

D E T
K G L

B I B
L I O
T E K

PAUL VON KLENAU

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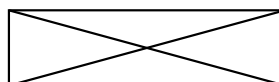
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GENERAL PREFACE

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INDLEDNING

Klenausamlingen fra Wien, 1946-2005

Paul von Klenau (1883-1946) niende symfoni fra 1944-1945 var ukendt for en større offentlighed helt frem til 2001, da den dukkede op som en del af en omfattende samling af musikmanuskripter, breve og andre arkivalier efter Klenau i en herskabslejlighed i Wien. I 2005 lykkedes det for Det Kongelige Bibliotek at erhverve samlingen, som på en række punkter har nuanceret billedet af Paul von Klenau både som komponist og som person.

Klenau levede de sidste seks år af sit liv fra 1939 til 1946 i København, efter at han de foregående næsten 30 år hovedsageligt havde opholdt sig og virket i Tyskland og Østrig som komponist, dirigent og skribent. Efter hans død i København 1946 vendte hans hustru, Margarethe Klimt, i 1947 tilbage til Wien, medbringende hele den omfattende samling (musikværker, artikler, foredrag og breve m.v.), som Klenau havde efterladt sig. Hun påbegyndte straks et omhyggeligt registreringsarbejde af materialet i form af en systematisk datering og nummerering af musikmanuskripterne og foredragsmanuskripterne, alt sammen indført i to notesbøger, der fungerede som indgang til hele samlingen.¹ Efter Margarethe Klimts død i 1988 forblev samlingen i familiens eje, først hos hendes datter og efterfølgende hos hendes barnebarn, hvor den opbevaredes i diverse plastikposer og papkasser ud fra den antagelse – som Margarethe Klimts barnebarn har udtrykt det, angiveligt med et citat af sin mormor – “at en dag ville nogen fatte interesse for samlingen”.² Noget sådant skete i 2001, da Det Kongelige Bibliotek fik nys om samlingens eksistens og efter fire års forhandlinger og fundraising kunne købe den og bringe den til København.

Udover de mange breve, artikler og foredrag indeholdt samlingen som nævnt en række musikmanuskripter af værker, som for en stor del havde været ukendte indtil da. Listen af hidtil ukendte værker blandt de i alt ca. 100 værker i manuskript omfattede blandt mange andre:

Tre symfonier (nr. 4, 8 og 9)

To værker med titlen *Concerto Grosso* for strygere og klaver eller cembalo

En violinkoncert

To strygekvartetter

En klaverkoncert

Sange (bl.a. til tekster af Ludvig Holstein, Friedrich Nietzsche og von Platen).

Den overvejende del af instrumentalmusikken fra denne liste af hidtil ukendte værker stammer fra Klenaus sidste seks år i Danmark.

Efter købet af samlingen, som supplerer den samling Klenau-værker, som Det Kongelige Bibliotek erhvervede allerede i 1972,³ er stort set hele Klenaus produktion nu tilgængelig for en nærmere vurdering, ligesom samlingens øvrige arkivalier (herunder hans upublicerede erindringer, som under titlen *En Musiker oplever den europæiske Kultur 1900-1939* indgik i samlingen) giver mulighed for en generel revurdering af hans biografi, hans kultursyn og hans forhold til Det Tredje Rige.⁴ Også hans virksomhed i de sidste år efter hjemkomsten til Danmark fremstår nu i et klarere lys end hidtil; denne del af Klenaus virksomhed havde indtil da enten været helt forbigået i dansk musikhistorieskrivning eller været præget af den outsider-position, man gav komponisten som følge af hans forbliven i Tyskland frem til kort før udbruddet af Anden Verdenskrig (se nedenfor).

Niende Symfoni

Da Paul von Klenau ved påsketid 1944 afsluttede manuskriptet til *En Musiker oplever den europæiske kultur 1900-1939*, havde han tilsyneladende ingen planer om at kaste sig ud i arbejdet med endnu en stor symfoni. Han havde indtil da skrevet otte symfonier, fordelt over hele sin aktive periode som komponist i årene mellem 1903 og 1942. I indledningen til de nævnte erindringer anfører han eksplicit, hvilke værker han på dette tidspunkt (altså i april 1944) enten netop havde afsluttet eller var i gang med; det drejer sig om operaen *Faarekyllingen ved Arnen*, en klaverkoncert, en række sange til tekster af Nietzsche og en cellosone.⁵ Han nævner ikke sine planer om en stor niende symfoni. Eftersom

- 1 Margarethe Klimts registrant i de to notesbøger opbevares i *DK-Kk*. I et brev til Margarethe Klimt af 3. marts 1947 fra den schweiziske historiker og filosof Rudolf von Salis (som under krigen i sine ugentlige tysksprogede radioforedrag talte imod nazismen og jødeforfølgelserne) hedder det bl.a.: “Nehmen Sie meinen herzlichsten Dank für Ihren ausführlichen Brief vom 11. Februar. Es war mir überaus lieb, zu vernehmen, dass Paul von Klenaus Manuskripte gerettet sind und dass sie bei Ihnen in so gutem – im besten Gewahrsam sind. [...] Auch ich möchte hoffen, dass wir in absehbarer Zeit Gelegenheit haben werden, uns in Ruhe und Sammlung über all' das auszusprechen, was Ihren Gatten, meinen unvergesslichen Freund betrifft. Ich hatte es als etwas so selbstverständliches betrachtet, dass ich ihn nach Ende des Krieges finden würde, dass der Gedanke an sein Entschwinden mich immer wieder schmerzlich beschäftigt”. (*DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen, von Salis breve).
- 2 Margarethe Klimts datter fra et tidligere ægteskab, Birgitta Boskovsky, blev kort før krigen adopteret af Klenau. Det er dog uklart, om denne adoption blev godkendt af de danske myndigheder.

- 3 Købt hos Musikantiquariat Hans Schneider, Tutzing (ifølge samlet registrant fra 1971 i *DK-Kk*).
- 4 Maskinskrivet renskrift af Paul von Klenaus erindringer fandtes i flere versioner (*DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen mappe 71 og 75). De anvendte citater fra erindringer stammer fra en tilrettelagt og kollationeret udgave, som er under udgivelse af Eva Hvidt, Dansk Center for Musikudgivelse; hovedkilden til denne udgave er af grunde, der er gjort rede for i Eva Hvidts forord, Klenausamlingens mappe 75.
- 5 Alle de nævnte værker fandtes i den omtalte Klenau-samling fra Wien, hvori også indgik manuskriptet til den niende symfoni. *Faarekyllingen ved Arnen*, bygget over et af Charles Dickens' juleeventyr med dansk libretto, blev komponeret i 1944-45 (operaen har aldrig været opført, men Klenau skal angiveligt kort før sin død have været rejst til Wien for at undersøge mulighederne for en opførelse; der foreligger således et klaverudtog med tysk tekst fra 1946); klaverkoncerten er slutdateret 28. maj 1944, de ni Nietzsche-lieder er slutdateret juni 1944, og cellosonen er slutdateret november 1943. Klenaus manuskripter til disse værker findes alle i *DK-Kk*.

symfonien bærer Klenaus autografe slutdateringer, der indledes med "December 1944" (første sats) og afsluttes med "20. november 45" (femte sats), må den således være komponeret i løbet af de 19 måneder mellem april 1944 og november 1945. I det hele taget er det påfaldende, at der blandt de mange hundrede breve og optegnelser i Klenaus hånd (ikke mindst fra hans sidste år) ikke synes at være en eneste omtale af arbejdet med en niende symfoni med undtagelse af en henkastet bemærkning i et brev fra Klenau til hans hustru af 14. januar 1945 om, at han arbejder på en stor symfoni; der er således heller ikke nogen antydning af, om Klenau har haft aftaler om en opførelse af værket. Dette er så meget desto mere forbavsende, når man betænker, at værket er det største i hans samlede produktion af instrumentalmusik (både i hensende til udtryk og til omfang). Kun ved man dels fra selve kilde-materialet, dels fra et notat af Klenaus hustru, Margarethe Klimt, skrevet ganske få måneder efter hans død, at han har været i tvivl om, hvilket nummer han skulle give sit nye og, skulle det vise sig, sidste fuldendte værk. Hendes notits lyder: "Diese Arbeit entstand als Sinfonie No. 9. Erst 1946 im Sommer als ich Manuskripte in die Umschläge ordnete, meinte Klenau, aus Ehrfurcht vor Beethoven (u. in der Hoffnung noch das fehlende Werk zu schaffen) die Numerierung zu ändern. Ich habe sie [altså nummereringen] nach seinem Tode wiederhergestellt. Marg.v.Klenau". Denne bemærkning er ikke ganske klar, når man tænker på, at der allerede forelå en kort ottende symfoni – "im alten Stil", komponeret i foråret 1942. Ikke desto mindre har Klenau selv brugt betegnelsen "Symfoni VIII" i forbindelse med værket både på nogle af skitserne, på de tilhørende tekster og på manuskriptet af tredje sats. Alt tyder på, at værket er "komponeret til skrivebordsskuffen", at renskrivningen ikke er ført helt til ende, og at det blev efterladt i "skrivebordsskuffen" ved hans død.

Det falder helt i tråd med denne tavshed – næsten ydmyghed – fra Klenaus side omkring den niende symfoni, at manuskriptet, fuldt gennemskrevet og endda med et ledsagende klaverudtog til de første fire satser, efterfølgende henlå i knap 60 år i en pakke, de første mange år i et sommerhus i Tyrol og derefter på sjette sal i en herskabslejlighed i Wien, ukendt uden for den snævre familiekræds. Først i 2001 blev man som nævnt i Danmark opmærksom på værkets eksistens, og 12 år senere efter overførslen af manuskriptet til Danmark og en grundig revision af manuskriptet, fik det under stor medieopmærksomhed sin førsteopførelse ved en torsdagskoncert i København den 20. marts 2014 under ledelse af Michael Schönewandt med efterfølgende cd-indspilning på plademærket Dacapo Records – næsten 70 år efter sin tilblivelse. I sin foromtale af uropførelsen karakteriserede DR begivenheden som "årets danske musik-sensation". Udover DR SymfoniOrkestret og DR KoncertKoret medvirkede de fire solister Cornelia Ptassek (sopran), Susanne Resmark (mezzo), Michael Weinius (tenor) og Steffen Bruun (bas).

Værket fik en blandet modtagelse i pressen, i de fleste tilfælde med det fælles træk, at de valgte at gøre Klenaus forhold til nazismen og det tredje rige til et centralt tema. Selvom anmelderne fandt opførelsen både vigtig og veludført, herskede der, med en enkelt undtagelse, en vis skepsis omkring værkets samlede forløb med dets sammentilt af fire vokalsatser (en form

for Requiem) og fire rent instrumentale satser i en hørbar blanding af diverse stilelementer. Mest positiv i den sammenhæng var *Politikens* Thomas Michelsen, som under overskriften "Var han så nazist eller hvad?" karakteriserede værket som "...et stjernebestrøet og guddfygtigt, men ikke entydigt opgør med krigen", og sluttede sin anmeldelse med at karakterisere opførelsen som "...en musikhistorisk begivenhed" (*Politiken* 22.3.2014). I *Berlingske Tidende* (21.3.2014) ironiserede Søren Schauser over værkets stilpluralisme og publikums umiddelbare begejstring efter opførelsen ("Ikke så få tilhørere rejser sig rigtigt nok i begejstring bagefter og hujer hjerteligt"). De mange stiludtryk sammenfattes med ordene: "Man begynder med tolvtonetirader og ender med udækket nationalromantik – dog uden det nationale. Bevidst gammeldags? Knap så bevidst gammeldags? Og hvor blev modernismen af undervejs? Paul von Klenaus sidste symfoni viste sig som dansk musiks mest eklektiske værk til dato". Anmelderen slutter dog med ordene "En kontroversiel aften. En modig aften fra DRs side. Bliv endelig ved med den slags".

Også i *Information* (24.3.2014) fokuserede man på de mange forskelligartede inspirationskilder, der ligger bag værket. Anmelderen Valdemar Lønsted påviste træk fra både Beethovens niende symfoni, Mahler, Korngold, Bruckner og Hindemith. Han måtte dog konkludere, at "Selv om man [efter afslutningen af apoteosen i ottende sats] sad med den bedste vilje, gik den tiltænkte forløsning mere i retning af det trættende end det egentlig opløftende".

Den mest kritiske bedømmelse af symfonien kunne læses i *Weekendavisen*. Her udtrykte Jakob Levinsen sin forståelse for, at DR havde investeret ressourcer i at få værket opført, men han fandt selve værket uvedkommende og uinteressant: "En slags forsinket guldaldermusik med stumt g. Det er givetvis ærligt ment, men det viste sig bare ikke særlig vedkommende, eller for den sags skyld musikhistorisk interessant som andet end et monumentalt kuriosum. Inklusive at musikken ender med at fremstå langt mindre nytænkende – og for den sags skyld nutidig – end de symfonier, Klenaus yndlingsaversion Carl Nielsen skrev en generation tidligere" (*Weekendavisen* 28.3.2014).

Den eneste ubetinget positive modtagelse fik værket af *Jyllands-Postens* anmelder Christine Christiansen under overskriften "En tidløs klang af krig". Anmelderen koncentrerede sig om selve værket og sammenfattede sit syn på det således: "Med uropførelsen af den største symfoni, som en dansker nogensinde har begået, fik Klenau torsdag en ydmyg, posthum hyldest. Symfonien indspilles, og partituret publiceres. Alt sammen yderst velfortjent".

Ugen efter den danske førsteopførelse blev symfonien transmitteret i Tyskland af Deutschlandradio Kultur under overskriften "Zwischen Goebbels und Schönberg", og i foromtalen af transmissionen blev Klenau karakteriseret som "Der Emil Nolde der Musik" – med en udtalt henvisning dels til Noldes dansk-tyske tilhørsforhold, dels til hans erklærede tilslutning til det nazistiske parti.

Den niende symfoni omfatter otte satser, hvoraf anden, fjerde, syvende og ottende sats er forsynet med latinsk tekst, dels liturgiske tekster fra den katolske dødsmesse, dels tekster af ukendt oprindelse, formentlig skrevet af Klenau selv:

Anden sats:

Fra Requiems-messen: Hele *Introitus* med udeladelse af sætningerne “in Sion, et tibi reddetur votum in Jerusalem” og “ad te omnis caro veniet”, efterfulgt af Kyrie eleison – Christe eleison – Kyrie eleison, således som det også er praksis i den katolske liturgi. Derefter de syv første strofer af sekvensen *Dies irae*,⁶ altså med udeladelse af bl.a. stroferne “Rex tremendae”, “Recordare” og “Lacrymosa”, som jo spiller en stor rolle i mange andre *Dies irae*-kompositioner fra de seneste 250 år.

