af de forskellige Afsnit og Ordningen af det musikalske Stof jo er Frugten af en Omtanke fra Komponistens Side paa samme Maade, som naar en Ingeniør sætter Diger og Sluser for Vandet under en Oversvømmelse. Den er paa en Maade et fuldkommen tankeløst Udtryk for det, der bringer Fuglene til at skrigte, Dyrene til at brøle, bræge, løbe og kæmpe

¹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 43f.

²⁰ Quoted from Gerhardt Lyng's programme note on the Aarhus Hall's opening concert on Friday 1.4.1938. The concert featured *The Inextinguishable* performed by the orchestra of *Det unge Tonekunstnerselskab* and the Aarhus City Orchestra (Jutland Symphony Orchestra) conducted by Thomas Jensen. I owe a debt of thanks to the author John Fellow for directing my attention to this concert programme in *DK-Kk, CNA*. The text may be found in Finn Mathiassen, “Carl Nielsens forord til ‘Det Uudslukkelige’: et korrigerende og supplerende notat”, *Dansk Musiktidsskrift* XLII/1 (1987-1988), p. 18.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* s.43f.

²⁰ Citeret efter Gerhardt Lyngs programnote til Aarhus-Hallens åbningskoncert fredag den 1.4.1938. Ved koncerten opførtes bl. a. *Det Uudslukkelige* af Det unge Tonekunstnerselskabs Orkester og Aarhus By-Orkester (Jydsk symfonisk Orkester) under ledelse af Thomas Jensen. Jeg skylder forfatteren John Fellow tak for at have henledt min opmærksomhed på dette koncertprogram i *DK-Kk, CNA*. Teksten findes aftrykt i: Finn Mathiassen: “Carl Nielsens forord til ‘Det Uudslukkelige’: et korrigerende og supplerende notat”, *Dansk Musiktidsskrift* XLII/1 (1987-1988), s. 18.

dykes and sluices for the water during a flood. It is in a way a completely thoughtless expression of what makes the birds cry, the animals roar, bleat, run and fight, and humans moan, groan, exult and shout without any explanation. The symphony does *not* describe all this, but the basic emotion that lies *beneath* all this. Music can do just this, it is its most profound quality, its true domain ... because, by simply being itself, it has performed its task. For it *is* life, whereas the other arts only represent and paraphrase life. Life is indomitable and inextinguishable; the struggle, the wrestling, the generation and the wasting away go on today as yesterday, tomorrow as today, and everything returns.

Once more: music *is* life, and like it inextinguishable.”

In the study score of *The Inextinguishable* Carl Nielsen had an abridged version of the text from the premiere concert programme printed in Danish, English and German. The English version is as follows:

“The composer has tried through this title in one word to indicate what the Music alone is capable of expressing to the full: / The elementary Will of Life. /

The Music *is* Life, and like this inextinguible. The title given / by the composer to this musical work might therefore seem super-/fluous; the composer however has employed the word in order to / underline the strictly musical character of this subject. It is not a / programme, but only a suggestive hint on the proper territory of / the Music.”

The original text may have been abbreviated because the study score was to be published in three languages, so the space would quite simply have been limited.²¹ The English version of the note was later revised in connection with reprints of the study score.

The Inextinguishable had its first performance at the concert society *Musikforeningen* on Tuesday 1st February 1916. The concert, held in the large hall of the Odd Fellow Palæet, was conducted by Carl Nielsen, who the previous year had taken up the prestigious post as concert conductor at this private institution. The programme exclusively featured Danish works: F.L.Å. Kunzen's overture to the opera *Erik Ejegod*, J.P.E. Hartmann's *Vølvens Spaadom* op. 71, Niels W. Gade's *Den hellige Nat* op. 40 and the new symphony.

og Menneskene til at jamre, stønne, juble og raabe uden al Forklaring. Symfonien skildrer *ikke* alt dette, men den Grundfølelse, der ligger *under* alt dette. - Det kan Musik netop, det er dens dybeste Egenskab, dens egentlige Omraade ... fordi den, ved kun at være sig selv, har løst sin Opgave. Thi den *er* Liv, hvor de andre Kunstarter kun forestiller og omskriver Liv. — Liver er ukueligt og uudslukkeligt, der kæmpes, brydes, avles og fortæres i Dag som i Gaar, i Morgen som i Dag, og Alting vender tilbage.

