Jan TEMME DE VRIES

Negotiating National Identity through Music: The Orchestral Variations on "Den tapre Landsoldat" by Jørgen Ernst Simonsen (1803–1886) as a Case of Depolitization of Music in the Danish Province

Nacionalinės tapatybės derybos per muziką: Jørgeno Ernsto Simonseno (1803–1886) orkestrinės variacijos „Den tapre Landsoldat" kaip muzikos depolitizacijos Danijos provincijoje pavyzdys

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Abstract
Jørgen Ernst Simonsen, music teacher, violin virtuoso and composer, wrote a series of pieces in which the orchestra plays a purely accompanying role and the solo violin takes centre stage. These works are mostly variations on well-known Danish folk songs, many with a military background. One notable example is "Den tapre Landsoldat," based on the well-known melody of the same name.

Given its patriotic theme, the piece could have been conceived as a musical narrative celebrating national pride. However, Simonsen does not approach it as a political statement. Instead, he strips the music of overt ideological messaging, using the composition primarily as a showcase for his violin technique and musical craftsmanship. Based on the political theory developed by Benedict Anderson, which understands the formation of a nation as a reaction to the disappearance of established certainties, and the music-aesthetic concepts of quotation in the music of Zofia Lissa, Simonsen's works can be presented both as political communication and as works of art with an immanent narrative. The performance of his works in the 19th century is therefore both a political event and an artistic self-expression. This ambiguity of concert music in the Danish provinces opens up a new perspective on a hitherto largely neglected field of political music. Also, the methodology proposed in this article allows to regard a piece like "Den tapre Landsoldat" both as a form of political and ideological communication and as a form of art.
Keywords: Danish nationalism, provincial musicking, depolitization, *Guldalder*, musical quotation

Anotacija
Muzikos mokytojas, smuiko virtuozas ir kompozitorius Jørgenas Ernstas Simonsenas parašė kūrinių ciklą, kuriame orkestras atlieka tik pritariamąjį vaidmenį, o pagrindinis vaidmuo tenka soliniam smuikui. Šie kūriniai daugiausia yra žinomų danų liaudies dainų, kurių dauguma karo dainos, variacijos. Viena garsiausių – „Den tapre Landsoldat", sukurta pagal tuo metu populiarią dainą tokiu pačiu pavadinimu.

Dėl patriotinės temos šį kūrinį galima būtų vertinti kaip muzikinį pasakojimą, skirtą tautiniam pasididžiavimui kelti. Tačiau Simonsenas nedarė politinių pareiškimų. Priešingai, jis atėmė iš muzikos tai, kas joje buvo akivaizdžiai ideologiška, ir naudojo kompoziciją kaip būdą pademonstruoti savo smuiko techniką ir muzikinį meistriškumą. Remiantis Benedicto Andersono politine teorija, kuri tautos susiformavimą traktuoja kaip reakciją į nusistovėjusių tikrumų išnykimą, ir Zofijos Lissos muzikinėmis-estetinėmis citavimo muzikoje koncepcijomis, Simonseno kūriniai gali būti pateikiami ir kaip politinė komunikacija, ir kaip meno kūriniai, pasižymintys imanentišku pasakojimu. Todėl jo kūrinių atlikimas XIX a. buvo politinis įvykis ir meninės saviraiškos būdas. Ši koncertinės muzikos dviprasmybė Danijos provincijoje atveria naują perspektyvą į iki šiol daugiausia ignoruotą politinės muzikos sritį. Straipsnyje siūloma metodologija leidžia kūrinį „Den tapre Landsoldat" vertinti kaip politinės ir ideologinės komunikacijos, taip pat ir kaip meno formą.
Reikšminiai žodžiai: danų nacionalizmas, provincijos muzika, depolitizacija, *Guldalder*, muzikos citata.

Introduction

The first half of the nineteenth century, until 1864, is often referred to as the Danish *Guldalder*—the Golden Age. This is in regard to various cultural activities that blossomed around that time, especially in literature. Many Danish authors made their debut during that time and brought Danish literature to a broader understanding in a European context: Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850), Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), Bernhard Severin Ingemann (1789–1862), and, most famously, of course, Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875) and his fairytales. From Denmark, Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) contributed to the philosophical debate in Europe. But also

in music, much happened. Many composers were educated in Germany, mostly in Hamburg, where Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) taught until his death (Rampe 2014, 401f.), and his pupils in turn went back to Denmark to educate the next generation of "*Guldalder*-composers", like Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse (1774–1842), Niels Wilhelm Gade (1817–1890), and Friedrich Daniel Rudolph Kuhlau (1786–1832).

Outside Copenhagen, music also played an important role. One notable example is the violinist and composer Jørgen Ernst Simonsen (1803–1886), who fell into oblivion soon after his death. His works are largely based on quotations from folk melodies, patriotic songs, and compositions by renowned Danish composers such as the aforementioned Kuhlau, Weyse, and Gade. Following Benedict Anderson's political theory, upon which this article is based, the cultural blossoming during the *Guldalder*, of which Simonsen was one witness among many, can be understood as a reaction to Denmark's political decline in the nineteenth century. Simonsen's compositions thus functioned as tools of nation-building. This article examines his *Opus 12:* "Den tapre Landsoldat" as an inherently nationalistic piece that simultaneously serves as an expression of artistic skill and virtuosity. This form of musical communication reached audiences in Denmark's more rural regions, who could barely participate in the cultural developments of the capital. Drawing on Zofia Lissa's theories of musical communication through the quotation of familiar works, the article explores both the political message and the musical structure of "Den tapre Landsoldat". It is noteworthy that Simonsen quotes the tune in full, but then abstracts the quoted material to such a degree that it becomes almost unrecognizable. Rather than embedding an explicit program into the music, he constructs it according to a purely musical logic, independent of the original song's content. In doing so, Simonsen effectively weakens the piece's political purpose. As this article demonstrates, instead of following a programmatic narrative drawn from the poem's content, Simonsen uses political communication as a vehicle for a musical performance that shows his skills as both composer and violinist. To argue for this, examples of the tune's variation are analysed in order to demonstrate their compositional divergence from what one might expect in a programmatic piece intended to deliver the poem's content. This sheds new light on the musical value of a political occasion in the Danish provinces.

The Rise of Danish Nationalism

The nineteenth century was a politically challenging time for the Danish realm. Copenhagen was bombed by British ships in 1807, forcing Denmark into an alliance with Napoleonic France, much like Sweden (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 3–6). During the Napoleonic wars, both Sweden and Denmark hoped for the success of the French troops. But when Napoleon attacked Russia, Sweden switched alliances just in time. Denmark, however, lost the war alongside France. After the Congress of Vienna, Norway was declared independent from Denmark and given to Sweden as compensation for Finland, which had become part of Russia. In return, Denmark received the city of Lauenburg in Northern Germany and 2.6 million taler (North 2015, 189). This increased the German-speaking population in Denmark from 25% to 40% (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 12). Lauenburg was anything but an adequate compensation, and mostly the loss of prestige took a huge toll on the Danish population, which at that time remained multiethnic. In addition to Danes, Germans, Frisians, Icelanders, and Inuit lived in territories ruled by the Danish king (North 2015, 191). This situation ultimately triggered a crisis of Danish absolutism. The duchy of Schleswig was predominantly inhabited by Germans, but also held a significant Danish population (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 224), while the duchy of Holstein, part of the German Confederation (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 220) was populated exclusively by Germans (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 224), with the Danish king as their duke (North 2015, 192). This raised the question of who should control the multiethnic regions of Schleswig and Holstein. The outcome was an uprising aimed at abolishing the Danish king's rule over these two duchies, leading to a bloody conflict known as the First Schleswig War (1848–1851).

In the first year of the uprising, 1848, Danish absolutism was abolished and replaced by a liberal constitution (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 234f.). At the end of the war, the Danes proved victorious, supported by Great Britain and Russia, and kept control of the two duchies (North 2015, 192f.). Yet, this success was short-lived. As part of the new constitution, Denmark sought to integrate Schleswig more closely, in part by separating it further from Holstein (North 2015, 194). When liberal Germans came to power, however, they attempted to unify the two duchies and declare their independence from Denmark. The "November-Constitution" of 1863, which promised the same constitutional rights to Denmark and Schleswig, came too late. In January 1864, German troops attacked and started the Second Schleswig War (North 2015, 194). That war was lost by the Danes. As a result, the entirety of Schleswig and Holstein became part of the German Confederation and, a few years later, the German Empire (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen II 2024, 326–334). This devastating political development stood in stark contrast to the cultural blossoming described above, and indeed, the Second Schleswig War marked the end of the *Guldalder*.