Klenaus brug af teksten til første strofe af sekvensen afviger på et enkelt punkt både fra den liturgiske praksis og fra den musikalske tradition omkring brugen af denne tekst. Første gang begyndelsen af sekvensen citeres (t. 71), sker det med de velkendte ord fra dødsmissen “Dies irae, dies illa” (“Vredens dag, hin dag ...”). Ved gentagelsen af denne strofe i t. 88 som et indskud mellem anden og tredje strofe hedder det imidlertid “Deus irae, Deus illa” – altså “Vredens Gud” i stedet for sekvensens originale “Vredens dag”. Da denne forskel genfindes såvel i Klenaus blækmanuskript som i hans skitser,⁷ må man formode, at den er tilsigtet fra hans side, om end ændringen rent grammatisk i så fald burde have heddet “Deus ille”. Denne sammenstilling af “Dies” og “Deus” i forbindelse med den velkendte latinske sekvens fra 1200-tallet kendes ikke fra nogen anden hverken musikhistorisk eller teologisk sammenhæng. I nærværende udgave er Klenaus ordlyd (“Deus ille” – altså med ændringen af Klenaus grammatisk ukorrekte “illa” til “ille”) fastholdt på dette sted, omend en fejlskrivning fra komponistens hånd vel ikke kan udelukkes helt og aldeles.⁸

Fjerde sats:

Tekst af ukendt oprindelse, der falder i to dele, først formuleret som et spørgsmål, derefter som en konstatering,⁹ i Klenaus oversættelse af den latinske tekst således:

Er det Livets evige Modsigelse: at vi bliver trætte af Fredens Aar og – sværmende for Heltedaad – kaster os ud i Krigen for kæmpende at længes efter Freden?

Dette er Livets evige Modsigelse: sværmende for Heltedaad – kaster vi os ud i Krigen for kæmpende at længes efter Freden.

Hvorefter de to udsagn afsluttes med:

Lær Ærefrygt for Livet. Ærefrygt for Livet er Ærefrygt for Gud.

6 I første strofe har Klenau udeladt tredje linje “Teste David cum Sibylla”.

7 Blækmanuskriptet til den niende symfoni indeholder en række rettelser og anvisninger på spring og gentagelser i Klenaus hånd, hvilket kunne tyde på at der er tale om et forlæg til en egentlig renskrevet kopi, der således efter alt at dømme aldrig blev udført.

8 Spørgsmålet kompliceres af, at Klenau i blækmanuskriptet på side 25 undlader at udskrive hele gentagelsen af *Dies irae*-delen (t. 67-105 gentages som t. 178-216), men i stedet skriver “Jetzt folgt Wiederholung des *Deus irae* ...”; her er klart tale om en fejlskrivning, idet gentagelsen – uanset uklarheden omkring problemet *Dies/Deus* – umisforståeligt skal begynde med ordene “*Dies irae*”.

9 Af Klenaus tekstbilag til symfonien på dansk, tysk og latin fremgår det, at gentagelsen af spørgsmålet som en afsluttende konstatering må være faldet ham ind under kompositionsprocessen, idet denne gentagelse ikke forekommer i tekstbilagene.

Syvende sats:

Citat fra den katolske messes ordinariusled *Agnus Dei*.

Ottende sats:

Tekst sammenstillet af citater fra messens *Sanctus* og *Agnus Dei*, suppleret med kort tekst af ukendt oprindelse, der slutter med en sammenstilling af på den ene side “den evige lov inden i mennesket” og på den anden side “stjerneskarerne over os” (“In nobis lex aeterna; supra nos legiones stellarum”). Man hæfter sig ved det før-kristne, stoiske begreb (“den evige lov”) stillet over for det guddommelige skaberværk (“stjerneskarerne”).

Valget af netop disse tekster kan undre, når man medtænker Klenaus erklærede – eller i hvert fald stærkt problematiserende – forhold til kristendommen. Det gælder ikke mindst den afsluttende sætning i fjerde sats, som står i stærk modsætning til Klenaus egen beskrivelse af sit gudsforhold i erindringerne, hvor det i et afsluttende afsnit, dateret langfredag d. 7. april 1944, bl.a. hedder:

Da jeg som Barn har troet paa Gud med hele et Barns naive Sikkerhed og Hengivenhed, maa jeg være født med religiøse Anlæg. – Hvoraf kommer det, at jeg i Dag ikke er i Stand til at tro blindt? – Jeg indser i højeste Grad Religionens Nødvendighed for den Enkelte og for Samfundet, jeg forstaar hvilken Lykke Religionen betyder for dem, der er i Stand til at bede og lægge deres Skæbne i Guds Haand. – Hvilken Trøst og Kraft maa ikke Troen paa den Guddommelige Retfærdighed og det evige Liv give? – [...]

Har jeg forsømt at pleje Troen? – Er det min Skyld, at jeg ikke kan tro i den Forstand som den virkelig Troende tror, – saaledes som jeg formaaede at tro, da jeg var Barn? – At der kan være en dyb Kløft mellem den personlige og den kirkelige Tro indser jeg, men kan man være helt alene med Gud? – Er det ikke nødvendigt at være et Led i en Menighed? – Det sidste er mig endnu umuligere end det første. – Men Gud og jeg – og jeg og Gud er en anmassende Tanke. Hvorfor skulde jeg være en Undtagelse. [...]

Jeg tror om mig selv at jeg er irreligiøs, skønt jeg hele Livet igennem, som kun faa, har stræbt efter Idealer, – aandelige Værdier, der gælder ud over Øjeblikket, Dagen, Aarhundreder.¹⁰

Kun seks måneder før sin død sendte Klenau en artikel til Vilhelm Grønbaeks tidsskrift *Frie Ord* med titlen “Musiken og Fremskridtet”.¹¹ Artiklen, som blev afvist af tidsskriftets hovedredaktør Vilhelm Grønbaek, slutter således:

10 *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen mappe 75, tredje del, s. 173.

11 Blækkladde og maskinskrevet renskrift samt kort brev fra Vilhelm Grønbaek, der meddeler, at “...man ikke kan finde plads” til artiklen, i *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen mappe 28 (på indersiden af omslaget har Margarethe Klimt på en indklæbet mærkat skrevet: “1946 im März. Letzte Musik-Kronik. Selbst das ‘Frie Ord’ wagt nicht Klenau’s Stimme sprechen zu lassen”). Det kulturkritiske tidsskrift *Frie Ord* udkom i årene 1946-48, redigeret af Vilhelm Grønbaek og Hal Koch.

Jeg kender ikke et eneste værdifuldt Musikværk, som ikke søger Gud. Thi om Gud kredser vi. Gud er ikke Endepunktet paa en Linie, men Centrummet for en Kreds. Gud er ikke Solen eller Lyset, men det indre Lys. Og han er ikke i Naturen alene, han er i Mennesket. Han er i alt levende – han er. Han er den eneste, der er til. Og vi lever kun, hvis vi kredser om hans centripetale Kraft.

Derfor lever ogsaa kun den Musik, som kredser om det guddommelige i Mennesket. I tusind forskellige Former ytrer Menneskets indre Holdning sig. Men bliver Kunsten centrifugal, saa bliver den indholdsløs, saa mister den sin Mission, saa er den set sub specie æternitatis værdiløs.

Klenaus forhold til kristendommen synes at være mindst lige så udogmatisk som hans forhold til nazismen og Det tredje Rige (se nedenfor) – uden sammenligning i øvrigt.¹²

Følgende slutdateringer findes i manuskriptet i Klenaus hånd:¹³

- Første sats: December 1944, januar 1945
- Anden sats: 8. februar 1945
- Tredje sats: 20. februar 1945¹⁴
- Fjerde sats: uden datering
- Femte sats: 20. november 1945
- Sjette sats: 5. november 1945
- Syvende sats: uden datering¹⁵
- Ottende sats ("sidste Del"): 22. april 1945.

Som det fremgår, synes de af sætterne, som er dateret, at være komponeret i denne kronologiske rækkefølge: første, anden, tredje, ottende, sjette, femte sats, idet fjerde og syvende sats er uden datering.

Det skal yderligere bemærkes, at en enkelt af skitserne er forsynet med en titel på omslaget, der lyder "Skizzen / Symphonie IX / (tragische Ouvertüre)" og en anden skitse forneden på siden har påskriften "Skizzen / tragisk Overture 44". Det lader sig ikke afgøre, om betegnelsen *Tragisk Overture* på et tidspunkt har været tiltænkt hele værket (hvilket ikke giver megen mening) eller blot en enkelt sats.

Endelig er det påfaldende, at to af nodearkene med skitser under overskriften "Dronning Dagmar i Ribe" indeholder diverse en- og tostemmige udsættelser af den kendte danske folkevis, uden at det dog har udmøntet sig i den endelige version af symfonien. Forklaringen kan være, at netop disse to skitser aldrig har haft

noget med forarbejdet til symfonien at gøre, men at de blot ganske tilfældigt er overleveret sammen med de mange andre skitser.

Klenaus bekendtskab med Schönberg og kredsen omkring ham og ikke mindst med Matthias Hauer førte ham ind på den dodekafone kompositionsteknik, hvilket også afspejles i den niende symfoni. Allerede i sine operaer fra 1930'erne, herunder den i Danmark opførte *Dronningen*,¹⁶ og i den syvende symfoni fra 1941 havde han arbejdet med den dodekafone teknik – i en form, som han selv betegnede som "den toneartsbestemte tolv-tone-musik".¹⁷ I en række artikler fra 1930'erne havde han gjort rede for, dels hvordan han var nået frem til denne teknik, dels hvordan han – på linje med Schönberg – opfattede den som den logiske følge af den musikalske materiales udvikling siden Wagners modne værker. Samtidig betonede han, måske for at distancere sig fra den musik, som af nazisterne blev anset for "entartet", at metodens ophavsmand var Matthias Hauer, ikke den jødiske Schönberg, ligesom han med prædikatet *toneartsbestemt* understregede teknikens forbindelse med fortidens fundering i tonalitets- og modsætning til dens karakter af at være et brud med denne udvikling.¹⁸

I den niende symfoni optræder dodekafone passager side om side med mere dur-mol prægede afsnit (stærkest kommer dette til udtryk ved overgangen fra fjerde til femte sats), og blandt skitserne til symfonien findes to ark med fuldt udskrevne tolvtonerækker til henholdsvis tredje og fjerde sats, både i retvending og i omvendning.

Klenaus symfonier

Da Klenau i 1939 som følge af de politiske forhold slog sig ned i København, havde han en mere end 30-årig glørværdig karriere bag sig i Tyskland som komponist, kapelmester og debattør – kun afbrudt længere ophold i København i årene efter udbruddet af Første Verdenskrig og frem til midten af 20'erne, og i årene 1920-1926 virkede han som leder af det af ham selv stiftede *Dansk Filharmonisk Selskab*.¹⁹ Allerede i 1903 havde han stiftet familie i Tyskland,²⁰ og i løbet af de kommende år skabte han

16 Oprindeligt med titlen *Elisabeth von England*.

17 Udtrykket anvendes i en række af Klenaus publicerede og upublicerede artikler om hans egne dodekafone værker og om den generelle musikhistoriske udvikling i første del af det 20. århundrede.

18 Se f.eks. upubliceret manuskript i (DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen mappe A 285), hvor det i en note på s. 33 hedder: "Da Schönberg Jude ist, wird das Zwölft-Ton-System auch öfters von Gegnern [...] als eine "jüdische Erfindung" bezeichnet. Diesen Angriffen gegenüber sei festgestellt, dass Joseph Matthias Hauer Arier ist"; endvidere: "Durch Schönberg wurden Berg und von Webern, beide Arier, auf das Zwölft-Ton-System gebracht und beide haben für die Weiterentwicklung dieser Theorie Bedeutendes und Hervorragendes geleistet". Se også Klenaus publicerede artikler om operaen *Michael Kohlhaas* i *Zeitschrift für Musik* 101, 1934 og *Die Musik* 27, 1935.

19 Se Michael Fjeldsøe, *Den fortrængte modernisme*, København 1999, s. 52ff. og Claus Røllum-Larsen, *Impulser i Københavns koncertrepertoire 1900-1935*, København 2002, bd. 1 s. 132ff. og bd. 2 s. 289ff. Se også Klenaus håndskrevne tale ved en privat sammenkomst i 1920 efter en koncert, der beskriver hans planer om et sådant selskab (DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen mappe 80).

20 Ægteskabet med Anne Marie Simon, med hvem han fik fire børn, blev opløst i 1926. Efter skilsmissen levede han sammen med den østrigske tekstilkunstner, senere leder af det i marts 1933 nyoprettede Frankfurter Modeamt, Margarethe Klimt, som han blev gift med i København i 1941, og hvis hovedfor tjeneste det er, at hans nodemanuskripter, breve og andre arkivalier er bevaret for eftertiden.

12 Tidligere i erindringerne, hvor Klenau beretter om sin konfirurationsundervisning, skriver han: "Konfirurationsundervisningen, som foregik hos Præsten, var nærmest pinlig. Salmer og Skriftsteder og Bønner. Stiftsprovst Paulli formaaede at udslette min religiøse Følelse saa radikalt, at den aldrig nogensinde er kommet frem igen."

13 I manuskriptet formuleret således: "Dec 44 Januar 45"; "8^{te}/ II/45"; "20/2/45"; "20 Nov. 45"; "5 Nov. 1945"; "22/4/45".

14 Som nævnt med titlen "VIII Symphonie".

15 *Attacca*-angivelsen efter syvende sats antyder, at sætten er komponeret i samme tidsrum som ottende sats.

sig et omfattende netværk blandt europæiske – ikke mindst tyske – digtere, filosoffer, malere, musikere og andre åndspersoner. Dette i en sådan grad, at han i alle disse år i sit fædreland nærmest blev betragtet som tysk komponist. En medvirkende årsag til denne “outsider-position” var, at Klenaus ekspressionistiske tonesprog og hans inspiration fra Schönberg-kredsen lå meget langt fra den dominerende musikalske trend i Danmark i 20’erne og 30’erne, præget på den ene side af Carl Nielsen og hans tilhængere og på den anden af neoklassicistiske og folke-musikprægede tendenser.

Allerede i 1922 skrev han en artikel i dagbladet *Politiken* med overskriften “Har vor Tids Musik sin Berettigelse” som svar på en kronik af komponisten og naturvidenskabsmanden Rudolph Bergh, “Problemet Arnold Schönberg”; hos Klenau hed det bl.a.:

De facto er Schönbergs Musik – rent objektivt bedømt: *den nødvendige logiske Konsekvens af de sidste Aartiers musikalske Udvikling*. Dette kan man bevise! og med dette Bevis maa enhver Tanke om at kategorisere Schönberg under Begrebet Anormalitet opgives. – Tværtimod, Schönberg er alt for normal – alt for logisk – alt for betinget af Udviklingen. Deri ligger netop hans Begrænsning. Schönberg er en genial *Forstand*; om han sub specie æternitatis er en stor, genial Personlighed, er en anden Sag. –²¹

Karrieren i Tyskland og herunder ikke mindst Klenaus venskab med en lang række førende tyske og østrigske åndspersonligheder inden for musik, litteratur og filosofi er indgående beskrevet i hans erindringer, *En Musiker oplever den europæiske Kultur 1900–1939*, der er nævnt i det foregående.