Endnu engang: Musik *er* Liv, som dette uudslukkeligt.”

I studiepartituret til *Det Uudslukkelige* lod Carl Nielsen aftrykke en forkortet version af teksten fra uropførelsens koncert-program. Den lyder således:

“Komponisten har ved Anvendelsen af Titlen ‘Det Uudslukkelige’ med et enkelt Ord søgt at antyde, hvad kun selve Musiken har Magt til fuldt at udtrykke: den elementære Villie til Liv.

Musik *er* Liv, som dette uudslukkelig. Derfor kunde det Ord Komponisten har sat over sit Værk, synes overflødig; han har imidlertid anvendt det for at understrege sin Opgaves strengt musikalske Karakter. Intet Program, men en Vejviser ind paa Musikens eget Omraade.”

Muligvis skyldes forkortelsen af den oprindelige tekst, at den i studiepartituret skulle bringes på tre sprog, hvorfor pladsen ganske enkelt har været kneben.²¹ Det bør bemærkes, at den engelske programnote i en række senere optryk er blevet sprogligt revideret.

Det Uudslukkelige blev uropført i Musikforeningen tirsdag den 1. februar 1916. Ved koncerten, der fandt sted i Odd Fellow Palæets Store Sal, dirigerede Carl Nielsen, der året forinden var tiltrådt den ansete stilling som koncertdirigent i denne private institution. Programmet rummede udelukkende danske værker: F.L.Å. Kunzens overture til operaen *Erik Ejegod*, J.P.E. Hartmanns *Vølvens Spaadom* op. 71, Niels W. Gades *Den hellige Nat* op. 40 samt den nye symfoni.

Fleere anmeldere stillede sig uforstående over for værkets titel og programtekst, men i almindelighed var anmeldelserne meget anerkendende. Emilius Bangert,²² som var elev af Carl Nielsen, gav i *Hovedstaden* en grundig beskrivelse af det nye værk. Det hedder bl. a.:

²¹ Finn Mathiassen, *op. cit.*, s.19.

²² Organist og komponist (1883-1962).

²¹ Finn Mathiassen, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Several reviewers expressed incomprehension of the title of the work and the programme text, but in general the reviews were very appreciative. Emilius Bangert,²² who was a pupil of Carl Nielsen, gave a thorough description of the new work in *Hovedstaden*, saying for example:

“Viewed in its entirety, this symphony stands as a firmer musical building than any of Carl Nielsen’s previous ones. If we look at the individual sections, the two allegros may well seem rather less formally perfect than for example the unforgettable first allegro of his ‘Symfonia expansiva’. It is as if the musical life-drive at certain moments was so overpowering for him that it could not be bridled by any fully adequate artistic form.

But whatever objections one might be tempted to make, they pale before the fact that a major work of Danish music – indeed, let us boldly say of European music – has been created here. Allow that the great tone-poets of nature – like Reger, Strauss, Saint-Saëns and Debussy – may be more skilled in handling music and more assured devotees of beauty than Carl Nielsen; yet they are as if bound by the thought and emotion of our age. Carl Nielsen has a far deeper feeling for the source, his musical nature grows out of a primal era when man was greater and stronger in both inner and outer power. This accords well with the fact that in Carl Nielsen’s composing there is something harsh, indeed sometimes almost uncultivated – viewed through the cultured eyes of our age. And yet a savage may be sublime, indeed far more so than we who are tamed by culture, for he has the primal feeling. If it be so that there is a touch of the savage in Carl Nielsen, then he is certainly one of the very sublime ones.”²³

Two and a half months after the first performance, on 14th April 1916, Carl Nielsen again put *The Inextinguishable* on the programme. Two important aspects of this second performance of the symphony were that the work was now – apparently – performed by a considerably better orchestra than at the first performance, and that it was its first public performance. The reviews evinced great admiration for the symphony – for example, Charles Kjerulf,²⁴ who had been rather sceptical after the first performance, was now quite won over to both the work and its composer:

22 Danish organist and composer (1883-1962).

23 “Musikforeningens 2den Koncert”, 2.2.1916 (signed “E.Bgt.”)