As described by the American political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson, a nation begins to form when its "givens" begin to dissolve. Anderson elaborates that the formation of a community, or a nation, is a conscious act in which the community is actively imagined by those who intend to take part in that community (Anderson 2016, 6f.). A shared identity among people who have never met requires emphasis especially when binding characteristics such as one language (Anderson 2016, 42, 45f.) (which was not the case in the Danish realm), one faith (Anderson 2016, 11, 16–19), or one monarch (Anderson 2016, 7; 21f.) are no longer self-evident. These are replaced by the nation represented by the state. Thus, a strong and powerful state was needed, as seen in the sheer explosion of bureaucratic infrastructure throughout Europe in the nineteenth century (Anderson 2016, 76). Authorities whose legitimacy was granted by a community defining itself as a nation—such as the modern state—replaced the Ancien Régime and provided the foundation for a re-defined identity. To create such markers of identity, it was necessary to produce artworks unique to the nation and closely tied to the state. Most members of a nation would never meet, yet they were meant to feel a sense of belonging together (Anderson 2016, 26). Dedicated nationalistic works sought to create this impression by drawing on collective memory and common experiences, hopes, and self-descriptions. Such works often emerged in times of crisis. The loss of old borders, shared faiths, and one absolutistic monarch had to be compensated through cultural productivity.

This was precisely Denmark's situation after 1814 and respectively. The saying "Hvad udad tabes, skal indad vindes"—"what is lost on the outside, must be gained on the inside" was coined by the Danish poet Hans Peter Holst (1811–1893) and inscribed on a commemorative medal in 1872 (Den Kgl. Mønt- og Medaljesamling 440644). This paradigm is often invoked to explain the emergence of famous artists and thinkers in nineteenth–century Denmark. The evidently diminished political influence in Europe required compensation. During the Middle Ages, and to a degree in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Denmark had been a dominant force in Northern Europe. This "glorious past" was remembered collectively (Hermann 2019, 48–50; 54), for example, in Adam Oehlenschläger's "Nordens Guder" (Gods of the North, 1841), a nineteenth-century adaptation of the Old Norse "Edda" (Oehlenschläger 1841, 3–6). At the same time, new works were created that focused more on the present, as will be shown later.

For a nation to exist, it must differentiate itself from other nations. Its identity must be distinct and recognizable. Similarities with neighbouring nations undermine this distinction, raising the question of why a certain area or group of people defines itself as part of one nation rather than another. This problem was especially acute in multi-ethnic states such as the Danish realm in the first half of the nineteenth century. Why, for example, should the population of Schleswig identify with Denmark rather than with Germany? By the mid-nineteenth century, Germany was Denmark's most significant adversary, not only on the battlefield but also in cultural and political terms. It is important to note, however, that Denmark remained a predominantly rural country. Even so, cultural and, moreover, musical life outside of Copenhagen has received little scholarly attention so far. Most Danes beyond the capital had no access to its cultural life. Instead, they encountered a very different soundscape created by lesser-known composers as well as semi-professional and amateur musicians. Since nationalism must reach all milieus within a nation, these musicians and their music are of central importance to reconstructing the Danish nationalist movement in music.

A Brief Musical Biography of Jørgen Ernst Simonsen

Two professions dominated the Danish province for musicians: schoolteacher and church organist. Most often, these two professions came as a package, since teachers in the countryside were also expected to play the organ during church services (Anordning for Almueskolevæsenet paa Landet i Danmark 1814, 57). Smaller churches could not afford a full-time organist, while for teachers, the duty provided a lucrative addition to their salary (Schulz 1790, 7). For some, musical training was minimal, to the point that they could barely sing at all. The Danish composer Carl Nielsen (1865–1931) describes such a case during his childhood on the island of Funen in the 1860s and 1870s (Nielsen 2015, 108). Nonetheless, teachers were expected to be able to play basso continuo and to improvise short pre- and postludes to every chorale (Reglement for samtlige Skolelærer-Seminarier i Danmark 1818, 11). These high expectations created a significant divide between poorly trained teachers and highly capable, professionally educated musicians.

One of the latter was Jørgen Ernst Simonsen. He was born in Assens on the island of Funen and baptized on August 20, 1803 (FKVD 1778 – FKVD 1805: 126 [26.02.2025]). From an early age, he received musical training (Simonsen 1856, 3) that enabled him to study as a music teacher at the teachers' education seminar in Skaarup. Most importantly, he was taught to play the violin, which would become his main instrument. In 1828, Simonsen moved to nearby Svendborg to work full-time as a music teacher (Simonsen 1856: 3). There, he began composing his first pieces, including a *Svendborg-Ouverture* (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.); the manuscript of which is preserved

in the J.E. Simonsens Samling at Den Sorte Diamant in Copenhagen (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1721a). The overture exemplifies a style found throughout his orchestral works: a simple accompaniment and a virtuosic solo violin. The orchestra he most likely performed this overture with was the music club (musikforening) he himself had established. He also wrote a piano score to accompany the solo violin. This is another recurring pattern in his compositions: Simonsen notates the piano score either as a separate part or directly beneath the full score. His works may have been performed on multiple occasions, though not always with an orchestra available.

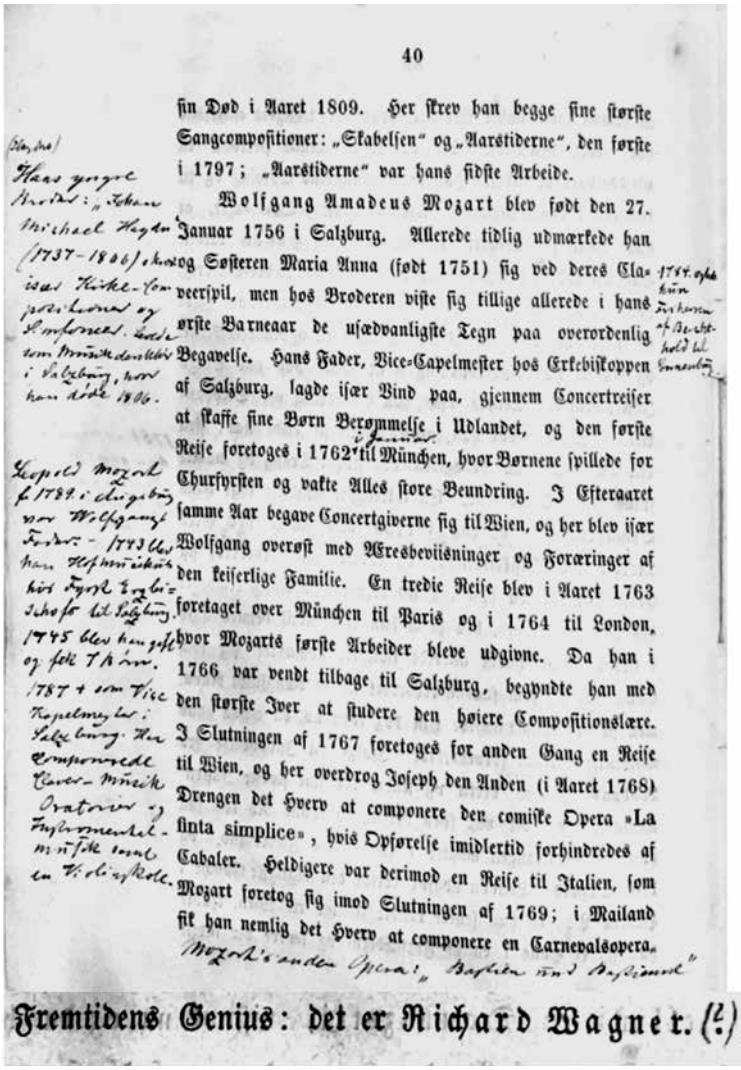
During his time in Svendborg, Simonsen also starred as a solo violinist and played various concerts across Denmark and Northern Germany. In 1833, he relocated to Randers in Jutland, where he worked as a music teacher and allegedly became the first teacher of August Winding (1835–1899) (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.). While it cannot be verified that Simonsen indeed was Winding's teacher, Simonsen did play a concert together with the seven-year-old Winding on March 21, 1843, in Copenhagen (Randers Amtsavis 1843, n.p.). According to his certificate of employment as organist at Vor Frue Kirke in Nyborg from 1841, Simonsen also served as director of music for the *Jydske Dragonerregiment* during his time in Randers (Castenschiold; Faber 1842, n.p.). Such military orchestras had a repertoire exceeding simple marches and military signals by far. As Carl Nielsen states, the military orchestra in Odense, Funen, where he played from 1879 onwards, included pieces such as the *Titus-Ouverture* by Mozart (Nielsen 2015, 116f.). During his legacy as director of music and teacher in Randers, Simonsen also continued his work as composer and violinist.

As in Svendborg, Simonsen established a music club, comprising twenty-four musicians and a choir in Randers (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.). For this ensemble, he continued to compose further orchestral pieces with a solo violin. It is not known, however, on which occasions these pieces were performed or why they were composed in the first place, rather than simply performing pieces by established international composers.