Når man ser bort fra Rued Langgaard, er Klenau sin tids mest produktive danske symfonikomponist. Hans ni symfonier blev til i to forskellige perioder af hans liv, idet de første tre stammer fra årene mellem 1903 og 1915, mens de resterende seks alle blev komponeret i årene 1938 til 1945, heraf de sidste fire efter tilbagekomsten til Danmark.²² Da sekundærlitteraturen vedrørende Klenau af indlysende grunde bringer ufuldstændige oplysninger om hans symfoniske produktion, skal der i det følgende gives en samlet oversigt over genren, således som den foreligger efter erhvervelsen af Klenausamlingen fra Wien i 2005 og de nye oplysninger omkring komponistens værk og karriere, der i den forbindelse dukkede op:

Første symfoni (1903 og 1907)²³

Der er overleveret to forskellige værker fra Klenaus hånd under betegnelsen “Første Symfoni”.

Det tidligste af disse værker, og således Klenaus debut som symfonikomponist, er en ufuldendt symfoni i d-mol med den autografe datering “Freiburg/Breisgau 29/1 1903”. Værket er overleveret som manuskript i Det Kongelige Bibliotek som en ufuldendt første sats forsynet med et omhyggeligt kalligraferet titelblad.

Fire år senere foreligger den af Klenau selv anerkendte “første” symfoni, som er slutdateret af komponisten 10. oktober 1907, og som året efter fik sin førsteopførelse i München ved Tonkünstlerfest des allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins. Blyantsrenskriften i Det Kongelige Bibliotek indeholder to forskellige versioner af den langsomme andensats. I sine erindringer nævnt ovenfor omtaler Klenau de idealer, der lå bag hans tidlige symfonier, direkte møntet på denne første symfoni:

Som ung saa jeg min Opgave i at skrive Symfonier, hvis “aandelige Holdning” skulde svare til Bruckners Kunst, men hvis Form skulde gydes efter Beethovens arkitektoniske Principper. I Sandhed en besynderlig Opgave for en ung Musiker at stille sig. Baade min første og tredje Symfoni vidner om disse Bestræbelser. Men den første Symfoni var ret umoden. Min musikalske Udvikling havde ikke formaaet at holde Trit med min aandelige. Dog vil det være uretfærdigt ikke at indrømme, at der var Partier i dette Arbejde, som var lykkedes smukt, selv om Helheden ikke var uden betydelige Mangler. Navnlig den langsomme Sats er et fint Stykke Musik. Jeg er forbavset over, hvor anstændigt Kritiken tog paa dette.²⁴

I samme forbindelse understreger Klenau, at den engelske komponist Frederick Delius, som indtil sin død i 1934 hørte til Klenaus nærmeste venner, overværede opførelsen “(...) og roste Værket”.²⁵

Anden symfoni (1907)²⁶

Kun to måneder efter forelå endnu en symfoni fra Klenaus hånd, symfonien i c-mol, der kun er overleveret ukomplet i form af Klenaus håndskrevne partitur til første og fjerde sats samt stemmer i kopi til en anden sats. Den afsluttende sats, *Thema mit vier Variationen*, er slutdateret “10 December 1907”.

Tredje symfoni (1910?)

Heller ikke tredje symfoni er overleveret komplet, men dens tilblivelseshistorie er indgående omtalt i erindringerne. Uden datering findes begyndelsen af en første sats i f-mol²⁷ samt en komplet autograf af en slutsats, som angiveligt udgør en del af den tredje symfoni, dateret sommeren 1915; satsen bærer titlen *90 Psalm Davids (Gebet) um Gnade. Schluss-Chor der f moll Symphonie No 3 für Sopran Solo, Chor und Orchester*.²⁸ Af erindringerne fremgår

21 Rudolph Berghs kronik blev bragt i *Politiken* den 15. december 1921 og Klenaus svar i samme avis den 3. januar 1922.

22 Klenaus produktion af symfonier i 1940erne sættes i relief af den artikel, som Knudåge Riisager skrev i 1940 i *Dansk Musiktidsskrift* under titlen “Symfonien er død – musikken leve”, som vakte en del opsigt i komponistkredse og fremkaldte en vis diskussion efterfølgende.

23 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 141 og 002.

24 DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen mappe 75, fra kapitlet i første del “Mennesker jeg som Purung traf i Berlin”.

25 Ved samme Tonkünstlerfest fik anden del af Delius’ *A Mass of Life* sin førsteopførelse.

26 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 003.

27 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 004.

28 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 081.

det, at dette *Te Deum* allerede i 1910, i en tidligere version, var blevet opført som en del af tredje symfoni efter forinden at have været opført som en selvstændig komposition. Klenau skriver således:

Mit "Te deum" blev opført i Breslau under Kapelmester Georg Dohrn.²⁹ Det var et meget ungdommeligt Arbejde, som forlangte et lige saa ungdommeligt Opbud af udøvende Kunstnere. Et stort blandet Kor – et Drengekor – og et ekstra Basunorkester; et "mægtigt" Apparat, som naturligvis ikke stod i noget rimeligt Forhold til det aandelige Indhold. Jeg mindes den rørende Begejstring, som navnlig Børnekoret viste ved denne Koncert. Hvad var det ikke for Tider, hvor man ofrede saa stort et Arbejde paa en ung umoden Tonekunstners Komposition. Dette "Te deum" komponerede jeg senere om, og det kom til at danne den femte og sidste Del af min 3. Symfoni i F Moll, som blev opført i Strassburg under Hans Pfitzners Ledelse,³⁰ senere af Ernst von Schuh i Dresden. Denne Symfoni er i øvrigt blevet spillet i en Række Storbyer. Snedler-Petersen [Schnedler-Petersen] spillede den uden Koret i Tivolis Koncertsal.³¹

Fjerde symfoni (1938)

Klenaus fjerde symfoni er overleveret i to forskellige kilder. Den tidligste er Klenaus autograf, der bærer titlen *Festsymphonie*, og hvor satserne fremstår uden titler.³² Denne kilde dukkede op i forbindelse med fundet af Klenausamlingen i 2001 på en måde, der viser, at end ikke Margarethe Klimt havde bemærket sammenhængen mellem denne kilde og den efterfølgende kilde med de tre symfoniske digtninge.³³

Den anden kilde er en håndskreven professionel kopi med titlen *3 symphonische Dichtungen. Festsymphonie (No 4) 1938*, hvor kun omslaget (inklusive titlerne på de tre satser) er skrevet i Klenaus hånd. De tre satser er her forsynet med titlerne *Hamlet der Däne*, *Thema mit Variationen* og *Volksfest (Nach einem alten Marsch)*.

Ifølge erindringerne blev værket aldrig opført i hans levetid, angiveligt fordi komponisten ikke fandt anledning til at foretage sig noget aktivt for at arrangere en opførelse.

Både i erindringerne og i den senere sekundærlitteratur omtales en såkaldt *Dante-symfoni* fra 1913 som "fjerde symfoni"; der er imidlertid her tale om et forarbejde til den symfoniske fantasi *Paolo und Francesca*, der oprindeligt var planlagt som en af satserne i en stor sammenhængende symfonisk cyklus i syv satser med titlen *Inferno-Fantasie*, som dog aldrig blev fuldført. I erindringerne redegør Klenau selv for, hvorfor projektet aldrig blev videreført:

Fra München foretog jeg Rejser. Jeg lærte Verona og Venedig at kende. Dante læste jeg atter og atter og influeret af hans Inferno – sandsynligvis ogsaa af Rodins store Plan: at skabe en hel Række af Dante-Figurer, som skulde samles i et mægtigt Taarn – udkastede jeg Skitserne til en Dante Symfoni, eller rettere en Række sammenhørende symfoniske Digtninge, der skulde fylde en hel Aften. Denne Plan blev aldrig helt udført. Kun een af disse symfoniske Digtninge, "Paolo og Francesca", er blevet spillet i en Række Byer. I København ledede Peder Gram en udmærket Opførelse i Aaret 1919.³⁴

Et andet sted hedder det i erindringerne – stadig om denne symfoni: "Min 4. Symfoni var et Forsøg, og Forsøget lykkedes kun til Dels".³⁵

En række kilder vidner om arbejdet med denne ambitiøse cyklus af symfoniske fantasier. Tilsyneladende er udgangspunktet en ikke fuldført symfoni, fra hvilken en enkelt sats kendes i en omhyggeligt kalligraferet professionel kopi i form af et 48 siders partitur med titlen: *Partitur / Symphonie (b moll) 7 von / Paul A von Klenau*.³⁶ I øverste venstre hjørne af titelsiden er tilføjet med blyant i Klenaus hånd: *Klenau / Brøndsteds allé 6 / Kopenhagen*. Kopien indeholder talrige blyantsrettelser i Klenaus hånd.

Satsen er skrevet for stort orkester bestående af 3 fløjter, piccolofløjte, 2 oboer, 6 klarinetter, basklarinet, 3 fagotter, kontrafagot, 6 horn, 4 trompeter, 3 basuner, bastuba, pauker, slagtojs, 2 harper samt strygere. Den er noteret uden fortegn med tempoangivelsen "Unheimlich bewegt" og metronomangivelsen "♩=84 bis 88."

Efterfølgende omarbejdede Klenau denne sats, nu med titlen *Paolo und Francesca* med henblik på den nævnte cyklus af scener fra Dantes *Inferno*. I den omarbejdede version blev den sidenhen trykt i Wien som selvstændig sats.³⁷

Nodefundet i Wien i 2001 afslørede imidlertid, at det ikke er helt korrekt, når Klenau hævder, at der kun foreligger skitser til de øvrige satser i den planlagte cyklus. I samlingen fandtes nemlig blækrenskrifter af to satser på henholdsvis 67 og 50 partitursider med titlerne *Inferno-Fantasie I Teil* og *Inferno-Fantasie III Teil*, og en blyantsoversigt i Klenaus hånd med angivelse af titlerne på samtlige syv planlagte satser viser, at *Paolo und Francesca* var planlagt som cyklussens anden del.³⁸

Femte symfoni (1940)

Symfonien bærer tilnavnet *Triptykon* og er som nævnt den første symfoni, Klenau skrev efter at være flyttet tilbage til Danmark.

29 Tysk dirigent, 1867-1942.

30 Senere anføres det eksplicit, at denne opførelse af Pfitzner (1869-1949) fandt sted i 1910.

31 DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen mappe 75, fra kapitlet i første del "Mennesker jeg som Purung traf i Berlin". I Klenaus erindringsmanuskript er bemærkningen om Schnedler-Petersen (1867-1938) streget ud.

32 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 144. Oprindeligt er værket således tænkt som en traditionel symfoni og ikke som en sammenstilling af tre symfoniske digtninge.

33 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 082.

34 DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen mappe 75, fra kapitlet i første del "Mennesker jeg som Purung traf i Berlin". Den manglende dato i erindringerne er: Dansk Koncert-Forening 7. april 1919.

35 DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen mappe 75, kapitel VII.

36 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 005.

37 Universal-Edition Nr. 6170, Wien 1919. Ny udgave i studiepartitur, Universal-Edition, Wien 2006, Study score 465, udgivet af Bradford Robinson. I forordet til denne udgave nævner Robinson – formentlig fejlagtigt (se ovenfor) – en fjerde symfoni fra 1913 med titlen "Dante" Symphony.

38 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 145.

Symfonien, der er tilegnet Carl Schuricht,³⁹ er, sammen med syvende symfoni, den eneste af symfonierne, der blev trykt.⁴⁰ Den fik sin førsteopførelse ved en Torsdagskoncert i København d. 21. november 1940 under Schurichts ledelse og fik en positiv modtagelse i den danske presse.⁴¹ Efterfølgende blev den sendt i radioen d. 10. februar 1943, dirigeret af Erik Tuxen i anledning af Klenaus 60-års fødselsdag dagen efter.⁴²

Udover fra den trykte udgave kendes værket fra en afskrift og nogle skitser i Det Kongelige Bibliotek.⁴³ Den trykte udgave bærer ikke navnet *Triptykon*;⁴⁴ dette kendes kun fra skitserne samt fra Klenaus erindringer og Margarethe Klimts registrering af Klenausamlingen i Wien.

Sjette symfoni (1941)

Denne symfoni i E-dur bærer tilnavnet *Nordische Symphonie*. Det autografe blækmanuskript i Det Kongelige Bibliotek bærer tilskriften "Symphonie dauert 25 Minuten. Januar 1941".⁴⁵ Værkets fjerde sats er ikke færdiginstrumenteret.

Kilder til den færdiginstrumenterede fjerde sats må være gået tabt, idet værket fik sin førsteopførelse ved Torsdagskoncerten d. 19. februar 1942, dirigeret af Klenau selv. I koncertprogrammet omtales symfonien som "...en række Billeder inspireret af det danske Landskab med sine lyse og friske Farver". Modtagelsen af værket var dog ikke ubetinget positiv, og anmelderne fandt, at Klenaus tyske arv satte sig stærkere igennem end "det nordiske", som titlen lagde op til.⁴⁶

Syvende symfoni (1941)

Partituret til syvende symfoni foreligger såvel i Klenaus autograf⁴⁷ som i en lustrykskopi med stemplet "Dansk Lyskopi A/S Kronprinsessegade 54"; ydermere blev stemmerne trykt i Wien hos forlaget Willy Müller.⁴⁸ De mange skitser til værket viser blandt andet Klenaus arbejde med den bagvedliggende tolvtonestruktur i dele af symfonien. En af skitserne er dateret 18. maj 1941, mens det autografe partitur er slutdateret "28. Oktober 41".

Arbejdet med symfonien beskriver Klenau selv således i sine erindringer:

For Sommeren 1941 havde jeg lejet et udmærket Hus i Dronningmølle. Med Spænding ventede jeg paa min tilkommende Hustru og hendes Datters Ankomst. Alle Forberedelser til vort Giftermaal var trufne, og den 16. Juli blev vi viiede paa Raadhuset i København. Jeg havde kendt min Hustru i næsten 20 Aar før vi blev gift. Grunden til at vi havde ventet saa længe paa at gennemføre Planen om et Giftermaal vil føre for vidt at fortælle.

I de to lykkelige Maaneder, vi opholdt os i Dronningmølle, skrev jeg min Vilde Symfoni, som jeg kaldte "Storm-symfonien". Jeg dirigerede selv Førsteopførelsen i København ved en Torsdagskoncert.⁴⁹

Symfonien bærer som nævnt tilnavnet *Sturmsymphonie*, og Klenau har vedlagt autografen nedenstående forklarende note, som må formodes at have været omdelt i forbindelse med værkets førsteopførelse ved Torsdagskoncerten 19. februar 1942 under hans egen ledelse:

Jeg kalder min VII Symphoni: "Stormsymphonien". Denne Betegnelse betyder ikke noget Program, men henviser kun til Værkets bevægede og dramatiske Karakter. Symphonien blev skrevet i Dronningmølle, Sommeren 1941. Den har ikke tidligere været opført, hverken her hjemme eller i Udlandet. De fire Satter er bygget over én Tonerække, som danner Fundamentet baade for den melodiske, kontrapunktiske og harmoniske struktur. Rækkens Intervaller er: d, a, es, b, h, fis, g, e, cis, gis, c, f, –"

Også denne symfoni fik en velvillig modtagelse af pressen. I *Politiken* skrev anmelderen under signaturen "S.S.S." bl.a. følgende:

Paul von Klenau var aftenens Dirigent og leverede som Komponist [...] Aftenens bedste Indtryk. Hans "Stormsymfoni", der fik sin Uropførelse, var absolut et af Klenaus bedste symfoniske Værker. Der var Træk og Sus i Symfonien, Uvejrs og Grøde, paafaldende ungdommelig virkede første Sats, det var en hel Orkan, der blev sluppet løs over Tilhørerne, men der var samtidig en musikalsk Ide i Hovedmotivets synkoperede Kvart-Motiv, der sidenhen i den anden Sats meget virkningsfuldt "reduceredes" til en Basso-Ostinato-Virkning. [...] ⁵⁰

Året efter – i februar 1943 – var Klenau på koncertrejse til Rom og Berlin for at dirigere det berømte italienske Augusteo-orkester (også kaldet Orchestra dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia); her indgik hans syvende symfoni på programmet sammen med Beethovens ottende og en af Malipieros symfonier, formentlig endnu en gang den anden symfoni.⁵¹

39 Carl Schuricht (1880-1967), fremtrædende tysk dirigent. På grund af sit modsætningsforhold til nazismen måtte han i 1944 flygte fra Tyskland og slå sig ned i Schweiz. I 1941 dirigerede han i Berlin Klenaus "Kleine Symphonie" (denne titel refererer netop til femte symfoni).