24 Music reviewer and composer (1858-1919).

“Set i sin Helhed staar denne Symfoni som en fastere Tonebygning end nogen af Carl Niensens tidligere. Tager man de enkelte Afsnit i Øjesyn, kan de to Allegroer nok synes noget mindre formfuldendte end f. Eks. den uforglemmelige første Allegro i hans ‘Symfonia expansiva’. Det er, som om den musikalske Livsdrift i visse Øjeblikke har været ham saa voldsom, at den ikke har kunnet tøjle i fuld paalidelig kunstnerisk Form.

Men hvilke Indvendinger man nu end kan fristes til, saa blegner de dog over for det Faktum, at der her er skabt et Storværk i Danmarks Musik, ja - lad os nu dristig sige det - i Europas Musik. Lad saa Naturens store Tonedigttere - som Reger, Strauss, Saint-Saëns og Debussy - være dygtigere i at håndtere Musik og sikrere Skønhedsdyrkere, end Carl Nielsen er det; de er dog ligesom bundne i vor Tidsalders Tanke og Følelse. Carl Nielsen staar i anderledes dyb Føling med det oprindelige, hans musikalske Natur gror frem af en Urtid, hvor Mennesket var større og stærkere i baade ydre og indre Kraft. Det harmonerer godt hermed, at der i Carl Niensens Tonedigtning er noget barsk, ja til Tider næsten ukultiveret – set med vor Tids Kulturøjne. Men alligevel – en Vildmand kan være ophøjet, ja ihøjere Grad end vi andre kultur-tæmmede, for han har den primære Følelse. Kan der end stikke lidt Vildmand i Carl Nielsen, saa er han rigtignok en af de meget ophøjede.”²³

To og en halv måned efter uropførelsen, den 14. april 1916, programsatte Carl Nielsen atter *Det Uudslukkelige*. To vigtige aspekter ved denne anden fremførelse af symfonien var, at værket nu – åbenbart – blev fremført af et betydelig bedre orkester end ved uropførelsen, samt at det var dets første offentlige fremførelse. Anmeldelserne er præget af stor beundring for symfonien. Bl.a. er Charles Kjerulf,²⁴ der efter uropførelsen havde været noget skeptisk, nu helt vundet for både værket og dets komponist:

“Nu kender jeg Carl Nielsen, nu har jeg ham. [...] For første Gang har han her mægtet at skabe et Storværk, der rager op i Skyerne, men samtidig har begge Fødder plantet fast paa Jorden.”²⁵

Efter at symfonien således i løbet af to og en halv måned var blevet opført to gange under komponistens ledelse, blev den sat

23 “Musikforeningens 2den Koncert”, 2.2.1916 (sign. “E.Bgt”).

24 Musikanmelder og komponist (1858-1919).

25 “Anmeldelse Koncerter: Carl Niensens Symfoni-Koncert”, *Politiken* 15.4.1916 (sign. “Charles Kjerulf”).

“Now I know Carl Nielsen, now I *have* him. [...] For the first time he has been able to create a major work that towers to the clouds, but at the same time has both feet firmly planted on the ground.”²⁵

After the symphony had thus been performed twice, conducted by the composer, within two and a half months, it was included in the programme by Frederik Schnedler-Petersen²⁶ on 17th June and 1st July at concerts in the Tivoli Concert Hall. That the work was not performed for the next six months was due to the fact that the manuscript performance material was sent in the summer to the publishers for printing.²⁷

On 30th January the symphony was performed at the Royal Opera in Stockholm, conducted by Armas Järnefelt; on 18th October Ludwig R  th conducted a performance in Berlin with the Philharmonic; and finally on 27th October it was performed in Kristiania under the baton of Johan Halvorsen. After the last of these performances Olallo Morales²⁸ wrote a very favourable review of the symphony, in which he pointed out the prominent role of the rhythmic element, in fact even called the symphony an “Apotheosis of Rhythm”.²⁹