As a teacher in Randers, Simonsen also began composing sacred works in the form of church cantatas. Most of them are written for special occasions regarding the jubilee of reformation in 1836 and 1837 or the coronation of Christian VIII in 1840. Among these works, however, one noteworthy cantata stands out, bearing the title *Das Gebet des Herrn* (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1727). Contrary to expectation, the cantata's libretto is not the Lord's Prayer, nor even a paraphrase of it. While it contains two quotes borrowed from the traditional text, the rest is largely a free worship of God's grace and his magnificent creation. This is extremely interesting given that Simonsen's audiences in a religious setting had always been Danish. German was heard frequently in Denmark, especially in the upper classes and at the university, but not so much in the Danish province relatively far from Schleswig. The exact purpose of this composition is therefore difficult to determine, and its possible liturgical use in Simonsen's direct sphere of operation is questionable.

In 1841, Simonsen must have decided to leave Randers. His certificate of employment as organist at Vor Frue Kirke in Nyborg, Funen, is dated January 1, 1842, (Castenschiold; Faber 1842, n.p.). Before Simonsen started his office as organist in Nyborg, however, he undertook a concert tour through Denmark and parts of Germany, mainly Hamburg and Dresden, but also Berlin and Leipzig. On this tour, he met Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809–1847), Clara Wieck-Schumann (1819–1896), and most importantly, Karl Lipinski (1790–1861), to whom he dedicated the piece *Souvenir de Lipinski* (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1722). In Hamburg, Simonsen also played together with the famous Norwegian virtuoso Ole Bull (1810–1880) (Randers Amtsavis 1842: n.p.). These encounters indicate that Simonsen was by no means limited to the Danish province. He maintained close contact with influential musicians in Germany. In general, Simonsen had a huge interest in German composers, as can be seen in the annotations to Immanuel Rée's *Veiledning i Musikens Historie* (1859). Leopold Mozart (1719–1787), whose most famous work is a treatise on violin playing, was of particular interest to Simonsen, evidenced through extensive handwritten annotations of biographical information next to Mozart's name (Rée 1859, 40). Yet his interest in German composers had its limits. On the very last page, Rée described Richard Wagner (1813–1883) as "Fremtidens Genius" (the Genius of the future). Simonsen added only a question mark in brackets (Rée 1859, 68), suggesting either unfamiliarity with Wagner or at least scepticism towards Rée's judgment.

During his time in Nyborg, Simonsen composed little sacred music. He published a couple of religious songs (Simonsen 1874), but no cantatas from this period survive. He established a town orchestra and a choir (den borgerlige sangforening) (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.) performing concerts on various occasions in public places. The most important venue, alongside the church, was most certainly the city hall of Nyborg (Andersen 1956, 154), where, so to speak, state-supportive events took place. The musicking of such a semi-professional ensemble was, in this sense, a political act in itself. Many similar musical ensembles existed in Denmark at the time, usually made up of amateur and semi-professional musicians. In his autobiography, Carl Nielsen reported that anyone could participate in these ensembles, consisting of "smalltown musicians, schoolteachers, farmers, and whoever else could tractate one or another instrument" (landsbymusikanter, skoleleærere,



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sin Død i Aaret 1809. Her skrev han begge sine største Sangcompositioner: „Skabelsen" og „Aarstiderne", den første i 1797; „Aarstiderne" var hans sidste Arbeide.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart blev født den 27. Januar 1756 i Salzburg. Allerede tidlig udmærkede han og Søsteren Maria Anna (født 1751) sig ved deres Claveerspil, men hos Broderen viste sig tillige allerede i hans første Barneaar de usædvanligste Tegn paa overordenlig Begavelse. Hans Fader, Vice-Capelmester hos Erkebiskoppen af Salzburg, lagde især Vind paa, gjennem Concertreiser at skaffe sine Børn Berømmelse i Udlandet, og den første Reise foretoges i 1762 til München, hvor Børnene spillede for Churfyrsten og vakte Alles store Beundring. I Efteraaret samme Aar begave Concertgiverne sig til Wien, og her blev især Wolfgang overøst med Æresbevisninger og Foræringer af den keiserlige Familie. En tredie Reise blev i Aaret 1763 foretaget over München til Paris og i 1764 til London, hvor Mozarts første Arbeider bleve udgivne. Da han i 1766 var vendt tilbage til Salzburg, begyndte han med den største Iver at studere den høiere Compositionslære. I Slutningen af 1767 foretoges for anden Gang en Reise til Wien, og her overdrog Joseph den Anden (i Aaret 1768) Drengen det Hverv at componere den comiske Opera »La finta simplice«, hvis Opførelse imidlertid forhindredes af Cabaler. Heldigere var derimod en Reise til Italien, som Mozart foretog sig imod Slutningen af 1769; i Mailand fik han nemlig det Hverv at componere en Carnevalsopera.

Fremtidens Genius: det er Richard Wagner. (!).

Figure 1: Simonsen's annotations to Michael Haydn, Leopold Mozart, and Richard Wagner. Copenhagen, 1859. Det Kgl. Bibliothek, J. E. Simonsens Samling 1956–57.35.

gårdmænd, og hvem der ellers kunne traktere et eller andet instrument, Nielsen 2015: 58). This harsh judgment might explain the typical structure of Simonsen's compositions, briefly described above. The orchestra played simple parts while he took the virtuosic solo violin. This reflected necessity rather than musical preference or taste. Simonsen's orchestra could not play a more significant role, as it was not educated enough to do so. That this arrangement coincided with the virulent enthusiasm about virtuosos in the mid-nineteenth century was a matter of serendipity, though it is questionable how much the fashions of Europe's major stages and elite salons influenced the Danish countryside.

Performances with, and compositions for, the town orchestra can only have been a welcome addition to Simonsen's salary and possibly an outlet for his musical ambitions. His primary occupation in Nyborg, though, was as a church musician. Aside from the small bundle of religious songs already mentioned, there is no evidence of further church compositions from this time. Simonsen retired from his position as church musician in 1881 (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.). He died on March 14, 1886, following cystitis (Sundhedsstyrelsen 1886, 133 [26.02.2025]) and was buried on March 22, 1886, in Nyborg (Kontraministerialbog 1886, 13 [26.02.2025]).

The Depolitization of Political Music Exemplified in "Den tapre Landsoldat"

It is fair to say that Simonsen had little impact outside of the Danish province as a composer, despite his success as a virtuoso during concerts in the 1830s and 1840s. Only a small number of his works, mostly pieces for solo piano, were printed, and it is not known how widely these prints were distributed. Very soon, if not immediately, after his death, he fell into oblivion. Simonsen's lifetime spans

both the *Guldalder* and the political decline of the Danish realm. It is therefore not surprising that many of his orchestral works are based on Danish folk songs when one bears Anderson's theory in mind. Apparently, not only did cultural life in Copenhagen aim to counteract the political development, but provincial musicians such as Simonsen also contributed to maintaining Denmark's cultural prosperity and supporting cultural and aesthetic nation-building throughout the nineteenth century. Simonsen consistently quoted the antefacts he used in full, before varying them in the solo violin accompanied by a moderate yet full orchestra. One example of this are his six variations on "Den tapre Landsoldat".

The song was first published in 1848 in the text compendium *Nye og gamle Viser af og for Danske Folk* (New and Old Tunes by and for Danish People), compiled by the priest Peter Outzen Boisen (1815–1862). In the compendium, the title is written as "Den tappre Landsoldat" (Boisen 1850, 23). The anthology appeared in a second edition in 1850, and in 1852 an edition including one hundred melodies for the songs was published, though it did not include "Den tapre Landsoldat" (Bull; Boisen 1852, IIIf.). According to the table of contents, the song was written for the First Schleswig War (Boisen 1850, V). The poem, written by Peter Faber (1810–1877), is simple, humorous, and at times even vulgar. It tells the story of a young Dane explaining to his girlfriend and his parents why he is happy to go to war against the approaching Germans. First, he recounts how his girlfriend asked to accompany him, which he refused because he was leaving for war. Now, he declares, all of Denmark's girls rely on him, and if he survives combat, he will return. Until then, he is happy to be a "tappre Landsoldat" (brave landsoldier). His parents then ask him to stay and help with the harvest, but he ironically replies that if he does not go, the Germans will come and help with the harvest instead. Stanza three summarizes what will happen when the Germans arrive: everyone will be pitied under their harshness. They will shout at the Danes "Du bis [sic!] faul!" (You are lazy), and respond to any Danish words with "Hols [sic!] Maul!" (Shut up). The poor German orthography may be an honest mistake or may reflect the Low German dialect spoken by many of the German soldiers during the war, who came from northern Germany. As the lyrical first-person concludes, the behaviour of the Germans might not bother people who are able to speak two languages, "but Hell knows not for the one, who only can [speak] one [language]" (Men Fanden heller inte for den, der kun kan eet)! While these first three stanzas use rather concrete language and imagery, the fourth is patriotic in a more "classic" sense. It focuses on the unifying power of the Danish flag, *Dannebrog*, and refers to the myth that it fell from the heavens during a battle in Tallinn in 1219. This ancient symbol forms an identity between historical soldiers and the combatants of 1848, creating a connection with the "glorious history" of Danish warfare. The fifth stanza continues in this tone, though it focuses on the current situation in politics. It asserts that Denmark will win because it is led into battle by its king, "who does not talk, but strikes" (han snakker ei, men slaaer). At that time, Frederic VII was king of Denmark. According to the stanza, he was more Danish than the kings before him (saa Dansk som ham var ingen Konge her i mange Aar—as Danish as him, no king has been here in many years"). And therefore he resisted those who "act, as they believe, as if he was not free anymore, and those want to have him in German slavery" (De lade, som de troer, at han inte meer er fri, og selv vil de dog ha' ham i det tydske Slaveri). The final stanza combines the elements mentioned in the first five stanzas. For both his girlfriend and his homeland, the soldier must fight, love the Danish language, and shed his own blood for *Dannebrog*. If the soldier does not return home, King Frederic VII will console his parents by assuring them that he has held his oath. Every stanza ends with three cries of "Hurra".