40 Såkaldt pergamentstryk, Universal, Wien 1941, No. 11265.

41 *Politiken*, 22. november 1940: "En lille ny symfoni af vor danske Paul von Klenau, et "Triptikon", som han selv kalder det, tre smaa Satter paa i alt et Kvarter. Men inden for denne lille Form musicerede Klenau saa frisk og kønt. Maaske netop fordi dette ikke var "sat op" i stort Format , blev det til noget mere, i Opbygning og Udformning saa behændigt og udtryksfuldt, et Stykke uprentenios Musik, hvor Haandelag og Hjertelag, Form og Følelse gik sammen og udfyldte hinanden."

42 Radiokonzerten, der udelukkende indeholdt værker af Klenau, blev transmitteret af Reichs-Rundfunk i Berlin.

43 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 083.

44 Ordet *Triptykon* eller *Triptychon* er af græsk oprindelse og bruges om et tredelt billede eller en trefløjet altertavle. I romersk kultur bruges det også om en tredelt meddelelse til borgerne.

45 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 084.

46 *Politiken*, 20.2.1942.

47 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 085.

48 Det Kongelige Biblioteks eksemplar af de trykte stemmer (Mf. A.4939) har været anvendt ved opførelse i Danmarks Radio, idet en af 1. violinstemmerne bærer påtegningen "Leo Hansen", radioorkestrets koncertmester fra 1935 til 1979.

49 DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen mappe 75, kapitel XV.

50 *Politiken* 6.11.1942. Ved samme koncert dirigerede Klenau Malipieros anden symfoni, *Elegiaca*, fra 1936.

51 I erindringerne understreger Klenau, at ved siden af Wienerfilharmonikerne er dette orkester det bedste, han har dirigeret.

Ottende symfoni (1942)

Som det er tilfældet med den niende symfoni, har også ottende symfoni ligget hengemt – og derfor aldrig opført – i 60 år indtil den dukkede op i 2001. Den er overleveret i Klenaus autograf, der omfatter 39 partitursider samt fire sider med skitser.⁵² Værket er komponeret i marts 1942.

Niende symfoni (1944-1945)

De nærmere detaljer vedrørende symfonien er omtalt ovenfor.

Værket kendes kun fra Klenaus autografe partitur og hans klaverpartitur til de fire første satser samt en lang række skitser. Samtlige skitser er forsynet med titlen "Symphonie IX" og en enkelt skitse yderligere med "Tragische Ouverture".

På alle tekstbilagene samt på partiturets tredje sats er titlen anført som "Symphonie VIII".

Hverken ottende eller niende symfoni er nævnt i Klenaus erindringer.

Klenaus eftermæle

Avisernes omtale af Klenaus død i København d. 31. august 1946 var yderst kortfattet og på en række punkter mangelfuld.⁵³ Nekrologerne hæftede sig ved hans karriere i Tyskland i mellemkrigstiden og undlod helt at omtale hans virke som dirigent, debattør og komponist fra de sidste seks år i Danmark; *Kristeligt Dagblad* sluttede dog sin korte nekrolog således:

Vel faldt hans Virksomhed i Udlandet, men han var dog en af dem, der ikke lagde Skjul paa sin Danskhed, og som bidrog meget til at gøre Danmarks Navn kendt og respekteret ude i Verden. Han skal have sit sidste Hvilested i Wien.

Hverken *Kristeligt Dagblad* eller *Politiken* sår tvivl om hans sindelag i forhold til nazismen i 1930'erne og under krigen eller hæfter sig ved, at han forblev i Tyskland helt frem til 1939 og under krigen stadig stod i kontakt med en række tyske kulturpersonligheder og institutioner. Disse forhold kom imidlertid med rette eller urette til at præge Klenau-receptionen efter hans død og helt frem til i dag, og – sammen med en vis afstandstagen fra hans tonesprog – har bidraget til hans marginaliserede position i dansk musikhistoriekrivning og dansk musikliv. Omvendt har netop denne marginalisering eller ligefrem fortrængning stået i vejen for en velfunderet vurdering af Klenau og hans musik, hvorfor også anmeldelserne af den niende symfoni stadig domineres af spekulationer over Klenaus forhold til nazismen. Ingen har vel

direkte hævdet, at Klenau havde nazistiske tilbøjeligheder, men hans påståede sympatier for den politiske udvikling i Tyskland og hans forhold til jødespørgsmålet har ligget som en skygge over hans eftermæle. Der er da heller ingen tvivl om, at det omfattende kildemateriale, som Klenau har efterladt sig i form af breve, artikler og foredrag, tegner et lidt uklart billede af hans forhold til disse emner – eller måske rettere en lidt naiv opfattelse af situationen. Men samtidig bør det understreges, at Klenau intet sted udtrykker sympati for nazismens ugerninger eller fremtidsvisioner. Hvad der optog ham og hvad han i høj grad lod sig inspirere af, var arven efter den storborgerlige tyske kultur fra omkring århundredskiftet, som på nogle punkter senere skulle vise sig at blive en del af det nazistiske tankegods, om end i en stærkt tillempet form. I afsnittet om Berlin i erindringerne præciserer han sine synspunkter om dette:

Nationalsocialismens Maal var at vende tilbage til en sund Mentalitet som svarede til det store tyske Folks Karakter og Tradition. Den kulturhistoriske Side af Nationalsocialismen var et mægtigt Forsøg paa at rette Viljen mod et Maal. – Til Trods for alle demokratiske Tilbøjeligheder og Idealer har de store Personligheder altid været de førende i Tyskland. Ogsaa paa Videnskabens og Kunstens Omraade er det de geniale Individer der har ført an. Afstanden mellem det tyske Geni og det almindelige aandelige Gennemsnitsniveau forekommer mig at være langt større end i andre Lande. (...) Baade en Goethe og en Beethoven rager saa højt op over deres Samtid, at de ingen Ligemænd har. – De er i langt højere Grad isolerede Fremtoninger end de store italienske, franske og engelske Aandsheroer. – Derfor er Autoritetstroen i Ordets gode Forstand ogsaa større i Tyskland end i andre Lande, hvad der til Dels forklarer den Magt Nationalsocialismen var i Stand til at udøve. –

(...)

Kunstens Maal skulde være at tjene Folket. Teaterlivet, Maleriudstillingerne, Litteraturen blev forvandlet. Nye Mænd rykkede ind i ledende Stillinger. Atter var det "Viljen" der regerede. – Nu ikke den adspalttede og decadente Sensationslyst, men Viljen til sund og folkelig Kultur og til at bygge videre paa en Tradition, som var ved at gaa under i den babyloniske Kulturforvirring. Ingen, som ikke har oplevet denne Revolution, kan bedømme dens synlige og usynlige Virkninger, – Hvor disse Bestræbelser fører hen og hvad de engang ad Aare vil resultere i, kan først Tiden vise.⁵⁴

Spørgsmålet om Klenaus politiske og kulturelle ståsted trænger til en grundigere udredning på baggrund af det overleverede kildemateriale. Her skal blot anføres nogle få udvalgte eksempler, som indkredser hans position. Gentagne gange understreger Klenau, at han ikke ønsker at forholde sig til – endsige støtte – den politiske udvikling i Tyskland, men alene til den åndelige, hvilket flere

52 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. 086.

53 Se f.eks. *Politiken* 3.9.1946 og *Kristeligt Dagblad* 5.9.1946. Til sammenligning kan f.eks. anføres, at det østrigske teatertidsskrift *Komoedie. Zeitschrift für künstlerisches Theater* i sit oktobernummer (Erstes Jahr, Drittes Heft, Oktober 1946, s. 141-142) bragte en lang nekrolog over Klenau skrevet af musikforskeren Hans Rutz. Endvidere, at den danske komponist P.S. Rung-Keller skrev en mindekomposition med titlen "Frau Professor G. von Klenau zugeeignet. In Memoriam sopra tema fugato Nr. 10 a moll von Paul von Klenau 11/2 1947", som i en smuk renskrift fandtes i Klenau-samlingen i Wien i 2001 i den oprindelige kuvert, adresseret til Margarethe Klimt, Brøndsteds Alle 4^c (DK-Kk, MA ms 7045).

54 DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen mappe 75, Anden Del, kapitlet om Berlin.

gange betones i erindringerne; f.eks. hedder det om hans indtræden i det Dansk-Tyske Selskab efter hjemkomsten i 1939:

“...jeg tog gerne imod denne Opfordring, da Selskabets Maal var at arbejde for Forbindelsen mellem dansk og tysk Kultur. Da jeg aldrig har befattet mig med Politik og aldrig har tilhørt et politisk Parti, var jeg glad ved at faa Lejlighed til ved min Virksomhed i Dansk-Tysk Selskab at vise min Sympati for den tyske Kultur, som jeg føler mig saa stærkt knyttet til.”

Der er heller ikke nogen tvivl om, at Klenau i 30'erne i Tyskland – ligesom så mange andre komponister og digtere – forsøgte at navigere til egen fordel inden for den nazistiske kultur og i den forbindelse også tiltiende måtte acceptere en række “tilpasninger”. Klarest kommer dette til udtryk i hans forsøg på at forsvare sin tilnærmelse til Schönbergs dodekafone skrivemåde, bl.a. med betoningen af at dette kompositionsprincip blev “opfundet” af arieren Matthias Hauer og ikke af jøden Arnold Schönberg. Påfaldende er det også, at han i erindringerne omtaler “Anschluss” i marts 1938 som “Østrigs Forening med Tyskland” uden yderligere bemærkninger om denne begivenheds vidtrækkende politiske konsekvenser.⁵⁵

Klenaus mest indgående og mest nuancerede holdning til nazismen og krigen kan studeres i en lang, upubliceret kronik, som han skrev seks måneder før sin død.⁵⁶ På et tidspunkt, hvor den danske folkestemning endnu var præget af den forståelige eufori med klar afstandtagen til den såkaldte “samarbejdspolitik” til fordel for modstandsbevægelsens indsats, forholder Klenau sig her nøgternt til dilemmaet mellem samarbejde eller modstand, som både politikere og befolkning havde stået i efter 9. april (tilspidset efter 29. august 1943) uden antydning af sympati for de tyske magthavere eller uden på nogen måde at undlade at lægge afstand til deres voldshandlinger og overgreb. Her er hverken tale om opportunisme, medløberi eller andet, som kan så tvivl om Klenaus retsindighed.

Som et sidste bidrag til belysning af Klenaus forhold til begivenhederne i Tyskland i årene 1933-1945 skal nævnes det tætte venskab og den deraf følgende korrespondance både før og efter krigen mellem Klenau og den schweiziske historiker og journalist Rudolf von Salis,⁵⁷ som er nævnt i note 1 ovenfor. Når dette venskab anføres netop i denne sammenhæng, skyldes det naturligvis von Salis' betydning under krigen gennem hans ugentlige radioudsendelser fra Schweiz med titlen *Weltchronik*, der fremstod som en tysksproget kritik af nazismen og jødeforfølgelser-

ne, og som magthaverne i Tyskland forgæves søgte at få stoppet. Gennem sine ugentlige radioudsendelser medvirkede han til at dæmpe de allieredes kritik af Schweiz' neutralitet og vedvarende handelsforbindelser med Nazityskland. Man kan hævde, at havde Klenau været tiltrukket af nazismen – som påstået – havde en person som Rudolf von Salis næppe regnet ham blandt en af sine bedste venner og indgået i lange, venskabelige meningsudvekslinger med ham om eksistentielle og filosofiske spørgsmål; ej heller havde han anstrengt sig for efter krigen at genoptage forbindelsen, først med Klenau selv og efterfølgende med hans efterladte hustru.

Afsluttende skal her citeres Klenaus egen sammenfatning af sine sidste år i Danmark:

Jeg maa indrømme, at de danske Organisationer opførte sig korrekt, men imødekommende kan man ikke kalde deres Stilling overfor mig. Tværtimod! Jeg kan ikke frigøre mig for den Følelse, at man hellere saa min Hæl end min Taa.⁵⁸

Disse ord af Klenau sættes i relief af den vurdering, som Rudolf von Salis gav i et langt brev til Margarethe Klenau, komponistens enke, da han havde erfaret, at Klenau – “der verstorbene grosse Freund” – var død nogle måneder forinden:

...vor allem wichtig kommt mir vor, dass auf der ausgezeichneten königlichen Bibliothek in Kopenhagen, wo bereits der Nachlass mehrerer hervorragender Dänen aufbewahrt wird, (ich habe früher einmal dort gearbeitet), auch Klenaus Werk und Nachlass eine bleibende Stätte finden werden.⁵⁹

Som det fremgår ovenfor, var det just hvad der skete, dels som følge af Margarethe Klenaus og hendes efterkommeres ihærdige indsats, dels som følge af gode økonomiske og andre kræfter i Danmark siden 2001.

55 Et indirekte, men stærkt vidnesbyrd om Klenaus ambivalente forhold til Tyskland under krigen fremgår af et brev dateret 18. december 1943 til Klenau fra Frankfurts overborgmester, hvori denne takker for Klenaus “aufrichtige Teilnahme an den neuerlichen Fliegerschäden” og tilføjer: “Es freut mich immer wieder, dass Frankfurt in der Welt Freunde besitzt, auf die es auch in der Not zählen kann. Zu diesen darf ich auch Sie, sehr geehrter Herr Professor, rechnen”. (*DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen, breve). Klenaus oprindelige brev til borgmesteren er selvsagt ikke bevaret.

56 “Den nationale Oplevelse”, maskinskrevet manuskript i *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen mappe 26.

57 1901-1996.

58 *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen mappe 75, kapitel XV.

59 Brev af 2. januar 1946 fra Prof. Dr. J.R. v. Salis (Zürich) til Margarethe Klenau (København), *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen mappe 80.

INTRODUCTION

The Klenau Collection, Vienna, 1946–2005

After Paul von Klenau (1883–1946) wrote his ninth symphony in 1944–45, it remained entirely unknown until 2001, when it was found amongst a diverse collection of music manuscripts, letters and other archive materials left by Klenau in a spacious flat in Vienna. The Royal Library was fortunate to inherit the collection in 2005, as it has nuanced our picture of Paul von Klenau, both as a composer and as a person, in a number of ways.