Interest in the content, form and title of the work continued to dominate several reviews. After the concert in Bremen on 14th March 1922, where Carl Nielsen himself conducted his symphony, Karl Seiffert³⁰ noted that the composer, by linking the four movements of the work and treating the form freely, distanced the composition from the ordinary view of a symphony. Seiffert imagined that Carl Nielsen had perhaps intended a depiction of nature in the work and continued:

“However this may be, a composer does best to suppress such thinking, and instead, thinking in musical terms, to communi-

p   programmet af Frederik Schnedler-Petersen²⁶ henholdsvis den 17. juni og den 1. juli i Tivolis Koncertsal. At v  rket ikke blev opf  rt det n  ste halve   r skyldes, at det h  ndskrevne opf  relsesmateriale om sommeren blev sendt til forlaget med henblik p   trykning.²⁷

Den 30. januar blev symfonien fremf  rt p   Kungliga Operan i Stockholm under ledelse af Armas J  rnefelt, den 18. oktober dirigerede Ludwig R  th en opf  relse i Berlin med det filharmoniske orkester, og endelig den 27. oktober fremf  rtes den i Nationalteatret i Kristiania under Johan Halvorsens taktstok. Efter denne sidstn  vnte opf  relse skrev Olallo Morales²⁸ en meget rosende anmeldelse af symfonien, hvori han p  pegede det rytmiske elements fremtr  dende rolle, ja betegnede endog symfonien som “Rytmens Apoteose”.²⁹

Interessen for v  rkets indhold, form og titel vedblev at pr  ge flere anmeldelser. Efter koncerten i Bremen den 14. marts 1922, hvor Carl Nielsen selv dirigerede sin symfoni, kunne Karl Seiffert³⁰ konstatere, at komponisten ved at sammenk  de de fire satser i v  rket og benytte en fri form-behandling fjernede kompositionen fra den almindelige opfattelse af en symfoni. Seiffert forestiller sig, at Carl Nielsen m  ske havde t  nkt sig en naturskildring i v  rket og forts  tter:

“Doch es mag darum sein; am richtigsten handelt ein Komponist jedenfalls, wenn er diese Art des Denkens unterl  sst und daf  r musikalisch denkend sich selbst und seine pers  nlichen Stimmungen wiedergibt. Und musikalisches Denken und Arbeiten versteht er.”³¹

I 1920erne dirigerede Carl Nielsen flere udenlandske opf  relser af *Det Uudslukkelige*, s  ledes bl.a. den f  rste engelske fremf  relse i Queen’s Hall i London den 22. juni 1923 med London

25 “Anmeldelse Koncerter. Carl Niensens Symfoni-Koncert”, *Politiken* 15.4.1916 (signed “Charles Kjerulf”).

26 Danish conductor of the Tivoli Concert Hall Orchestra (1867-1938).

27 Cf. letters dated Damgaard 26.6. and 29.6. 1916 from Carl Nielsen to Asger Wilhelm Hansen and letter dated 22.7.1916 from Wilhelm Hansen to Carl Nielsen. *DK-Kk*, Wilhelm Hansen Archives.

28 Swedish composer, conductor and music reviewer (1874-1957).

29 Olallo Morales’ review in *Svenska Dagbladet* was printed in *Masken* VII/20 (11.2.1917), p. 316, from which it is quoted here.

30 German composer (1856-1929), music reviewer at *Bremer Nachrichten*.

26 Dirigent for Tivolis Koncertsals Orkester (1867-1938).

27 Cf. breve dateret Damgaard 26.6. og 29.6. 1916 fra Carl Nielsen til Asger Wilhelm Hansen samt brev fra Wilhelm Hansen til Carl Nielsen dateret 22.7.1916. *DK-Kk*, Wilhelm Hansens Arkiv.