As said above, no melody for the text was included in Boisen's compendium. The composer Johan Ole Emil Horneman (1809–1870) published his work independently as the first number in his series "1848. Musikalske Erindringer for Pianoforte" (1848. Musical Memories for Pianoforte). The compositional style is very simple. The key is A major. The harmonic range does not exceed a double dominant with a seventh dissonance to lead to an imperfect cadence on E major in m. 4 and 8. Other than that, only the tonic, subdominant, and dominant are used. The simple accompaniment makes the piece easy to perform and focuses strongly on the soloistic presentation of the melody. Additionally, the melody requires only humble skills from a singer. It consists of variations of one motif, and the first part (part A) is repeated three times, with a part B inserted after the first repeat. The frequent tone repetitions are noteworthy and contribute to the melody's character. All interval jumps are part of broken chords. The melody is led in a dotted rhythm and in short phrases that are interrupted by rests. While the short phrases make the melody easy to follow as they clearly structure it, the dotted rhythm creates a joyful, marching character that strives forward. This truly is a tune for a battlefield, to be sung by simple and barely educated soldiers, in which the war is depicted as an amusing adventure. And it is this tune that Simonsen chose as the basis for one of his orchestral works.

"Den tapre Landsoldat" forms Opus 12 in Simonsen's oeuvre (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1709). It was evidently played in connection with the First Schleswig War at the town hall of Nyborg. Surviving parts exist for a solo violin, two first violins, two second violins, two violas, two violoncelli and double basses, three flutes, one first clarinet in A, one second clarinet in A, one first oboe, one second

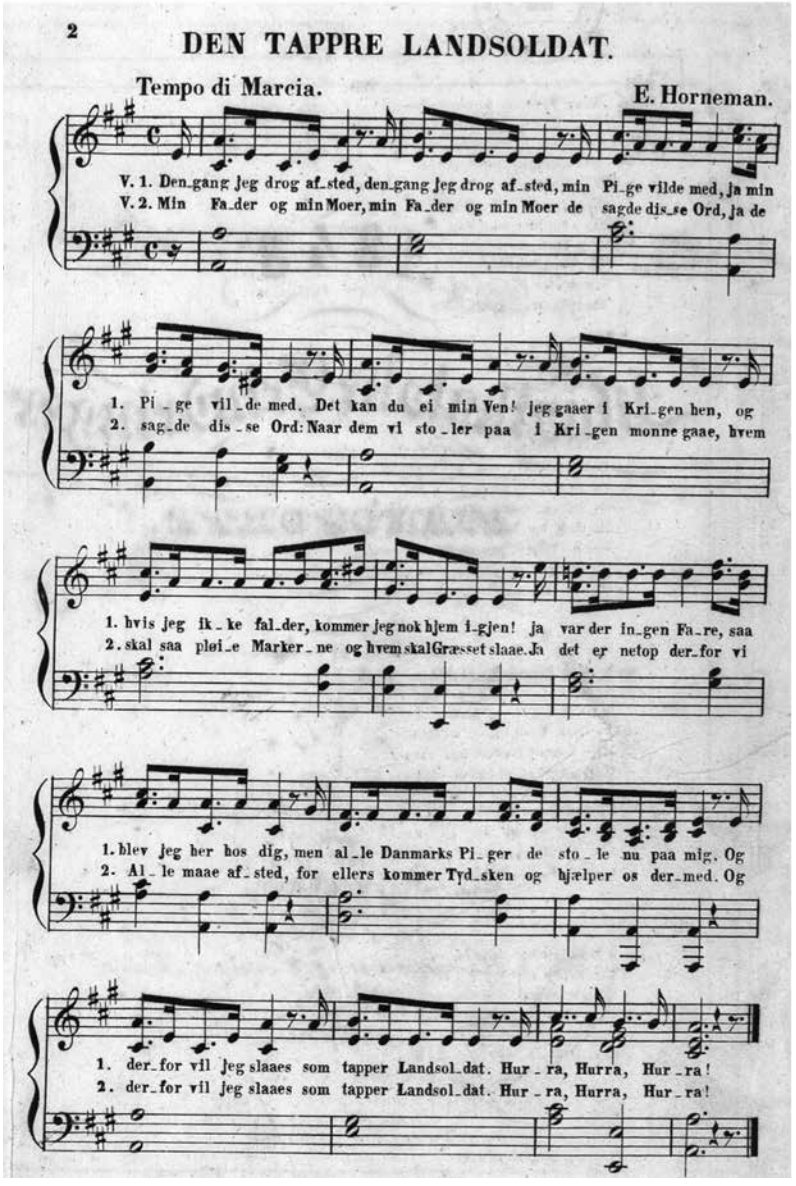

Figure 2: *Den tappre Landsoldat* by Horneman. Copenhagen, 1848.

oboe, one first bassoon, and one second bassoon, two horns in A, and a kettle drum. This reflects the minimum number of required musicians, although it is most likely that the musicians shared the score and that there were more string and wind instrument players involved than indicated by the number of surviving part books. The piece is clearly structured: it opens with an introduction played by the solo violin after a brief prelude played by the full orchestra. The melody is then stated in full, followed by six variations. At the end, there is a ferocious finale. The melody's variations are played by the solo violin, accompanied by the other string instruments, with brief intermezzi for the entire orchestra between them. The finale is an opulent conclusion loosely based on the song's melody.

Simonsen opens his piece with two bars of repeated A's before introducing the head of the subject in the first violin and flute, which is later repeated once more. The introduction mimics the melody's rhythm and principal notes, as can be seen in the imperfect cadence in m. 6 that corresponds to the melody. This is contrasted by a more lyrical episode in mm. 7–10, consisting mainly of scales in the higher instruments and longer notes in the accompaniment, temporarily leaving the marching character established previously. The head of the subject then returns, again closing with an imperfect cadence. This time, however, the cadence is not reached by a soprano clausula in the first violin, as in m. 6, but more closely quoting the melody through a tenor clausula. Via a more or less chromatic movement downwards, the dominant E major is reached, on which the prelude ends.

According to the Polish musicologist Zofia Lissa, a fragmented quotation within a musical work is enough to make the entire quoted work (the antefact) present in the