For the last six years of his life, 1939 until 1946, Klenau lived in Copenhagen, after spending the preceding nearly 30 years living and working, as composer, conductor and writer, in Germany and Austria. After his death in 1946, his wife, Margarethe Klimt, returned to Vienna in 1947, taking with her the whole of the diverse collection of musical works, articles, lectures and letters, amongst other things, which Klenau had left. She immediately began preparing an inclusive catalogue of the material, with systematic dating and numbering of the music and lecture manuscripts, all entered in two notebooks which functioned as an introduction to the whole collection.¹ After Margarethe Klimt's death in 1988, the collection came into the family's ownership, first that of her daughter and later her granddaughter. It was kept in various plastic bags and cardboard boxes on the basis — as Margarethe Klimt's granddaughter has expressed it, apparently quoting her grandmother — 'that one day someone will become interested in the collection'.² Something like that happened in 2001, when the Royal Library got news of the collection's existence; after four years' discussion and fundraising, it was possible to buy the collection and bring it to Copenhagen.

Along with the many letters, articles and lectures contained in the collection are a series of music manuscripts, works which for

the most part have been unknown until now. The list of hitherto unknown compositions amongst the approximately 100 works in all includes, amongst others:

Three symphonies (nos. 4, 8 and 9)

Two works with the title *Concerto Grosso* for strings and piano or harpsichord

A violin concerto

Two string quartets

A piano concerto

Songs (with texts, amongst others, by Ludvig Holstein, Friedrich Nietzsche and von Platen).

The majority of the instrumental music in this list of previously unknown works stems from Klenau's last six years, when he lived in Denmark.

After the purchase of this material, which supplements the collection of Klenau's work acquired by the Royal Library in 1972,³ pretty much the whole of Klenau's work is accessible for closer appraisal, while the collection's other archival materials (including his unpublished memoirs, entitled *A Musician's Experience of European Culture 1900–1939*, also in the collection) give us the possibility of a general reassessment of his biography, his cultural outlook and his relationship to the Third Reich.⁴

In particular, his activity in the years after his return home to Denmark also now stands in a clearer light than before; this part of Klenau's activity has been either entirely neglected in Danish music history-writing until now, or characterised in terms of his position as an outsider, given to the composer because he remained in Germany until just before the outbreak of the Second World War (see below).

The Ninth Symphony

When Paul von Klenau finished the manuscript of *A Musician's Experience of European Culture 1900–1939*, around Easter 1944, he probably had no plan to throw himself back into work on another new symphony. By then he had written eight symphonies across the whole of his active period as a composer, between the years 1903 to 1942. In the introduction to his memoir he mentions explicitly those works which he, at that time (that is, April

¹ Margarethe Klimt's catalogue in the two notebooks is deposited in *DK-Kk*. In a letter to Margarethe Klimt of 3 March 1947 from the Swiss historian and philosopher Rudolf von Salis (who spoke against Nazism and its persecution of the Jews in his weekly German language radio lectures during the course of the war) wrote: 'Please accept my deepfelt thanks for your long letter of 11 February. It was especially good for me to be told that Klenau's manuscripts have been saved, and they are now safely kept by you [...] Furthermore I hope that in the future we shall have the opportunity to talk calmly about all things related to my unforgettable friend. I never doubted that I would find him again after the end of the war, and the thought that he is no longer among us is very painful to me.' ['Nehmen Sie meinen herzlichsten Dank für Ihren ausführlichen Brief vom 11. Februar. Es war mir überaus lieb, zu vernehmen, dass Paul von Klenaus Manuskripte gerettet sind und dass sie bei Ihnen in so gutem – im besten Gewahrsam sind. [...] Auch ich möchte hoffen, dass wir in absehbarer Zeit Gelegenheit haben werden, uns in Ruhe und Sammlung über all' das auszusprechen, was Ihren Gatten, meinen unvergesslichen Freund betrifft. Ich hatte es als etwas so selbstverständliches betrachtet, dass ich ihn nach Ende des Krieges finden würde, dass der Gedanke an sein Entschwinden mich immer wieder schmerzlich beschäftigt'.] (*DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen, von Salis breve).

² Margarethe Klimt's daughter from an earlier marriage, Birgitta Boskovsky, was adopted by Klenau shortly before the war. It is not clear whether the adoption was approved by the Danish authorities.

³ Bought from the music antiquarian Hans Schneider, Tutzing (according to the collected index of 1971 in *DK-Kk*).

⁴ The typewritten fair copy of Paul von Klenau's memoir can be found in several versions. (*DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen folders 71 and 75). The quotations cited from the memoir stem from a collected and collated edition which is in the process of being edited by Eva Hvidt, Danish Centre for Music Publication, based on the version found in the collection's folder 75 for reasons accounted for in Eva Hvidt's foreword.

1944) had finished or was currently working on; these include the opera, *The Cricket on the Hearth* (Faarekylvingen ved Arnen), a piano concerto, a series of songs to texts by Nietzsche and a cello sonata.⁵ He does not mention that he plans to write a large ninth symphony. Because the symphony bears Klenau's autograph closing dates, that begin with 'December 1944' (first movement) and end with '20 November 45' (fifth movement), we can be confident that it was composed during the course of the nineteen months between April 1944 and November 1945. Overall it is noteworthy that amongst the many hundreds of letters and notes in Klenau's hand (including those from his last year) there is hardly a mention of his work on the ninth symphony; the only exception is a throwaway remark in a letter from Klenau to his wife of 14.1.1945, saying that he is working on a big symphony; for this reason there is nothing to indicate whether Klenau had had any discussions about a performance of the work. This is all the more surprising when one recognises that the work is the greatest in his output of instrumental music (both in respect of expression and of size). We only know, in part from the source material, and in part from a note by Klenau's wife, Margarethe Klimt, written a few months after his death, that he was uncertain which number he should give to his new, and as things turned out, his final finished work. Her note says, 'This work was begun as Symphony No. 9. It was not until summer 1946 when I filed the manuscript in its folder that Klenau thought, out of respect for Beethoven (and in the hope of being able to finish the work) to change this numbering. Thus I have restored it [the numbering] after his death. Marg. v. Klenau.'⁶ Bearing in mind that there was already a short eighth symphony, 'in the olden style', composed in Spring 1942, this comment is not very clear. In spite of this, Klenau himself had used the description 'Symphony VIII' in relation to the work both on some of his sketches, on the texts that were used, and on the manuscript of the third movement. All the signs are that the work was 'composed for the desk drawer', that the fair copy is not complete right to the end, and that it was consigned to the 'desk drawer' at his death.

It is entirely in keeping with this silence on Klenau's part about the ninth symphony – nearly humility – that the manuscript, fully revised and even with an accompanying piano score of the first four movements, was to lie hidden in a packet for 60 years, many of them in a Tyrolean summer house and thereafter on the sixth floor

of an apartment building in Vienna, unknown beyond the narrow circle of the Klenau family. It was not until 2001 that, as mentioned above, our attention in Denmark was drawn to the work's existence, and 12 years later, after the transfer of the manuscript to Denmark and a thorough revision of the score, that the symphony received its first performance. This took place in Copenhagen on 20.3.2014 under the direction of Michael Schönwandt under the glare of the media's attention, followed by a cd recording by Dacapo Records, nearly 70 years after the work's creation. In their publicity for the first performance, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) characterised the event as 'the year's Danish music sensation'. The performers at the first performance were the Danish National Symphony Orchestra and Concert Choir with four soloists, Cornelia Ptassek (soprano), Susanne Resmark (mezzo), Michael Weinius (tenor) and Steffen Bruun (bass).

The work got a mixed reception in the press, in most cases with the common theme, Klenau's relationship to Nazism and the Third Reich. Even though the reviewers found the performance both weighty and well-executed, with only one exception they showed a scepticism towards the work's overall plan, with its combination of four vocal movements (as one might expect in a requiem) and four purely instrumental movements in an audible blend of diverse stylistic elements. The most positive response came from *Politiken's* Thomas Michelsen who, under the headline, 'Was he a Nazi or what?', characterised the work as, 'a starbestrewn and god-fearing but not unequivocal confrontation with the war', and closed his review by characterising the performance as, 'a music-historical event' (*Politiken*, 22.3.2014). In *Berlingske Tidende* (21.3.2014), Søren Schauser wrote ironically about the works stylistic pluralism and the public's immediate excitement after the performance ('quite a few listeners rose in excitement at the end and cheered delightedly'). The variety of stylistic expressions were summed up with the words, 'one begins with twelve-tone tirades and ends with unashamed national romanticism – but without the national. Deliberately old times? And what came of modernism on the way? Paul von Klenau's last symphony shows itself to be Danish music's most eclectic work to date'. The reviewer closes with the words, 'A controversial evening. A brave evening on DR's part. But still, please do this sort of thing again'.

Information (24.3.2014), too, focused attention on the many differently formed sources of inspiration that lay behind the work. Reviewer Valdemar Lønsted tracked imprints from Beethoven's ninth symphony, Mahler, Korngold, Bruckner and Hindemith. He concludes, though, that, 'even though one sat [after the end of the apotheosis in the eighth movement] with the best will in the world, this reviewer felt more exhausted than uplifted'.

The most critical judgement of the symphony could be read in *Weekendavisen*. Here, Jakob Levinsen expressed his understanding that DR had invested resources in the acquisition of the work, but found, himself, that it was irrelevant and uninteresting: 'A kind of belated Golden Age with a silent g music. It is clearly honourably meant, but it shows itself just not particularly relevant, not even for the sake of music-historical interest, other than to satisfy a monumental curiosity. This includes the recognition that

5 All the named works may be found in the Klenau Collection from Vienna discussed above, which also contains the manuscript of the ninth symphony. *The Cricket on the Hearth*, built on one of Charles Dickens' Christmas novellas with a Danish libretto, was composed in 1944–45 (the opera has never been performed, but shortly before his death, Klenau apparently planned to travel to Vienna to explore the possibility of a performance; for that reason there is a piano score with German text dating from 1946); the piano concerto is dated as finished on 28.5.1944, the nine Nietzsche lieder are dated finished in June 1944, and the cello sonata is dated as finished in November 1943. Klenau's manuscripts for these works may all be found in DK-KK.

6 'Diese Arbeit entstand als Sinfonie No. 9. Erst 1946 im Sommer als ich Manuskripte in die Umschläge ordnete, meinte Klenau, aus Ehrfurcht vor Beethoven (u. in der Hoffnung noch das fehlende Werk zu schaffen) die Numerierung zu ändern. Ich habe sie nach seinem Tode wiederhergestellt. Marg.v.Klenau'.

the music ends by appearing far less original – and for that matter contemporary – than the symphonies which Klenau's youthful aversion, Carl Nielsen, wrote a generation earlier' (*Weekendavisen* 28.3.2014).

The only unqualifiedly positive view of the work was by *Jyllands-Posten's* reviewer, Christine Christiansen, under the headline, 'A timeless ring of war'. The reviewer concentrated on the work itself and summarised her view in this way: 'With the first performance of the largest symphony a Dane has ever produced, Klenau had a humble, posthumous celebration on Thursday. The symphony was played and the score will be published. Altogether extremely well-deserved'.

The week after the first Danish performance, the symphony was transmitted to a German audience by Deutschlandradio Kultur, under the banner, 'Between Goebbels and Schönberg'. In the pre-performance text on the internet, Klenau was characterised as 'The Emil Nolde of music' – an unspoken reference partly to Nolde's Danish-German attachments, and partly to his declared approval of the Nazi party.

The ninth symphony comprises eight movements, of which the second, fourth, seventh and eighth movements are provided with Latin text, partly liturgical texts from the Catholic Requiem Mass, and partly texts of unknown origin, presumably written by Klenau himself.

Second movement:

From the Requiem Mass: Nearly all the Introitus, but leaving out the sentences, 'in Sion, et tibi reddetur votum in Jerusalem' og 'ad te omnis caro veniet', followed by Kyrie eleison – Christe eleison – Kyrie eleison, as is the practice in the Catholic liturgy. Then the first seven strophes of the sequence *Dies irae*,⁷ thus omitting, 'Rex tremendae', 'Recordare' and 'Lacrymosa', which have played a large role in many other *Dies irae* compositions of the last 250 years.

Klenau's use of the text to the first strophe of the sequence diverges on a single point both from liturgical practice and from the musical tradition surrounding the use of this text. The first time the beginning of the sequence is employed (bar 71), we have the well known words from the Requiem Mass, 'Dies irae, dies illa' ('the day of wrath, that day ...'). When this strophe is repeated in bar 88, it appears inserted between the second and third strophes, with the text slightly altered: 'Deus irae, Deus illa' – that is, 'God of wrath' instead of the sequence's original 'the day of wrath'. As this difference can be found in Klenau's ink manuscript and in his sketches,⁸ we may suppose that this was intentional on his part, even though to be precisely grammatical, the change ought to have been to 'Deus ille'. This compounding of 'Dies' and 'Deus' in the well-known Latin sequence from the 13th century is not

known in any other music-historical or theological context. In the present edition, Klenau's choice of words ('Deus ille'), including an emendation of his grammatically incorrect 'illa' to 'ille', are left in place, even though a mistake on part of the composer cannot be excluded.⁹

Fourth movement:

The text is of unknown origin and falls into two parts, first formulated as a question, and then as a statement:¹⁰

Is it life's eternal contradiction that during a time of peace we become bored and, dreaming of heroic deeds, rush to take up arms, only, while fighting, to long for peace?

This is life's eternal contradiction: dreaming of heroic deeds we rush to take up arms, only, while fighting, to long for peace.

Whereupon the two statements end with:

Learn reverence for life. Reverence for life is reverence for God.

Seventh movement:

The text comes from the Catholic mass's ordinary, *Agnus Dei*.

Eighth movement:

The text is gathered from the Sanctus and *Agnus Dei* of the mass, supplemented with a short text of unknown origin. It closes with a combination of 'the eternal law within mankind' and 'stars crowd above us' ('In nobis lex aeterna; supra nos legiones stellarum'). One can see the dichotomy between the pre-Christian, stoic idea ('the eternal law'), and God's creation ('the crowd of stars').

The choice of these particular texts is astonishing when seen against the background of Klenau's declared – at any rate strongly problematised – relationship to Christianity. This concern is particularly strong when in respect of the closing sentence of the fourth movement, which stands in stark contrast to Klenau's own description of his relation to God in his memoir, where, in a final extract dated Good Friday, 7 April 1944, he says:

When, as a child, I believed in God with all a child's naive certainty and devotion, I must have been born with a religious foundation. – How did it come to this, that today, I do not believe blindly? I understand to the highest degree the necessity of religion for the individual and for society, I understand what happiness religion means for those that believe in prayer and

⁷ In the first strophe, Klenau has left out the third line, "Teste David cum Sibylla".

⁸ The ink manuscript of the ninth symphony includes a series of corrections and cuts in Klenau's hand, which could suggest that the manuscript was meant as the source of an eventual fair copy, which in the end was never produced.

⁹ This issue is made more complex because, on p.25 of Klenau's ink manuscript, the composer has neglected to write out the whole repeat of the *Dies irae* part (bars 67-105, repeated as bars 178-216), but instead writes, 'Jetzt folgt Wiederholung des Deus irae ...' (now follow the repeat of the Deus irae...); this is clearly a mistake, as the repeat – no matter the lack of clarity around the problem of *Dies/Deus* – must certainly must begin with the words, 'Dies irae'.