28 Svensk komponist, dirigent og musikkritiker (1874-1957).

29 Olallo Morales’s anmeldelse i *Svenska Dagbladet* er aftrykt i *Masken* VII/20 (11.2.1917), s.316 og citeres herfra.

30 Tysk komponist (1856-1929), musikanmelder ved *Bremer Nachrichten*.

31 Karl Seiffert: “Konzerte” uden dato, *DK-Kk*, CNA I.E.b.4.

cate his own personality and feelings. And musical thinking and work are what he understands”³¹

In the 1920s Carl Nielsen conducted several performances of *The Inextinguishable* abroad, including the first English performance at the Queen's Hall in London on 22nd June 1923 with the London Symphony Orchestra. In both *The Pall Mall Gazette* and *The Times* the symphony was given positive reviews,³² but several reviewers were very negative about Nielsen's work. The music critic and author Ernest Newman³³ wrote:

“The music was often interesting but as a whole disappointing. Mr. Nielsen is fertile enough in good ideas, especially in the beginning of a work; but he seems to have no sense of distinction between his good ideas and his very commonplace ones, and no power to build up a single movement that has organic life from start to finish. Really imaginative moments alternate with touches of an almost childlike naïveté, as in the finale of his quaintly named symphony ‘The Inextinguishable’, where the spasmodic explosions of the kettledrums made us think the air raids had come again.

The music as a whole seems to be half abstract, half programmatic, and to fail by not sufficiently blending the two in one consistent, homogeneous tissue.”³⁴

The encomia from the performances in Stockholm, Kristiania and Gothenburg were followed by more of the same. From the reviews of the two performances of *The Inextinguishable* in Oslo on 4th January 1926 and at the Fifth Nordic Music Festival in Stockholm on 4th May 1927, it is evident that the symphony had consolidated its position as one of Carl Nielsen's most important works. David Monrad Johansen³⁵ wrote of the Oslo performance:

“In contemporary music Carl Nielsen stands rather alone. It would be vain to try to register him as a member of any ‘school’ in music. Indeed even his musical origins would be very

Symphony Orchestra. I såvel *Pall Mall Gazette* som *Times* fik symfonien positive anmeldelser,³² men flere kritikere var dog meget negative over for Niensens værk. Ernest Newman³³ skrev således:

“The music was often interesting but as a whole disappointing. Mr. Nielsen is fertile enough in good ideas, especially in the beginning of a work; but he seems to have no sense of distinction between his good ideas and his very commonplace ones, and no power to build up a single movement that has organic life from start to finish. Really imaginative moments alternate with touches of an almost childlike naïveté, as in the finale of his quaintly named symphony ‘The Inextinguishable’, where the spasmodic explosions of the kettledrums made us think the air raids had come again.

The music as a whole seems to be half abstract, half programmatic, and to fail by not sufficiently blending the two in one consistent, homogeneous tissue.”³⁴

De overstrømmende anmeldelser fra opførelserne i Stockholm, Kristiania og Göteborg fik følge af flere. Af anmeldelserne fra de to opførelser af *Det Uudslukkelige*, der fandt sted henholdsvis i Oslo den 4. januar 1926 og ved den Femte Nordiske Musikfest i Stockholm den 4. maj 1927, fremgår det, at symfonien har befæstet sin position som et af Carl Niensens betydeligste værker. David Monrad Johansen³⁵ skrev om Oslo-opførelsen:

“I samtidens tonekunst staar Carl Nielsen saa temmelig ensom. Man vil forgjæves forsøke indregistrere ham inden nogen ‘retning’ i musikken. Ja selv hans ophav vil man meget vanskelig kunne efterspore. Han er en helt igjennem original personlighed, i besiddelse av den etiske kraft som kjendetegner al stor kunst. ‘Det uudslykkelige’ hans store symfoniske verk, gjorde igaar et overvældende indtryk. Vi glædes og henrykkes over at være vidne til en saadan aandens seier over materien. Det falder ikke ofte i et menneskes lod. [...] Javel, for mig staar Carl Nielsen i dette verk som et *geni*, intet mindre.”