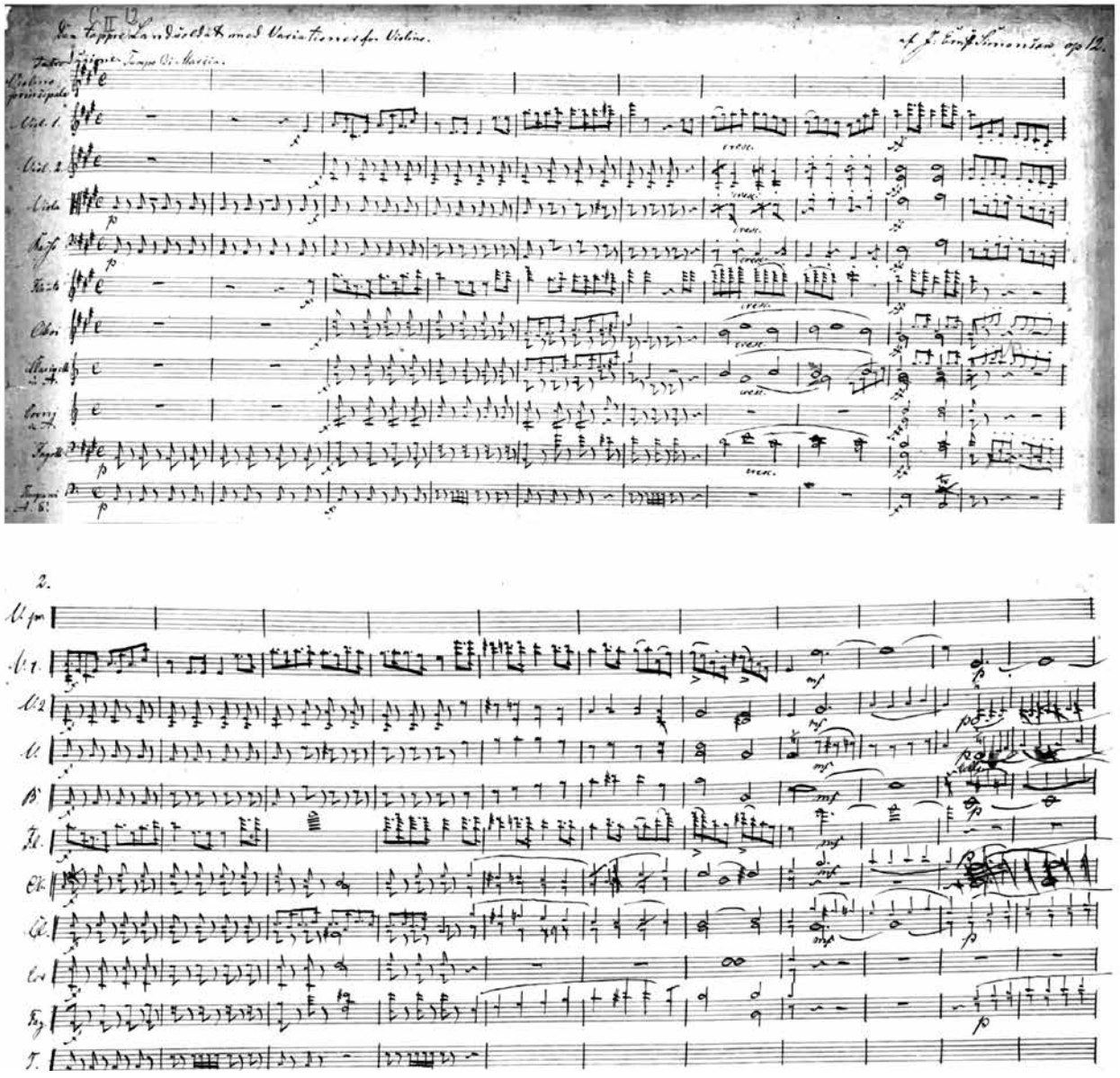

Figure 3: The prelude of Simonsen's "Den tapre Landsoldat". Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

newly composed work (artefact). Lissa qualifies the musical quotation as a diachronic phenomenon that adds a level of meaning to the artefact (Lissa 1966, 364). It follows that the quotation must remain recognizable as a foreign body within the artefact (Lissa 1966, 265). In addition, the recipients must have the opportunity to categorize and understand the quotation. Therefore, the quotation must be comprehensible and obviously known by the intended circle of reception. For without its categorization within the antefact, the quotation loses both its meaning and its purpose as a tool of communication. The antefact needs not necessarily to be a musical work. It can also be a "musical entity" (Lissa 1968, 157). A work is created by an individual with the intention of communication, whereas a musical entity is subject to more variation because it arises through an oral tradition and lacks a clear musical identity. This is the case with folk songs and some hymns that are known from liturgical practice rather than from a compendium classifying the hymn in its written form as work by an author and a composer, for example, possibly even as a chorale. A decisive criterion for classifying music as a "work" is therefore that there is an individual intention—namely the intention of the composer—in contrast to the dynamic growth of orally transmitted musical entities (Lissa 1968, 158). While performers may bring their own intentions to a work, these remain subordinate to those of the composer, so that the work retains its character. Minor interpretative variations, for example, in tempo across performances or recordings, do not disturb the essential character of the work (Lissa 1968, 158).

The role and function of the quotation within the artefact must be clearly defined (Lissa 1966, 365). Lissa

identifies thirteen criteria for such a definition (Lissa 1966, 365–367), always regarding the musical quotation as a teleological-persuasive phenomenon.

As a fragment of the antefact, the quotation appears in the artefact as a self-contained whole. It thus remains a whole that can be easily separated from the artefact, which would only have an effect on the artefact, but not on the antefact.

In addition to literal quotations, there are also quotations with moderate adaptations to the compositional structure of the artefact (for example, in rhythm, metre, or harmony). The quotation must only be recognizable in its structural quality. This argument applies more to quotations from other musical works than to those from musical entities in the broader sense described above.

The quotation stands *pars pro toto* for the entire antefact. This means that the information load of the quotation is significantly increased compared to its role in the antefact. The quotation thus carries significantly more information in the artefact than in the antefact.

The quantitative extent of the quotation is limited, so that the quotation in the artefact can have a self-contained effect. If the quotation were too extensive, it would no longer be comprehensible as a quotation because it would become a genuine part of the artefact and its thematic structure.

The quotation must be sufficiently well known within the intended circle of reception, the programmatic-semiotic statement that is intended to be made.

The quotation must not lose its character as a self-contained whole within the artefact, because then it would no longer be a foreign body, and its semiotic expressiveness would be lost. Therefore, it cannot assume a thematic function in the artefact.

With regard to its semiotic structure, the quotation can be assimilated into the artefact. This changes its expressiveness. The artefact determines the meaning of the quotation to a certain extent through its own structure. The quotation can be reinterpreted by the artefact.* The relationship between quotation and artefact is therefore reciprocal.

In the artefact, there are places that are more suitable and places that are less suitable as a place for a quotation. In the structure of the artefact, the quotation should occupy the place where it can fulfil most of its functions on a semiotic-programmatic and aesthetic level in order to have a direct effect on the semiotic content of the artefact.

This is why the quotation is never absolute. It is always integrated into the phases of the artefact, in which it occurs.

The quotation, devoid of any autonomy, expands the artefact by a moment of surprise, which entails processes of association that for their part go beyond the interpretations of the antefact.

The integration of the quotation changes the interpretation of what follows the quotation. Although, as discussed under point 7, the artefact has a retroactive effect on the quotation, the quotation changes the perception of the artefact to an even greater extent.

The quotation has an ontologically exposed quality. For it is both a foreign body in the artefact as well as part of it. That which is distinct from the artefact is the reason why the quotation was inserted in the first place.

The choice, function, and handling of the quotation are usually an indicator of the composer's relationship to the antefact.

The applicability of Lissa's theory to Simonsen's work may be questioned, since the tune is not a quotation, but rather forms the backbone of the piece, which varies upon the tune. A variation is typically defined as the "successive order of varied versions of a preceded subject" (Fischer; Drees 2016 [26.02.2025]). Clearly, the melody functions as the thematic core. Yet it needs to be clear that the work-identity of Simonsen's piece is distinguished from that of the tune. The quotation does not occupy the absolute position which Lissa describes, but it is still clearly recognizable as a quotation of an extant musical entity. Its communicative function, therefore, aligns with Lissa's understanding of the musical quotation.

In the case of "Den tapre Landsoldat," even a fragment would be enough to qualify the piece as a creative reworking of the song, according to Lissa's framework. And throughout the prelude, Simonsen keeps the tune fragmented. His composition continues with a non-thematic introduction for the solo violin, presumably played by himself, accompanied by the other string instruments.

This introduction is not based on the military song. Its discursive value can therefore be questioned. The frequent use of sighing motifs at the end of phrases, which characterises the piece, might intriguingly be interpreted as a lamenting protest against the war. But, as will be shown later, there is reason to be sceptical about how discursive this composition in total can be understood. It is more likely that the introduction primarily serves to show off the abilities of the solo violinist, namely Simonsen himself. Accordingly, the introduction is relatively long, spanning seven pages of the full score, which totals only twenty. The compositional structure of the introduction is more or less the same throughout this part of the piece. Scales in

* At this point Lissa does not refer to the performance situation, which, however, without doubt also has drastic effects on the expressiveness and hermeneutics of the quotation. The performance situation could, for example, make an ironic-satirical adaptation recognizable as such, even if irony is not part of the work itself. Likewise, a religious idea can be integrated into a secular ideological context, conversely, secular content can be religiously charged by quoting it in a liturgical context.

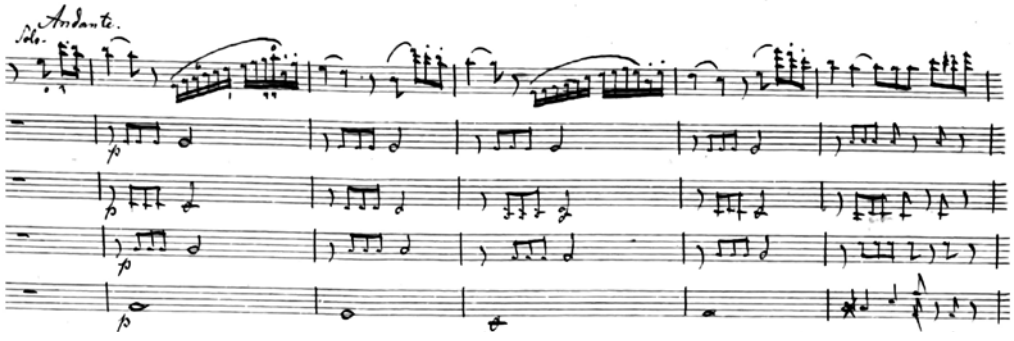

Figure 4: The beginning of the part for solo violin. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

semiquavers lead to cadences that are reached with suspension that, in turn, create the aforementioned sighing motifs. At the end of the introduction, however, there is an interesting correction. The viola, the violoncello, and the double bass were originally supposed to play two bars of scalar movement in semiquavers, which is crossed out in the full score. In the part books, a snippet of paper is glued above the original score, replacing it with a moderate movement G-flat – A – B – A in the viola and a constant repetition of C-flat in the violincello and double bass.