¹⁰ From Klenau's text-enclosure to the symphony in Danish, German and Latin it appears that the repeat of the question as a statement may have occurred to him during the process of composition, explaining the absence of the repetition in the text-enclosure.

can lay their fate in God's hands. – What solace and strength must be given by trust in divine justice and eternal life? – [...]

Have I failed in my attempt to tend for my belief? – Is it my fault that I cannot believe in the way the really faithful do, – as I could believe when I was a child? I can see that there can be a deep cleft between personal and churchly belief, but can one be wholly alone with God? – Is it not necessary to be a member of a congregation? That is as impossible for me as the alternative. – But God and I – and me and God – is a presumptuous thought. Why should I be an exception. [...]

I believe about myself that I am irreligious, [but] I've tried my whole life through, as only a few have, to strive after ideals – spiritual values that are valid beyond the moment, the day, the centuries.¹¹

Only six months before his death, Klenau sent an article to Vilhelm Grønbaek's journal *Frie Ord* ('The Free Word') with the title, 'Music and the Future'.¹² The article, which was rejected by Vilhelm Grønbaek, also the journal's senior editor, concludes thus:

I do not know a single worthy musical work that does not seek God. So we circle around God. God is not an end-point on a line, but the central space of a circle. God is not the sun or light, but inner light. And he is not in nature alone, he is in mankind. He is in everything that lives – he is. He is the one that is present. And we only live if we cross through his centripetal strength.

Therefore only music that focuses on the divine in mankind can live on. In a thousand different forms, mankind's inner attitudes are furthered. But if art becomes centrifugal, so it becomes empty, it loses its mission, and thus becomes worthless sub specia æternitatis.

Klenau's relationship to Christianity seems to be just as far from dogma as his relationship to Nazism and the Third Reich (see below) – without a connection between the two.¹³

The following end-dates can be found in the manuscript in Klenau's hand:¹⁴

First movement: December 1944, January 1945

Second movement: 8 February 1945

Third movement: 20 February 1945¹⁵

Fourth movement: without date

Fifth movement: 20 November 1945

Sixth movement: 5 November 1945

Seventh movement: without date¹⁶

Eighth movement ("last part"): 22 April 1945.

As may be seen from the movements which are dated, they were composed in this order: first, second, third, eighth, sixth and fifth. The fifth and seventh movements are undated.

It should also be noted that one of the sketches is provided with a title on the wrapper that says, 'Skizzen / Symphonie IX / tragische Ouvertüre', and another sketch at the bottom of the page has the superscript, 'Skizzen / tragisk Overture 44'. This does not allow us to decide whether the description 'Tragic Overture' was, at this point, being considered for the whole work (which doesn't seem to make sense) or just for a single movement.

It is striking that two of the bifolios with sketches contain various one and two voiced settings of a well-known Danish folksong under the title, 'Queen Dagmar in Ribe', with no indication as yet that they will have a place in the final version of the symphony. The explanation might be that these sketches were not worked out with the symphony in mind, but that they just became gathered with the many other sketches by coincidence.

Klenau's acquaintance with Schönberg and the circle around him, and not least with Matthias Hauer, led him towards the techniques of dodecaphony (twelve-tone composition), which play a part in the ninth symphony. Klenau had already worked with dodecaphony in his operas from the 1930s, including *The Queen* (Dronningen),¹⁷ which was performed in Denmark, and in the seventh symphony (1941), employing a technique which he described as 'tonal twelve-tone music'.¹⁸ In a series of articles in the 1930s, he described both how he had come to exploit this technique, and how he – in line with Schönberg – looked upon the technique as a logical result of the development of the musical material itself since Wagner's mature works.

At the same time, perhaps to distance himself from the music condemned by the Nazis as 'degenerate', he stressed that the method's originator was Matthias Hauer, not the Jewish Schönberg, just as he, with the description 'tonal', underscored the technique's relationship to the tonality of former times, rather than characterising it as breaking with this tradition.¹⁹

¹¹ DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder 75, 3rd part, p.173.

¹² The ink draft and typewritten fair copy, together with a brief letter from Vilhelm Grønbaek, saying that 'a place cannot be found' for the article. In DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder 28 (inside, Margarethe Klimt has written on a clipped-in label, 'March 1946. Last article about music in March 1946. Even the 'Frie Ord' dared not let Klenau's words be heard'). The cultural-critical journal *Frie Ord* came out during the years 1946–48, edited by Vilhelm Grønbaek and Hal Koch.

¹³ Earlier in the memoirs, where Klenau reports on his confirmation preparation, he writes, 'the confirmation training, which took place at the priest's house, was nearly embarrassing. Psalms and scriptural texts and prayers. Archdeacon Paulli succeeded in wiping out my religious feelings so radically that they have never since come through again.'

¹⁴ They are written in the manuscript in this way: 'Dec 44 Januar 45'; '8te/ II/45'; '20/2/45'; '20 Nov. 45'; '5 Nov. 1945'; '22/4/45'.

¹⁵ As described, with the title, 'VIII Symphony'.

¹⁶ The *attacca* mark after the seventh movement suggests that the movement was composed at the same time as the eighth movement.

¹⁷ Originally with the title, *Elisabeth von England*.

¹⁸ The expression was used in a series of published and unpublished articles by Klenau about his twelve-tone works in particular and on the music-historical developments in the first part of the 20th century in general.

¹⁹ See, for example, the unpublished manuscript in DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder A 285, where he says in a note on p. 33, 'Da Schönberg Jude ist, wird das Zwölf-Ton-System auch öfters von Gegnern [...] als eine "jüdische Erfindung" bezeichnet. Diesen Angriffen gegenüber sei festgestellt, dass Joseph Matthias

In the ninth symphony dodecaphonic passages run side by side with more tonal material (the most forceful example of this can be found in the transition from the fourth to the fifth movement), and two bifolios can be found amongst the sketches for the symphony, containing fully written-out twelve-tone series related to the third and fourth movements, both in forward and retrograde forms.

Klenau's symphonies

When Klenau settled in Copenhagen in 1939 as a consequence of the political situation, he had behind him a career of more than 30 years in Germany as a highly-valued composer, conductor and debater which had only been interrupted by a long stay in Copenhagen from the outbreak of the First World War into the middle of the 20s. In the years 1920–26 he worked as leader of the organisation he had founded, the Danish Philharmonic Society (Dansk Filharmonisk Selskab).²⁰ By 1903 he had started a family in Germany,²¹ and over the course of the following years he built a comprehensive network amongst European – and particularly German – poets, philosophers, artists, musicians and other humanists, to such a degree that by this time he was regarded as a German composer in his own fatherland. A contributory element in this ‘outsider position’ was that Klenau’s expressionist musical language and his inspiration from the Schönberg circle lay far from the dominant musical trends in Denmark in the 20s and 30s, embodied on one side by Carl Nielsen and his associates and on the other by neoclassicism and folk music-based styles.

In 1922 Klenau wrote an article for *Politiken* under the title, ‘Has our time’s music a raison d’être’, as a response to a feature by the composer and natural scientist Rudolph Bergh, called, ‘Arnold Schönberg, the problem’. Klenau says:

In fact, Schönberg’s music can only be understood as the necessary logical consequence of the last century’s musical development. One can demonstrate this, and everyone should give up thoughts about categorising Schönberg as emerging from abnormality. – On the contrary, Schönberg is too normal – too logical – too much conditioned by the development. Therein lies exactly his limitation. Schönberg is a genial intellect; whether, sub specie æternitatis, he is a great, genial personality, is another case.²²

Hauer Arier ist. [...] Durch Schönberg wurden Berg und von Webern, beide Arier, auf das Zwölf-Ton-System gebracht und beide haben für die Weiterentwicklung dieser Theorie Bedeutes und Hervorragendes geleistet’. See also Klenau’s published articles on the opera, *Michael Kohlhaas* in *Zeitschrift für Musik* 101, 1934 and *Die Musik* 27, 1935.

²⁰ See Michael Fjeldsøe, *Den fortrængte modernisme*, Copenhagen 1999, p. 52 ff. and Claus Røllum-Larsen, *Impulser i Københavns koncertrepertoire 1900–1935*, Copenhagen 2002, vol. 1 p. 132 ff and vol. 2 p. 289 ff. See also Klenau’s hand-written speech to a private gathering after a concert in 1920, which describes his plans for such a society (DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder 80).

²¹ His marriage to Anne Marie Simon, with whom he had four children, was dissolved in 1926. After the divorce he lived with Margarethe Klimt, an Austrian textile artist, from March 1933 leader of the newly established Frankfurter Modeamt. They were married in Copenhagen in 1941, and it is through her care that his manuscripts, letters and other archival material have been preserved.

²² Rudolph Bergh’s feature was published in *Politiken* on 15 December 1921 and Klenau’s response appeared in the same paper on 3 January 1922.

Klenau wrote about his career in Germany, including his friendship with a number of leading German and Austrian creative personalities in music, literature and philosophy, in his memoir, *A Musician’s Experience of European Culture 1900–1939*, which has been referred to above.

Apart from Rued Langgaard,²³ Klenau was the most productive Danish composer of symphonies in his time. His nine symphonies were written in two distinct phases: the first three were written in the years between 1903 and 1915, while the remaining six were all composed in the years 1938–45, the last four of them after his return to Denmark.²⁴ For obvious reasons, the literature touching on Klenau brings incomplete information on his symphonic production, so the following section gives a considered oversight of his contribution to the genre, possible now that the Klenau Collection has been transferred from Vienna, giving new information about the composer’s life and work.

First symphony (1903 and 1907)²⁵

There are two surviving works from Klenau’s hand under the title, ‘First Symphony’.

The first of these, which constitutes Klenau’s debut as a symphonic composer, is an unfinished symphony in D minor whose autograph bears the date, ‘Freiburg/Breisgau 29/1 1903’. The work is preserved in manuscript in the Royal Library, and comprises an incomplete first movement supplied with a carefully calligraphed title page.

Four years later, Klenau settled the matter by acknowledging a new work, end-dated 10 October 1907, as his first. A year later, this work received its first performance in Munich at the Tonkünstlerfest des allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins. The pencil fair copy in the Royal Library includes two different versions of the slow second movement. In his memoir, Klenau discusses the ideas that lay behind his early symphonies, with special reference to the first:

As a young man I felt that it was my duty to write symphonies, whose ‘spiritual stance’ should be a response to Bruckner’s art, but whose form should be guided by Beethoven’s architectonic principles. In truth this was a strange task for a young musician to set himself. Both my first and third symphonies witness to this endeavour. But the first symphony was really immature. My musical development had not yet formed to keep pace with my ideals. Yet it would be unjust not to acknowledge that there were parts of the work which were really beautiful, even if the work as a whole was clearly lacking. Especially, the slow movement is a fine piece of music. I am amazed how decently the critics took to it.²⁶

²³ Danish composer, 1893–1952.

²⁴ Klenau’s symphonic production of the 1940s should be seen against the view expressed in an article written by Knudåge Riisager in 1940 for *Dansk Musiktidsskrift* under the title, ‘The symphony is dead – music lives’, which stirred a variety of reactions from the circle of composers and prompted wider discussion in due course.

²⁵ DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 141 and 002.

²⁶ DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder 75, from the chapter in the first part, ‘Mennesker jeg som Purung traf i Berlin’ (‘People I met in Berlin as a very young man’).

On the same subject, Klenau stressed that the British composer Frederick Delius, who until his death in 1934 was one of Klenau's closest friends, attended the performance, '(...) and praised the work'.²⁷

Second symphony (1907)²⁸

Only two months later, Klenau produced another symphony, in C minor, which has only survived in an incomplete form in the composer's handwritten score of the first and fourth movements, together with copies of the parts for the second movement. The closing movement, *Theme with four variations*, is end-dated '10 December 1907'.

Third symphony (1910)

The third symphony has not survived in complete form either, but the history of its creation is discussed in detail in Klenau's memoir. There is no start-date on the first movement in F minor,²⁹ which is found together with the autograph of a final movement which allegedly formed part of the third symphony, dated Summer 1915; this movement bears the title, *90 Psalms of David (Gebet um Gnade. Closing Chorus of the F minor Symphony No 3 for Soprano Solo, Choir and Orchestra)*.³⁰ From the memoir it appears that this *Te Deum* had been performed in 1910 in an earlier version: it was deployed as a movement of the third symphony after having been first written as an independent composition. Klenau writes:

My 'Te deum' was given in Breslau, conducted by Georg Dohrn.³¹ It was a very youthful work, which demanded an equally youthful army of performers. A large mixed choir – a boys' choir – and an extra trombone orchestra; a 'powerful' apparatus which, naturally, did not stand in fair relation to the creative content of the work. I remember the touching excitement which not least the boys' choir showed at the concert. What a time, when such large resources were set at the disposal of a young, immature tone-artist's composition. I re-composed this 'Te deum' later, and it came to form the fifth and final movement of my 3rd Symphony in F minor, which was given in Strasbourg under Hans Pfitzner's direction,³² then later under Ernst von Schuh in Dresden. This symphony was also performed in a series of large towns. Snedler-Petersen [Schnedler-Petersen] played it without the chorus in the Tivoli Concert Hall.³³

Fourth symphony (1938)

Klenau's fourth symphony has survived in two different sources. The earliest is his autograph, which bears the title, *Festival Symphony*, and whose movements have no titles.³⁴ This source emerged in relationship with the appearance of the Klenau Collection in 2001, in a way that shows that not even Margarethe Klimt had noticed the connection between this source and the later source with the three symphonic poems.³⁵

The second source is a hand-written professional copy with the title, *3 symphonic poems. Festival Symphony (No 4) 1938*, where only the wrapper (including the titles of the three movements) is written in Klenau's own hand. The three movements are provided with the titles, *Hamlet the Dane*, *Theme with Variations*, *Festival for the People (after an old march)*.

According to the memoir, the work was not performed in Klenau's lifetime, perhaps because the composer failed to find an occasion to stir himself to arrange a performance.

Both in the memoir and in the later secondary literature, there is discussion of a so-called *Dante Symphony* of 1913 as the 'fourth symphony'. In fact this title covers a symphonic fantasy, *Paolo and Francesca*, originally planned as one of the movements in a large integrated symphonic cycle in seven movements with the title, *Inferno Fantasy*, which was never completed. In the memoir, Klenau explains why the project was never taken further:

I set out on my journey from Munich. I got to know Verona and Venice. I read Dante over and over and, influenced by his *Inferno* – probably also by Rodin's great plan, to make a whole series of Dante figures which would be gathered in a mighty tower, I set about sketching a Dante Symphony, or rather a series of related symphonic poems, that would fill a whole evening. This plan was never fully carried out. Only one of these symphonic poems, 'Paolo and Francesca', was played in a series of towns. In Copenhagen Peder Gram directed an excellent unnoticed performance in 1919.³⁶

There is another mention of this symphony in the memoir: 'My 4th symphony was an attempt, and the attempt was only partly a success.'³⁷

A series of sources bear witness to the work on this ambitious cycle of symphonic fantasies. Probably the starting point lay in an incomplete symphony from which a single movement is known, in a neatly calligraphed professional copy in the form of a 48 page score with the title, *Score / Symphony (B minor) 7 by / Paul A von Klenau*.³⁸ In the furthest left-hand corner of the title page there is a note in pencil in Klenau's hand, *Klenau / Brønsted's*

27 The second part of Delius' *A Mass of Life* received its first performance at the same 1908 Tonkünstlerfest.

28 *DK-Kk*, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 003.