31 Karl Seiffert, “Konzerte” (“Doch es mag darum sein; am richtigsten handelt ein Komponist jedenfalls, wenn er diese Art des Denkens unterläßt und dafür musikalisch denkend sich selbst und seine persönlichen Stimmungen wiedergibt. Und musikalisches Denken und Arbeiten versteht er.”) undated, *DK-Kk*, CNA I.E.b.4.

32 Quoted in Rudolph Simonsen, *Der dänische Tondichter Carl Nielsen*, 1924, p. 13.

33 English music writer and critic (1868-1959).

34 Ernest Newman, “Karl Nielsen”, *The Sunday Times* 24.6.1923 (sign. “E.N”).

35 Norwegian composer (1888-1974).

32 Gengivet i Rudolph Simonsen, *Der dänische Tondichter Carl Nielsen*, 1924, s. 13.

33 Engelsk musikskribent og -kritiker (1868-1959).

34 Ernest Newman, “Karl Nielsen”, *Sunday Times* 24. 6.1923 (sign. “E.N”).

35 Norsk komponist (1888-1974).

difficult to trace. He is a thoroughly original personality, possessing the ethical power that characterizes all great art. Yesterday *The Inextinguishable*, his great symphonic work, made an overwhelming impression. We are filled with joy and delight at witnessing such a triumph of spirit over matter. That is something not often granted to a human being. [...] Yes indeed, for me Carl Nielsen emerges in this work as a *genius*, nothing less.”

Monrad Johansen continues:

“In purely technical terms the work is of extraordinary interest. If anyone has coaxed out counterpoint's secrets and penetrated to its inmost essence, it is Carl Nielsen. Like the circulation of the blood in the body, like the network of arteries, it flows throughout the work and is its life-giving power, and it has its wellsprings in *the heart*. It is not doctrines that are proposed here, it is warmth; there is temperature in his counterpoint.”³⁶

Reading the English and German reviews of the symphony and comparing them with the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish ones, one can only get the impression that the positive reception of Carl Nielsen's work in his own lifetime remained in all essentials a Scandinavian affair. On the other hand understanding and recognition of Carl Nielsen were extraordinarily great here.

The source material for *The Inextinguishable* is kept in the Carl Nielsen Collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen and consists of four folios of sketches, a pencil draft, and an ink fair copy – which served as the printing source in 1916 – as well as the composer's copy of the printed orchestral score, which forms the printing source for the present edition. The pencil draft represents the first complete manuscript of the work, with the reservation however that certain sections of the symphony are only sketched out. Carl Nielsen asked his pupil Knud Jeppesen to assist him with the work on the symphony. Jeppesen writes: “When I began studying with Carl Nielsen, that is in the autumn of 1915, he was approaching the conclusion of his Fourth Symphony (*The Inextinguishable*) and was some way into the finale. Then shortly before Christmas he said: ‘Now I can't be bothered any more – Jeppesen, can't you take it with you (I was going on holiday in West Jutland) and

Monrad Johansen fortsætter:

“Rent teknisk er verket av overordentlig stor interesse. Er der nogen som har avlokkeet kontrapunktikken dens hemmeligheder og trængt ind til dens inderste væsen saa er det Carl Nielsen. Som blodets kredsløb i legemet, som aarenettet gennemstrømmer det verket og er dets livgivende makt, og i *hjertet* har det sit utspring. Det er ingen doktriner som her fremsættes, det er varme, der er temperatur over hans kontrapunkt.”³⁶

Når man har læst de engelske og tyske anmeldelser af symfonien og sammenholdt dem med de danske, norske og svenske, kan man ikke andet end få den opfattelse, at den positive reception af Carl Niensens værk i hans egen levetid forblev et i alt væsentligt skandinavisk anliggende. Til gengæld var forståelsen for og anerkendelsen af Carl Nielsen her overordentlig stor.