The earlier version was possibly too difficult to realise for the musicians and was therefore adapted and simplified. This supports the aforementioned assumption that Simonsen did not write the pieces the way he did to follow the virtuosic taste in Europe, but rather reacted to the low standard of his orchestra by focusing on the solo violin. Following the introduction, the solo violin plays the entire melody of "Den tapre Landsoldat" accompanied by the other string instruments.

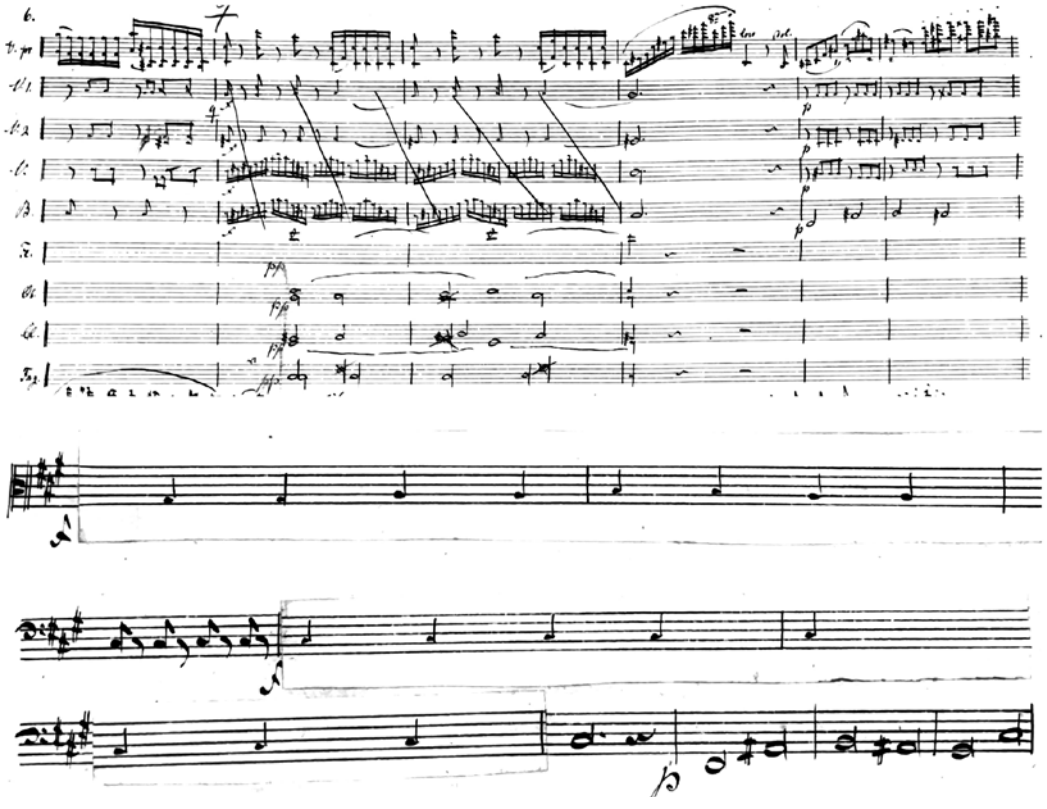

Figure5: Corrections in violas and violoncellos and double basses. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

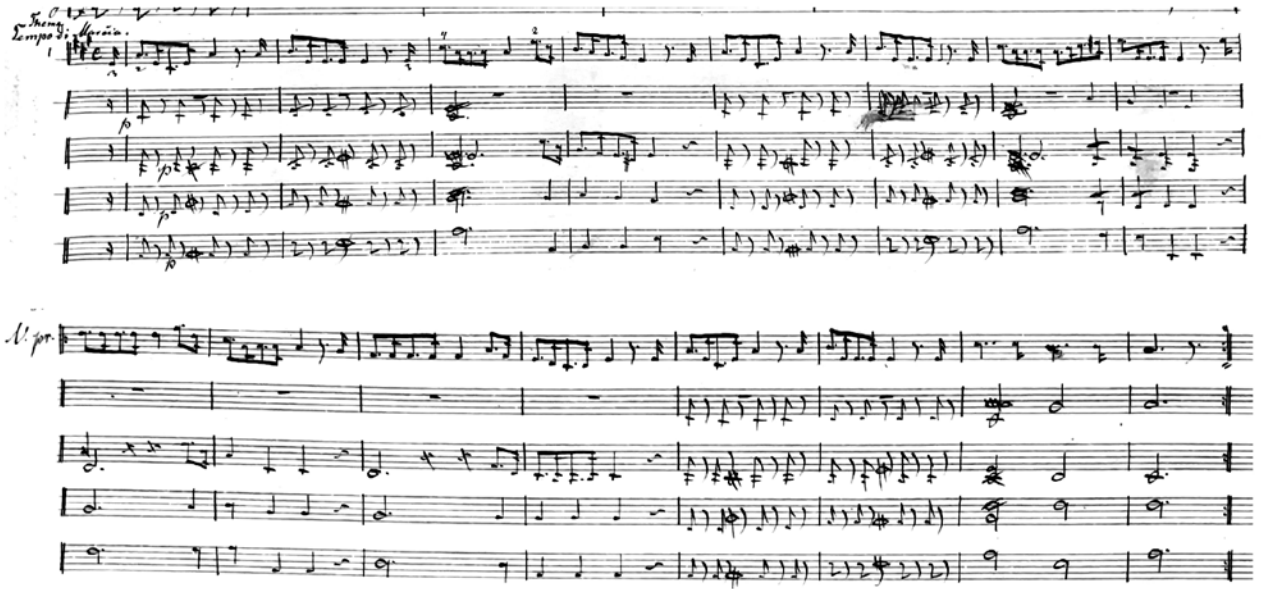

Figure 6: The subject. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

Originally, this accompaniment was borrowed directly from Horneman's piano piece. Simonsen later corrected it, splitting the breves into semiquavers interrupted by rests, closely resembling the accompaniment of the prelude to the introduction. Notably, this is only done in the first half. From m. 8 onwards, Simonsen follows Horneman exactly until the head motif is repeated at the end of the stanza, when Simonsen reverts to the model of accompaniment he established at the beginning of the melody. This is followed by a *tutti* in which all instruments play based on the Hurra-motif from the song, leading into the first variation. This *tutti*, repeated after each variation like a refrain, links the six variations together. The Hurra-motif consists of a descending third scale, with each pitch repeated in a dotted rhythm.

There are six variations. To assume that every variation resembles the content of the corresponding stanza would imply that the music is programmatic in the sense that it aims to translate discursive content into music – much like Wagner's *Ewiges Orchester* where certain motifs are assigned