29 *DK-Kk*, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 004.

30 *DK-Kk*, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 081.

31 German conductor, 1867–1942.

32 Later it is mentioned explicitly that this performance by Pfitzner (1869–1949) took place in 1910.

33 *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen folder 75, from the chapter in the first part, 'Mennesker jeg som Purung traf i Berlin' ('People I met in Berlin as a very young man'). The remark about Schnedler-Petersen (1867–1938) has been struck out in Klenau's manuscript.

34 *DK-Kk*, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 144. Originally the work was planned as a traditional symphony, rather than as a gathering of three symphonic poems.

35 *DK-Kk*, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 082.

36 *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen folder 75, from the chapter in the first part, 'Mennesker jeg som Purung traf i Berlin'. The missing date in the memoir is Dansk Koncert-Forening 7 April 1919.

37 *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen folder 75, chapter VII.

38 *DK-Kk*, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 005.

allé 6 / Copenhagen. The copy contains many pencil corrections in Klenau's hand.

The movement is written for a large orchestra consisting of 3 flutes, piccolo, 2 oboes, 6 clarinets, bass clarinet, 3 bassoons, contra-bassoon, 6 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, bass tuba, timpani, percussion and 2 harps together with strings. The initial notation gives the tempo direction, 'Unheimlich bewegt' and the metronome mark, '♩=84–88'.

Klenau revised this movement later, giving it the title *Paolo and Francesca* in connection with the cycle of scenes from Dante's *Inferno* discussed above. It was published in Vienna as an independent movement in this revised version.³⁹

The material found in Vienna in 2001 revealed, however, that Klenau was not entirely correct when he suggested that there were only preparatory sketches for the other movements in the planned cycle. Ink fair copies of two movements were found in the collection, with the titles, *Inferno Fantasy Part 1* and *Inferno Fantasy Part 3*, of 67 and 50 pages respectively, bearing a pencil note in Klenau's hand giving the titles of the complete seven movements planned, and showing that *Paolo and Francesca* was intended to be the cycle's second movement.⁴⁰

Fifth Symphony (1940)

The symphony bears the name, *Triptykon*, and was, as said earlier, the first symphony Klenau wrote after moving back to Denmark. The symphony, which is dedicated to Carl Schuricht⁴¹ is, together with the seventh symphony, the only one to have been published.⁴² It had its first performance at a Thursday concert in Copenhagen on 21 November 1941 under Schuricht's direction, and received a positive reception in the Danish press.⁴³ There was a radio broadcast of the symphony on 10 February 1943, conducted by Erik Tuxen, as an acknowledgement of Klenau's 60th birthday the day after.⁴⁴

Apart from the published edition, the work is also known from a transcript and some sketches in the Royal Library.⁴⁵ The printed edition does not include the name, *Triptykon*,⁴⁶ which is only found in the sketches, Klenau's memoir and Margarethe Klimt's index of the Klenau Collection.

Sixth symphony (1941)

This symphony in E major is entitled, *Nordic Symphony*. The autograph ink manuscript in the Royal Library bears a note, 'Symphony lasts 25 minutes. January 1941'.⁴⁷ The work's fourth movement is not fully orchestrated.

The sources for the orchestral instrumentation of the fourth movement must be lost, as the work had its first performance at a concert on 19 February 1942, conducted by Klenau himself. In the concert programme, the symphony is described as, '... a series of pictures inspired by the Danish landscape with its light and fresh colours'. The reception of the work was not unconditionally positive: the reviewers found that Klenau's German background came across more strongly than 'the Nordic' which the title laid claim to.⁴⁸

Seventh symphony (1941)

The score of the seventh symphony is preserved in Klenau's autograph⁴⁹ and in a photocopy with the stamp, 'Dansk Lyskopi, A/S Kronprinsessegade 54'; the parts were published in Vienna by the publishing house, Willy Müller.⁵⁰ The many sketches for the work show, amongst other things, Klenau's work on the twelve-tone structure which lies behind part of the symphony. One of the sketches is dated 18 May 1941, while the autograph score has the end-date 28 October 41.

Klenau writes about his work on the symphony in his memoir:

In the summer of 1941, I had rented an excellent house in Dronningmølle. With excitement I looked forward to the return of my future wife and her daughter. All the preparations for our wedding were made, and on the 16 July we were married at the Town Hall in Copenhagen. I had known my wife for nearly 20 years before we were married. The reason we had waited so long to go through with our plan to get married would take too long to explain.

In those two happy months we stayed in Dronningmølle, I wrote my wild symphony, which I called, 'Storm Symphony'. I conducted the first performance myself, at a concert in Copenhagen.⁵¹

The symphony is named Storm Symphony, and Klenau enclosed an explanatory note to the autograph which must have been made in relation to the work's first performance under his direction at the concert on 19 February 1942.

I call my seventh symphony, 'Storm Symphony'. This name does not refer to any programme, but refers only to the work's moving and dramatic character. The symphony was written in

39 Universal-Edition No. 6170, Vienna 1919. New edition in miniature score, Universal Edition, Vienna 2006, Study score 465, ed. Bradford Robinson. In the foreword to this edition, Robinson mentions – probably mistakenly (see above) – a fourth symphony from 1913 with the title, 'Dante' Symphony.

40 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 145.

41 Carl Schuricht (1880–1967), prominent German conductor. Because of his opposition of Nazism, he was forced to flee from Germany in 1944, settling in Switzerland. In 1941 he conducted Klenau's 'Little Symphony' (the fifth) in Berlin.

42 So-called Parchment Press, Universal, Wien 1941, No. 11265.

43 *Politiken*, 22.11.1940: 'A new little symphony by our Danish Paul von Klenau, a "Triptikon", as he himself calls it, three small movements, a quarter of an hour in all. Despite its diminutive form, Klenau's music is so fresh and pretty. Maybe just because it is not 'set up' in a large format, it amounted to something more through its dexterous and expressive development and construction, a piece of unpretentious music in which hand and heart, form and feeling, went together and filled each other out.'

44 The radio concert, which included works by Klenau exclusively, was transmitted by the Reich Radio Service in Berlin.

45 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 083.

46 The word *Triptykon* (Triptych) is of Greek origin and is used to describe a three-part picture or a three-panelled altar piece. In Roman culture the term was used to describe a three part announcement to the public.

47 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 084.

48 *Politiken*, 20.2.1942.

49 DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus samling No. 085.

50 The Royal Library's copy of the published parts (Mf. A.4939) has been used for a performance by the Danish Broadcasting Corporation. The first violin part bears the note, 'Leo Hansen', who was the radio orchestra's concert-master 1935–79.

51 DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder 75, chapter XV.

Dronningmølle, Summer 1941. It has never been performed before, either here at home or abroad. The four movements are built on a tone row which forms the basis for its melodic, contrapuntal and harmonic structure. The notes of the series are: D, A, E flat, B flat, B, F sharp, G, E, C sharp, G sharp, C, F, –'

This symphony also got a kind reception from the press. In *Politiken*, a reviewer writing under the signature, 'S.S.S' wrote:

Paul von Klenau was the evening's conductor and also contributed as composer [...] the evening's best impression. His 'Storm Symphony', which had its first performance, was absolutely one of Klenau's best symphonic works. There was sighing and rustling in the symphony – thunder and growling. The first movement was strikingly youthful; a gale was let loose over the audience, but at the same time there was a musical idea in the main motive's syncopated motif on the interval of a fourth that later, in the second movement, was reduced very effectively to a bass-ostinato figure [...] ⁵²

A year later – in February 1943 – Klenau went on a concert tour to Rome and Berlin, to conduct the respected Italian Augusteo Orchestra (also called the Orchestra of the National Academy of St. Cecilia); here he included his seventh symphony on the programme, together with Beethoven's eighth and one of Malipiero's symphonies, probably the second again. ⁵³

Eighth symphony (1942)

Like the ninth symphony, this also lay forgotten – and therefore unperformed – for 60 years until both appeared in 2001. It survives in Klenau's autograph, which includes 39 pages of score together with four more pages of sketches. ⁵⁴ The work was composed in March 1942.

Ninth symphony (1944–45)

A detailed commentary on the symphony is given above.

The work is known only from Klenau's autograph score and his piano score of the first four movements, along with a considerable number of sketches. All the sketches carry the title, 'Symphony IX'; a single sketch also has the title, 'Tragic Overture'.

On all the text enclosures and on the score's third movement, the title is given as 'Symphony VIII'.

Neither the eighth nor the ninth symphonies are mentioned in Klenau's memoir.

Klenau's legacy

The newspapers' discussion of Klenau's death in Copenhagen on 31 August 1946 was mostly brief and, on a number of points, in-

adequate. ⁵⁵ The obituaries fastened upon his career in Germany between the wars, and completely neglected to discuss his work as conductor, debator and composer during his last six years in Denmark. Still, *Kristeligt Dagblad* closed its short obituary thus:

[Klenau] was most active abroad, but he was still one of those who never tried to hide his Danishness, and he contributed much to get Denmark's name known and respected out in the world. He will have his final resting place in Vienna.

Neither *Kristeligt Dagblad* nor *Politiken* had any doubt about his thoughts in relation to Nazism in the 1930s and during the war, nor doubted his motives for remaining in Germany until 1939, staying in contact with a series of German cultural personalities and institutions. This relationship came immediately, whether right or wrong, to condition the reception of Klenau after his death, has continued to do so until today and – together with a certain dissociation from his musical language – has contributed to his marginalised position in Danish music history writing and Danish musical life. Seen from another point of view, this marginalisation or plain rejection stands in the way of a well-founded assessment of Klenau and his music, as can be seen in the reviews of the ninth symphony's first performance which were still dominated by speculation about the composer's relationship to Nazism. No-one has raised the issue of Klenau's Nazi disposition directly, but his established sympathy for the political development in Germany and his relationship to the Jewish question has lain like a shadow over his reputation. It must be admitted that the collected source material which Klenau has left in the form of letters, articles and lectures draws a fairly unclear picture of his relationship to these subjects – or perhaps, rather, a fairly naive grasp of the situation. But at the same time it bears stressing that Klenau never expressed sympathy for Nazism's offences or vision of the future. What it was that attracted him, and what inspired him to a high degree, was the inheritance of the great bourgeois culture from around the turn of the century, which in some respects would later become a part of the Nazi conceptual world, even though in a considerably altered form. In this extract from his memoir of Berlin, he expresses precisely his view on this:

National Socialism's goal was to turn back to a sound mentality which responded to the great German people's character and tradition. The cultural-historical side of National Socialism was a powerful attempt to direct the will towards a goal. In spite of any sympathy for democratic inclinations and ideals, the great

⁵² *Politiken*, 6.11.1942. At the same concert, Klenau conducted Malipiero's second symphony, *Elegiaca* (1936).

⁵³ In his memoir Klenau says that this orchestra was the best he had conducted apart from the Vienna Philharmonic.

⁵⁴ *DK-Kk*, Paul v. Klenaus samling nr. o86.

⁵⁵ See, for example, *Politiken* 3.9.1946 and *Kristeligt Dagblad* 5.9.1946. For comparison one can mention that the Austrian theatre journal, *Komoedie. Zeitschrift für künstlerisches Theater*, in its October issue (Vol. 1/3, October 1946, pp. 141–42) brought a long obituary of Klenau written by the music researcher Hans Rutz. Further, that the Danish composer P.S. Rung-Keller wrote a memorial composition with the title, 'Frau Professor G. von Klenau zugeeignet. In Memoriam *sopra tema fugato* Nr. 10 a moll von Paul von Klenau 11/2 1947' (Dedicated to Professor G. von Klenau, In memory of Paul von Klenau *sopra tema fugato* No 10 in A minor), of which a clean fair copy was found in the Klenau Collection in Vienna in 2001, in its original cover, addressed to Margarethe Klimt, Brøndsteds Alle 4 v. (*DK-Kk*, MA ms 7045).

personalities have always been the leaders in Germany. In the areas of science and art too, the geniuses have been leaders. The contrast between the German genius and the usual ordinary creative level seems to me to be far greater than in other countries. (...) Both a Goethe and a Beethoven tower so much above their contemporaries that they have had no equals. They are, to a much higher degree than the great Italian, French or English creative heroes, isolated individuals. – Therefore orthodoxy in the positive sense of the word is also greater in Germany than in other countries, which partly explains the power which National Socialism was able to exercise. (...) The goal of art should be to serve the people. Theatre life, exhibitions of paintings and literature were transformed. New men shove into the leading positions. Once more it was 'the Will' that ruled. No longer disunity and decadent urge for sensations, but the Will for healthy and popular culture, to build further upon a tradition which had nearly gone under in the Babylonian cultural confusion of the past. No-one who has not experienced this revolution can judge its visible and invisible results, – Where these endeavours will lead us, in years to come, only time can tell.⁵⁶

The question of Klenau's political and cultural position compels a more fundamental elucidation on the background of the surviving source material. Here we will examine a few selected examples which describe his position. Klenau repeatedly stresses that he does not wish to associate himself with – not to say, support – the political development in Germany, but only with the creative, something he says repeatedly in his memoir. For example, he says about his entry to the Danish-German Society after his return home in 1939: 'I kindly accepted the invitation, because the society's goal was to work for the relationship between Danish and German culture. Though I never have connected myself with politics, and have never belonged to a political party, I was happy to have the opportunity through the activity of the Danish-German Society to show my sympathy for German culture, which I feel myself so strongly connected with.' There is no doubt that Klenau, while living in Germany in the 30s, like so many other composers and poets, tried to navigate within Nazi culture to his own advantage, and in accepting this relationship had to accept a series of 'adjustments'. This comes to its clearest expression in his attempt to defend his closeness to Schönberg's dodecaphonic mode of writing, for example by suggesting that this compositional principal had been 'founded' by the Aryan, Matthias Hauer, and not by the Jew, Arnold Schönberg. Strikingly, in his memoir he also describes 'Anschluss' in March 1938 as 'Austria's association with German' without further comment on the event's wide-ranging political consequences.⁵⁷

Klenau's most thorough-going and nuanced relation to Nazism and the war can be studied in a long, unpublished feature which he wrote six months before his death.⁵⁸ At a time when Danish popular opinion was based on an understandable euphoria with a clear opposition to the so-called 'collaboration-politics' in favour of the resistance movement's contribution, Klenau objectively reflected on the dilemma in choosing between collaboration and opposition which both politicians and the people had been faced with after 9 April (sharpened after 29 August 1943) without indicating any sympathy for the German power-holders and without in any way omitting to assert opposition to their violence and incursion. Here is neither talk of opportunism, collaboration or anything else which might question Klenau's honesty.

As a final example illustrating Klenau's relation to the events in Germany in the years 1933–45, we refer to the tight friendship and consequent correspondence, both before and after the war, between Klenau and the Swiss historian and journalist, Rudolf von Salis,⁵⁹ who was mentioned in note 1 above.