Kildematerialet til *Det Uudslukkelige* opbevares i Carl Nielsen Samlingen på Det Kongelige Bibliotek og omfatter fire blade skitser, blyantskladde, blækrenskrift – der tjente som trykforlæg i 1916 – samt komponistens håndeksemplar af det trykte orkesterpartitur, som danner trykforlæg for nærværende udgave. Blyantskladden repræsenterer den første samlede nedskrift af værket, dog med det forbehold at visse partier i symfonien kun er skitseret. Carl Nielsen bad sin elev Knud Jeppesen om at bistå sig med arbejdet på symfonien. Jeppesen fortæller: “Da jeg begyndte at læse med Carl Nielsen, altsaa i Efteraaret 1915, var han ved at nærme sig Afslutningen af den 4de Symfoni („Det uudslukkelige“) og var kommet et Stykke ind i Finalen. Kort før Jul sagde han saa: ‘Nu gider jeg ikke længer, - Jeppesen, kan De ikke tage den med Dem (jeg skulde paa Ferie i Vestjylland) og saa fylde noget ud. Der er nogle Fordoblinger deri, som giver sig af sig selv.’ - Ja, det lod jeg mig ikke sige to Gange, mest fordi jeg saaledes kunde faa Lejlighed til at fordybe mig i Partituret. Jeg fyldte altsaa ud paa de nævnte Steder og min ungdommelige Skrift staar endnu i Blyantspartituret, hvor den tager sig nok saa upersonligt ud ved Siden af hans karakterfulde Kragetær. - Jeg maa dog tilstaa, at jeg meget naivt, prøvede paa at liste lidt, kun meget lidt ind af mit

³⁶ David Monrad Johansen, “Filharmonisk koncert”, *Aftenposten* 5.1.1926.

³⁶ David Monrad Johansen, “Filharmonisk koncert”, *Aftenposten* 5.1.1926.

fill some of it in. There are some doublings there that are quite obvious.’ — Well, I didn't have to be told twice, mostly because that way I would have a chance to immerse myself in the score. So I filled out the places mentioned and my youthful handwriting is still there in the pencil score, where it looks pretty impersonal beside his characterful scrawl. But I must admit that, very naively, I tried to sneak in something, very little, of my own, but this was quickly killed off with a rubber — in profound silence. What he must have thought about it I don't really know; but I think that this idea was meant as a great kindness to me, since he could sense how deeply preoccupied I was with the work.”³⁷ Jeppesen's contribution to the work consists of the filling-out of the woodwind and horn texture at bb. 697-722 and, with a number of changes, first and foremost in the doublings, it was used by Carl Nielsen in the ink manuscript.

Carl Nielsen's copy of the printed score has a number of autograph corrections which, like some corrections in a set of printed parts — also in Carl Nielsen's hand —, have been used in the new edition. It should be remarked here that the pencil draft has a large number of differences from both the ink manuscript and the printed edition. All such significant differences have been included in the list of alternative readings.

Claus Røllum-Larsen

³⁷ Knud Jeppesen, “Carl Nielsen paa Hundredaarsdagen. Nogle Erindringer af Knud Jeppesen”, *Dansk aarvog for musikforskning* (1964-65), Copenhagen 1965, p. 143.

eget, men det blev hurtigt ombragt med et Viskelæder - i dyb Tavshed. Hvad han har tænkt sig derved, ved jeg ikke rigtigt; jeg tror dog, at dette Indfald var ment som en stor Venlighed mod mig, da han følte, hvor dybt optaget jeg var af Værket.”³⁷ Jeppesens bidrag til arbejdet omfatter udkomponering af træblæser- og hornsatsen i t.697-722 og er med en del ændringer, først og fremmest i fordoblingerne, benyttet af Carl Nielsen i blækmanuskriptet.

Carl Niensens håndeksemplar af det trykte partitur rummer et antal autografe korrektioner, der, ligesom nogle korrektioner i et sæt trykte stemmer — også i Carl Niensens hånd — er blevet indført i den nye udgave. Det bør her bemærkes, at blyantskladden rummer et stort antal varianter i forhold til såvel blækmanuskript som den trykte udgave. Alle signifikante varianter er medtaget i variantfortegnelsen.

Claus Røllum-Larsen

³⁷ Knud Jeppesen, “Carl Nielsen paa Hundredaarsdagen. Nogle Erindringer af Knud Jeppesen”, *Dansk aarvog for musikforskning* (1964-65), København 1965, s. 143.