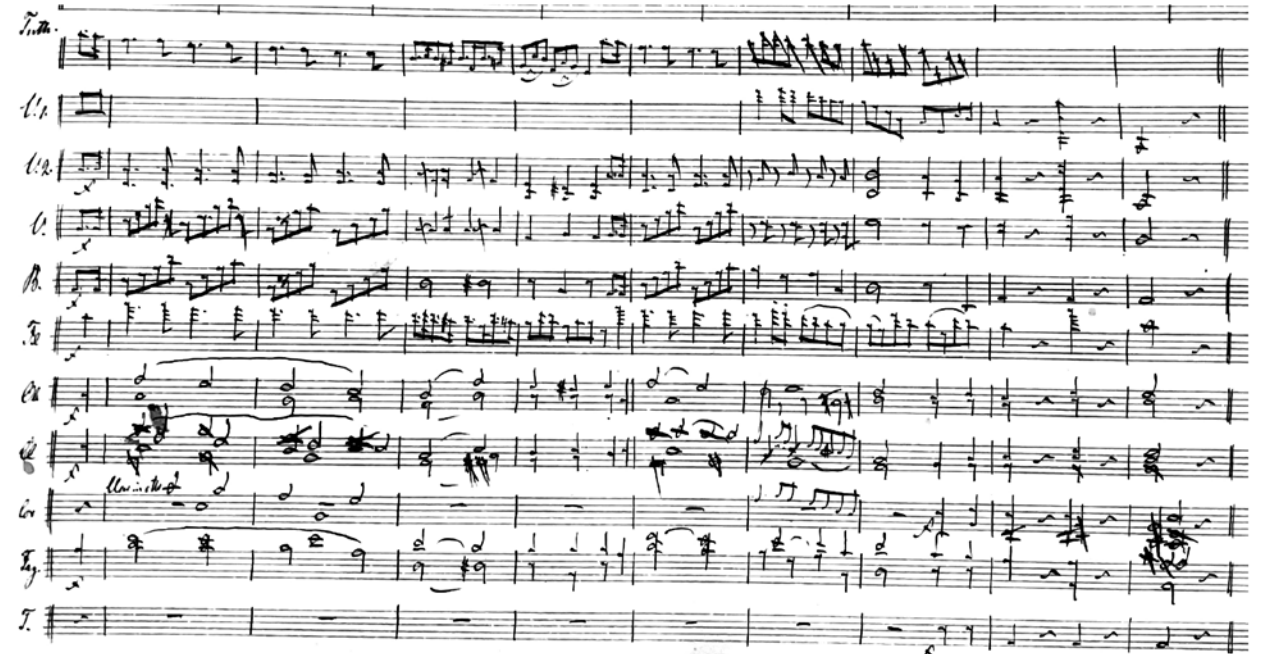

Figure 7: The *tutti.* Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

a discursive meaning. Yet the variations show no evidence of such intent. Throughout the variations, only the string instruments accompany the solo violin. The accompaniment consists of basic chords following the harmonic structure prescribed by Horneman. The variations are virtuosic but compositionally simple. All thematic work is to be found in the solo violin. The variations mostly consist of scales and broken chords following the melody. The first variation features extensive scalar movement reminiscent of the introduction. The accompaniment has significantly less marching rhythm than the full statement of the song. This variation is a little more lyrical, and there is even some chromatic movement in the viola and the second violin. Still, the bass line is only a lightly enriched reworking of Horneman. No obvious hypotyposis is present; for example, the line "hvis jeg ikke falder" (if I don't fall) at the end of part A in the first variation is set without any significant melodic rise or fall.

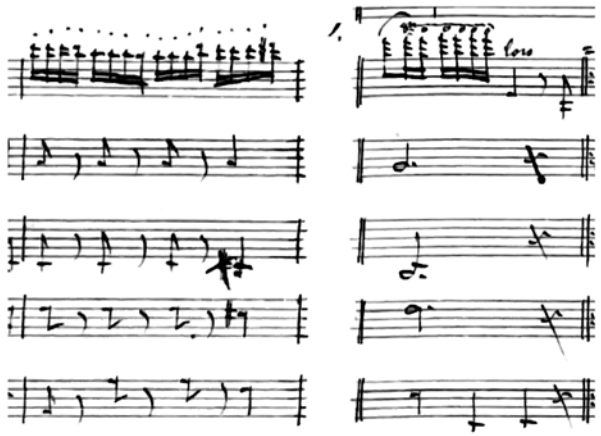

Figure 8: "og hvis jeg ikke falder" in Var. 1. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

The following E' merely connects the extremely high conclusion to the opening of the repeated part A on *A*. The second variation restores the marching rhythm in the accompaniment, while the scales of the solo violin are somehow reduced in their tonal range. Its distinctive feature is the occasional second voice played by the solo violin. This is mostly done in parallel thirds to the first voice, but in certain instances, there is a small degree of independence in the second voice.

The third variation is notable for its ternary structure, though this is more plausibly explained by the fact that it is the third stanza than by any discursive interpretation. Stanza three in the song describes insults exchanged between Danes and Germans, but there is nothing triadic about that. No obvious programmatic meaning in the compositional structure of the variation can be inferred. The same applies to the line "den fald fra himlen ned" (it [Dannebrog] fell down from the heaven) in variation four. While followed by some descending scalar movement, this movement can hardly be described as programmatic since it reoccurs in many different settings throughout the entire composition.

The fifth variation too bears little relation to the song's content. It stands in A minor, reflecting the convention in variation cycles of including a contrasting mode. In this variation, there is also some movement in the bass, but it remains fairly easy to play since the variation is to be played *Andante sostenuto*. The fifth stanza depicts the Danish king as a war hero and ferocious warrior. There is no motivation within the text to shift to a minor key at this point in *Andante sostenuto*. It is more likely that Simonsen regarded a variation in minor as constitutive for a cycle of variations, and, not wishing to end in a minor key, placed it here as the last opportunity. The fifth variation is followed by a

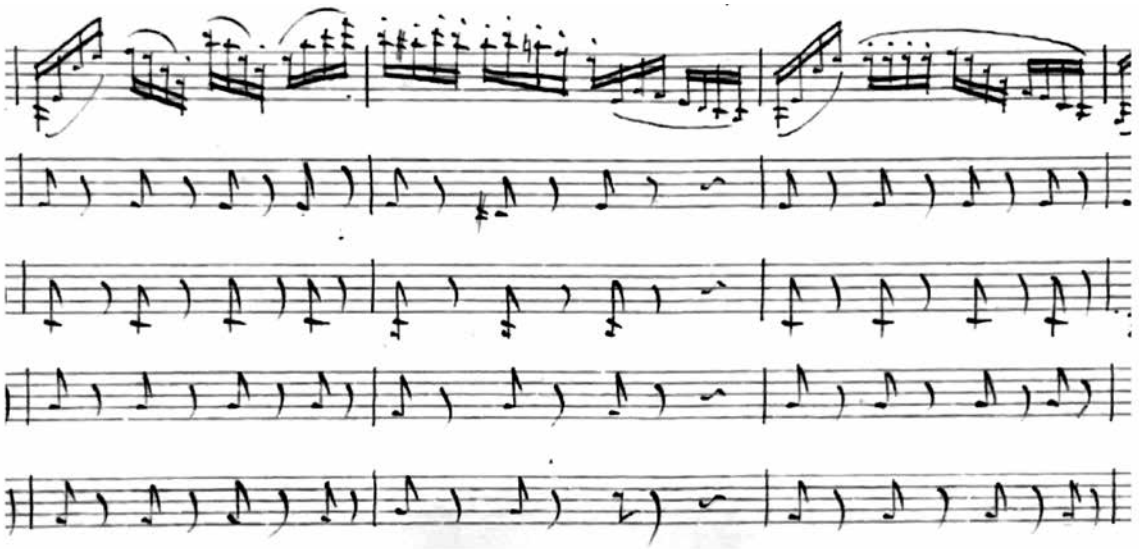

Figure 9: «den fald fra himlen ned» in Var. 4. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

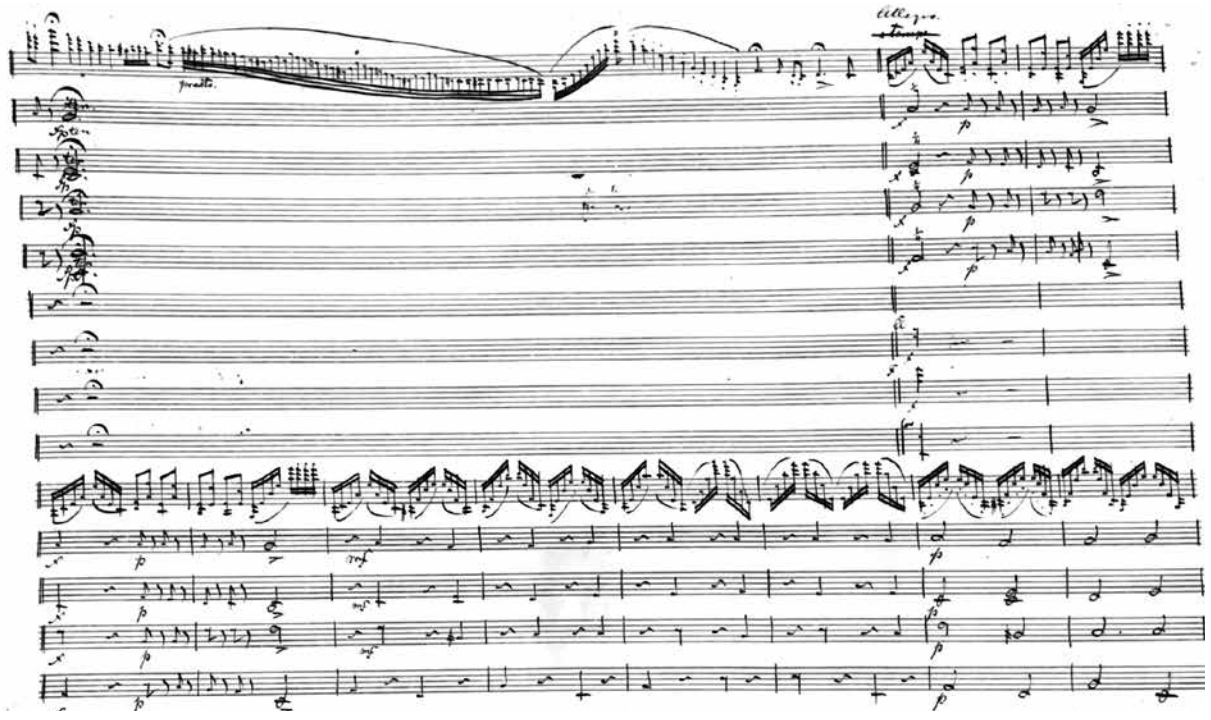

Figure 10: The end of Var. 6 and the beginning of the finale. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

tutti section, different from the earlier refrains. While the virtuosic part lies in the solo violin, the orchestra, especially the lower voices, shows a lot more movement than before. The *tutti* contains little thematic work but serves to prepare the way for the sixth variation, which is extremely virtuosic. At its opening, the solo violin plays in two voices: the lower carrying the melody with fourths and thirds in the first voice. An excessive number of broken-chord scales follows, ultimately leading to a chromatic movement descent in demisemiquavers spanning two and a half octaves.

The work concludes, predictably, with an opulent finale. After a couple of bars, the entire orchestra joins in, creating a *fortissimo*. It is evident that Simonsen's composition privileges the solo violin while keeping the orchestra in the background. This can be explained by the humble capacities of his orchestra. As Simonsen demonstrates in a chorale book written in Randers in the 1830s (Temme 2024, 150), he was perfectly capable of composing complex harmonical structures. The chorale book, today in private possession, is in part a copy of older chorale books, the chorales of which are moderately harmonically enriched by Simonsen. But in five instances, Simonsen wrote new chorales in addition to the more common settings also presented. These six chorales "For fuld Orgel" (For the entire Organ) are characterized by chromaticism, characteristic and enharmonic chords, and much movement in the middle voices (Temme 2024, 155f.). This enrichment, mostly based on the introduction of leading tones, creates a compact harmonic composition that is delicate and requires a high degree of compositional skill. This is very different in his variation cycle. The compositional substance is not that important, and neither is the thematic work. Simonsen clings to Horneman's harmonic structure and replaces the melody with scales and broken chords, keeping only the cornerstones of the melody. Simonsen did not need to keep the melody recognizable throughout: having quoted it at the beginning, it was clear to the audience that this was a patriotic piece. The communicative situation was thus secure. "Den tapre Landsoldat" is typical of Simonsen's melody-variation works (the term "melody-variation" is further explained in Fischer, Drees 2016 [26.02.2025]), alongside others based on folkloristic tunes such as "Den danske kyst" (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915–16.1720) or "Paa hine elsket Steder" (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1716).

Might this be what Anderson describes as "the vernacularization of another form of printed page: the score" (Anderson 2016, 75)? Anderson suggests, even though he does not elaborate on that thought any further, that the discovery of the vernacular as a language of art and literature equal to the established main languages like Latin, French, and German coincided with nationalistic movements in music. Just as H.C. Andersen and his contemporaries advanced Danish literature, a parallel, though not necessarily causal, development may be observed in Simonsen's music. What is so striking about Simonsen's case is how he reworks a clearly political song, almost certainly performed in a political context at the town hall of Nyborg, into something progressively depoliticized. That is not to say it is apolitical. But instead of focusing on the ideological content by programmatically translating the poem's context into music,

he stresses the artificial side of his composition. By writing a passage for two voices in the solo violin in the second variation and a triadic structure in the third one, he rather seems to count the variations then to be interested in converting an epic narrative of a soldier into music. In his expeditious composition, he presents himself as a virtuoso. In order to be able to play and perform his own compositions, he chose to work with material known and appreciated by his environment. In this sense, he did not use music to deliver a political message, but used a political occasion as an opportunity to deliver music. As stated above, this does not make the music apolitical, nor does it imply that Simonsen resisted Danish nationalism by not composing an ideological program in his variations. Instead, he uses the political occasion and the expectation of his audience as a vehicle for performing music that he otherwise could not realize in a provincial city due to the lack of an interested audience as well as capable musicians. For, as stated in Simonsen's obituary, there was essentially no musical life in Nyborg before his arrival, *nota bene* as church musician and not as concert virtuoso.

Conclusion

Danish nationalism is a challenging topic due to the extremely complicated political situation faced by the Danish state throughout the nineteenth century. A distinctly anti-German dimension, which is easily explained by the political and geographical context, is contrasted by a direct dependence on German culture. Simonsen's connections to Germany and his personal meetings with German composers, as well as his academic interest in German music, as can be seen in his annotations to Rée's *Musikens Historie*, illustrate how deeply Danish music was intertwined with its southern neighbour, even in the province.

Simonsen's oeuvre is by no means apolitical. His compositions are political in both their reliance on quotations of nationalistic songs and in the very act of musicking itself within the town hall of Nyborg. Even so, there is a strong artistic dimension. Simonsen deliberately varied quoted melodies to the point that they were barely recognizable to an untrained audience, and he did not compose the variations following a programmatic structure in concordance with the song's stanzas. In this way, he depoliticized the music, using political occasions as a stage for presenting his music and skills as both composer and virtuoso. The political message was secondary to the musical performance. In a provincial setting like Nyborg, openly political events were likely one of the few occasions on which Simonsen could perform his own compositions. By quoting popular songs, he ensured that his compositions suited the setting of the event and would be well-received, understood, and appreciated by his audience. His case enriches the broader picture of Danish musical culture during the Golden Age. Focusing on a provincial composer and virtuoso with a semi-professional orchestra reveals the extent to which political occasions were necessary for sustaining a vivid music scene. Simonsen's oeuvre is intrinsically multilayered and deserves further attention, both from a historical and musicological perspective.

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Santrauka

XIX a. I p. iki 1864 m. laikoma Danijos aukso amžiumi, daniškai *Guldalder*. Šis kultūros klestėjimas matomas visose kūrybinės veiklos srityse. Daugiausia tarptautinio dėmesio sulaukė danų literatūros pasiekimai, ypač Hanso Christiano Anderseno pasakos. Šis kultūrinės veiklos suklestėjimas kontrastuoja su Danijos kaip politinio subjekto, patyrusio daugybę politinių krizių, nuosmukiu. Pradedant Norvegijos praradimu dėl koalicijos su Napoleonu, XIX a. Danijai buvo kupinas politinių išbandymų, įskaitant absoliutizmo panaikinimą 1848 m. ir du Šlėzvigo karus, iš kurių antrasis pralaimėtas 1864 m. Dėl to Danijos karalystė susitraukė iki Jutlandijos pusiasalio viršūnės, Fiuno ir Zelandijos salų bei mažesnių aplinkinių salų. Prarasdama teritoriją Danija prarado didelę dalį savo tarptautinės reputacijos ir įtakos. Dėl politinės krizės buvo būtina sukurti tvirtą kultūrinę poziciją turinčią tautą, kad ji nebūtų absorbuota besiplečiančios Vokietijos konfederacijos, o vėliau – Vokietijos imperijos.

Nors Danijos sostinėje sukurta kultūrinė produkcija sulaukė daug dėmesio ir buvo gerai ištirta ankstesnių mokslininkų, situacija Danijos kaime buvo visiškai kitokia. XIX a. Danija buvo labai priklausoma nuo žemės ūkio. Provincijoje egzistavo nedideli kultūros centrai – mažesni miesteliai. Vienas iš tokių miestelių buvo Nyborgas Fiuno saloje, kurioje baigęs muzikos mokytojo karjerą Jørgenas Ernstas Simonsenas (1803–1886) dirbo bažnyčios muzikantu. Simonsenas taip pat debiutavo kaip smuiko virtuozas ir koncertavo Danijos ir Vokietijos miestuose, kur pristatė tokius kompozitorius kaip Felixas Mendelssohnas-Bartholdy ir Karolis Lipińskis. Išliko Simonseno kompozicijų; tik keletas jų buvo išleistos spausdintine forma, didžioji dalis liko tik rankraščio pavidalu. Jo orkestriniai kūriniai daugiausia sudaryti iš populiarių liaudies ir nacionalistinių

melodijų citatų, taip pat kitų danų kompozitorių kūrinių. Šios citatos imamos kaip pagrindinė tema, kuri vėliau daug kartų varijuojama. Kompozicijos struktūra labai aiški. Ją sudaro gana paprasta orkestro partija, atliekama pusiau profesionalių muzikantų kartu su mėgėjais, ir virtuoziška solo smuiko partija, atliekama paties Simonseno.

Vienas iš tokių kūrinių – „Den tapre Landsoldat“, kurio pagrindą sudaro to paties pavadinimo melodija. Dainoje yra šešios strofos, jose apdainuojama jauno kareivio, kuris džiaugiasi galėdamas kariauti už savo šalį, padėtis. Toks patriotinis kūrinys galėjo būti sukurtas kaip muzikinė programa. Tačiau, kaip rodo šis straipsnis, Simonseno kompozicijos priemonėse nebuvo programinio impulso. Priešingai, jis depolitizuoja muziką, sutelkdamas dėmesį į savo virtuoziškų griežimo smuiku įgūdžių demonstravimą. Dėl to kūrinys netampa apolitiškas, bet politinė situacija, reikalaujanti tokios muzikos, paverčiama muzikos atlikimo priemone, orientuota labiau į pačią muziką nei į politinę ar ideologinę komunikaciją. Taigi Simonseną matome kaip muzikantą, Danijos provincijoje ieškojusį scenos savo kūriniams. Kad rastų tokią sceną, jis pasinaudojo politine doktrina ir kukliu savo klausytojų skoniu, reikalavusiu patriotinės muzikos, ir pristatė virtuozišką aukštos muzikinės vertės kūrinį.

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