In mentioning this friendship in this connection, one should naturally be aware of von Salis' importance during the war because of his weekly radio broadcasts from Switzerland under the title, *World Chronicle*, which stood out as a German-speech criticism of Nazism and the persecution of the Jews, which those in power in Germany vainly tried to get stopped. Through his weekly radio broadcasts, von Salis contributed to softening the Allies' criticism of Switzerland's neutrality and continuing business relationships with Nazi Germany. One could ask whether, if Klenau had been attracted to Nazism – as has been asserted – a person like Rudolf von Salis would then reckon him as one of his best friends, and continue a long, friendly intellectual correspondence with him on existential and philosophical issues? And would he have troubled himself to take up the relationship again after the war, first with Klenau himself, and later with his widow?

Finally, we quote Klenau's own comments on his last year in Denmark:

I must say that the Danish organisations behaved correctly, but one cannot call their response to me courteous. On the contrary! I cannot rid myself of the feeling that they would rather see my heel than my toe.⁶⁰

These words of Klenau are set in relief by the assessment which Rudolf von Salis gave in a long letter to Margarethe Klenau, the composer's widow, when he had discovered that Klenau – 'the late great friend' – had died some few months earlier:

⁵⁶ DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder 75, second part, chapter on Berlin.

⁵⁷ An indirect but strong witness to Klenau's ambivalent relationship to Germany during the war can be seen in a letter dated 18 December 1943, to Klenau from the mayor of Frankfurt, in which he gives thanks for Klenau's 'aufrichtige Teilnahme an den neuerlichen Fliegerschäden' ('honest sympathy because of the recent aeroplane bombings'), and adds: 'Es freut mich immer wieder, dass Frankfurt in der Welt Freunde besitzt, auf die es auch in der Not zählen kann. Zu diesen darf ich auch Sie, sehr geehrter Herr Profes-

sor, rechnen' ('I am always happy that there are still friends somewhere in the world on whom Frankfurt can count – even in the days of suffering. You, Herr Professor, are one of them'). DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen, breve. Klenau's original letter to the mayor is obviously not preserved in the collection.

⁵⁸ 'Den nationale Oplevelse' ('The National Experience'), typescript in DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder 26.

⁵⁹ 1901–96.

⁶⁰ DK-Kk, Klenausamlingen folder 75, chapter XV.

‘First of all it is important to me that the famous Royal Library in Copenhagen where the works by eminent Danes are already kept (I used to work there myself, once) will also keep the heritage of Klenau to the benefit of the future’.⁶¹

As seen above, this is just what has happened, through a combination of Margarethe Klenau’s and her successors’ persistent efforts, and the interest and support which emerged in Denmark after 2001.

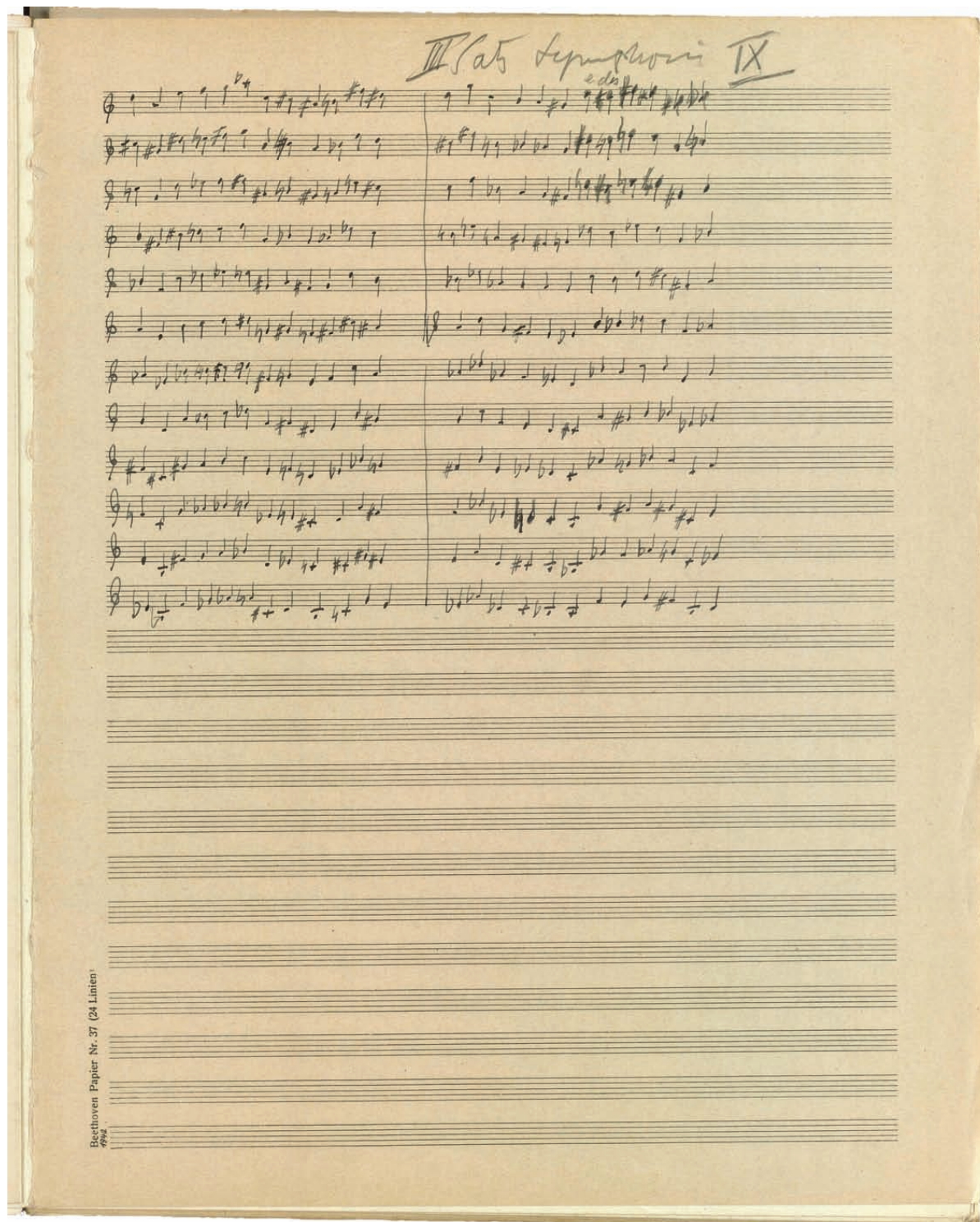
61 Letter dated 2 January 1946 from Prof. Dr. J.R. v. Salis (Zürich) to Margarethe Klenau (Copenhagen), *DK-Kk*, Klenausamlingen folder 80: ‘...vor allem wichtig kommt mir vor, dass auf der ausgezeichneten königlichen Bibliothek in Kopenhagen, wo bereits der Nachlass mehrerer hervorragender Dänen aufbewahrt wird, (ich habe früher einmal dort gearbeitet), auch Klenaus Werk und Nachlass eine bleibende Stätte finden werden.’

Kilde **A** s. 35, svarende til første sats t. 130-133. Kilden, som er skrevet med blæk, ligner umiddelbart en renskrift. En nærmere undersøgelse tyder dog på, at **A** nok snarere skal defineres som en "kladde". Siden afslører, hvordan Klenau har arbejdet med fortegnene: i t. 130 (fl.) er fortegnene (node 14 og 15) overstreget med blæk, således at intervallerne svarer til t. 132 (fl., node 14 og 15), hvor de er placeret over noderne og ikke før, dvs. de er tilføjet efter, at noderne er skrevet i modsætning til t. 130; andre steder er fortegnene først noteret med blyant for derefter at blive optrukket med blæk (t. 130: vl. 1 (node 2), va. (node 1); t. 131: vl. 2 (4. fjerdedel), vc. og cb. (node 7); t. 132: fg. (node 6)), mens fortegnet i t. 132 (vc., cb. node 6) kun er tilføjet med blyant; endelig har Klenau ændret tonehøjden i vl. 2 (overstemme node 4) fra *e*" til *c*[♯]", hvorefter han har ændret den i cl. 1 (t. 133 node 4) fra *e*" til *d*[♯]" for derefter at ændre den til *d*[♯]" med en lidt lysere blæk. En række detaljer tyder altså på, at Klenau i forbindelse med udarbejdelsen af **A** foretog en del ændringer.

Source **A** p. 35, corresponding to the first movement bb. 130-33. At first sight, the source which is written in ink seems to be an ink fair copy. However, a closer examination suggests that **A** should rather be defined as a 'draft'. The page reveals how Klenau has been working on the accidentals: in b. 130 (fl.), the accidentals (notes 14 and 15) are cancelled in ink so that the intervals correspond to b. 132 (fl., notes 14 and 15) where they do not precede the notes but are placed above them, that is, they were added after the notes had been written, contrary to b. 130; in other instances, accidentals were first added in pencil and then emphasized in ink (b. 130: vl. 1 (note 2), va. (note 1); b. 131: vl. 2 (fourth crotchet), vc. and cb. (note 7); b. 132: fg. (note 6)), while the accidental in b. 132 (vc., cb. note 6) is only added in pencil; finally Klenau has changed the pitch in vl. 2 (top part, note 4) from *e*" to *c*[♯]" and then changed the cl. 1 (b. 133, note 4) from *e*" to *d*[♯]" and then in a lighter ink to *d*[♯]". Quite a few details suggest therefore that Klenau carried out numerous changes when he produced **A**.

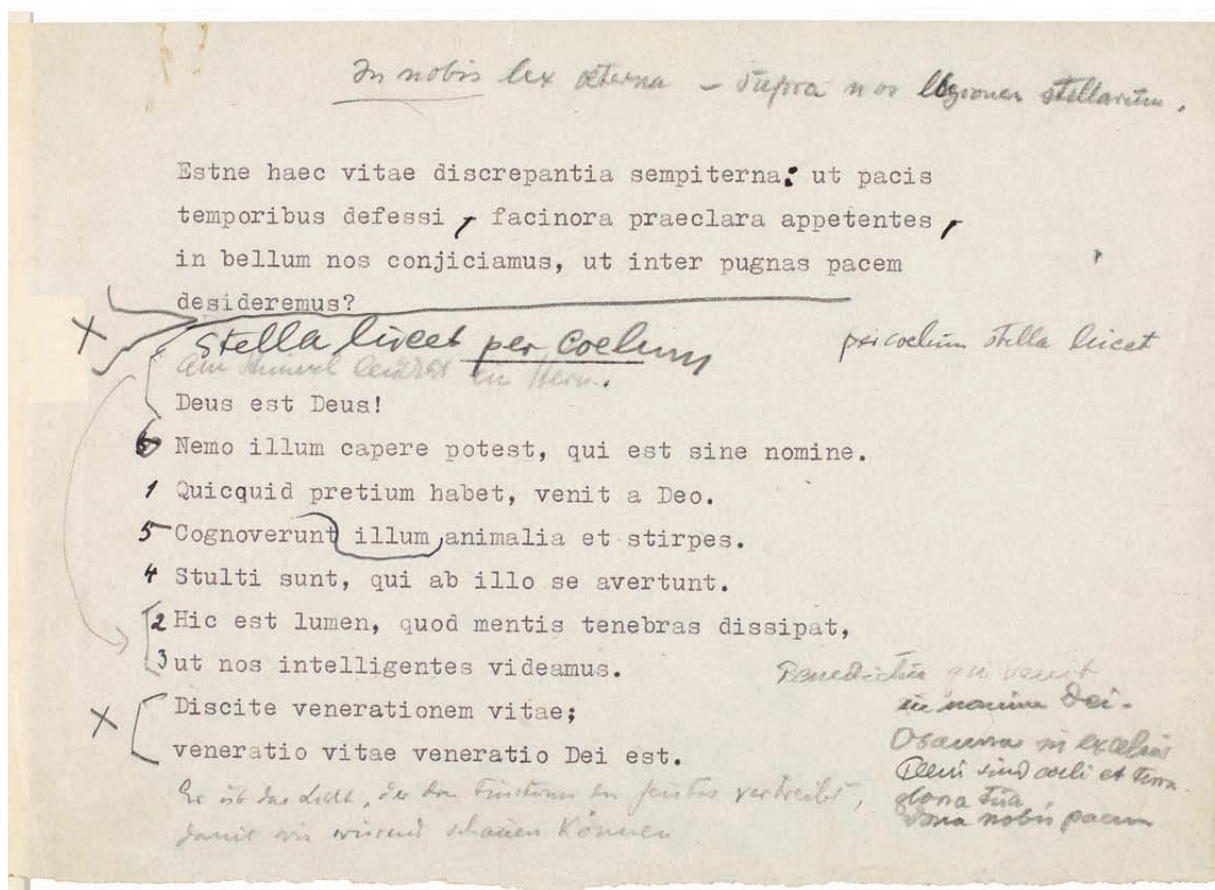
Handwritten musical score on aged paper, page 35. The score is written in a system with multiple staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *f*. The score is organized into measures, with some measures containing complex rhythmic patterns and others being simpler. The handwriting is in ink, and the paper shows signs of age and wear.

Beethoven Papier Nr. 87 (24 Linien)
494



Kilde C, "III Satz Symphonie IX", er en tolvtonerække og dens omvendning noteret i 11 transpositioner. Rækken er anvendt i tredje sats og forekommer for eksempel i dens oprindelige form begyndende i t. 81 (vl. 1).

Source C, 'III Satz Symphonie IX', is a twelve-tone series with inversions notated in eleven different transpositions. The series is employed in the third movement and appears in its original form beginning in b. 81 (vl. 1).



Kilde D, Klenaus tekstkladde dateret 1945. Den maskinskrevne tekst er blevet kraftigt omarbejdet blandt andet med nye tekstafsnit, ordomstillinger og interpunktion både med blyant og med blæk.

Source D, Klenau's text draft dated 1945. The typewritten text has been heavily reworked including for instance new sections, syntax and punctuation, both in pencil and in ink.

TEKST OG OVERSÆTTELSER

TEXT AND TRANSLATIONS

II

Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine: et lux
perpetua luceat eis. Te decet hymnus Deus.¹
Exaudi orationem meam.

Kyrie eleison.
Christe eleison.
Kyrie eleison.

Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvat saeculum in favilla.²

Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando iudex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus!

Deus irae, Deus ille,³
Solvat saeculum in favilla.

Tuba mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulcra regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum.

Mors stupebit⁴ et natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Judicanti responsura.

Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.

Iudex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit:
Nil inultum remanebit.

Quid sum miser, tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus?
Cum vix justus sit securus.

II

Herre, giv dem den evige hvile, og det evige
lys lyse for dem. Til dig, o Gud, sømmer det
sig at frembære lovsang. Herre, hør min bøn.

Herre, forbarm dig.
Kristus, formbarm dig.
Herre, forbarm dig.

Vredens dag i tidens fylde
verden skal i flammer hylle

Gru og angst og rædsler kolde
vil vor Herres komme volde,
når han dommedag vil holde!

[Vredens Gud, denne Gud
verden skal i flammer hylle].⁵

Over slægtens grave gjalde
domsbasunerne og kalde
for Guds trone alt og alle.

Døden og naturen bæver,
når hver skabning frem sig hæver,
som hin røst til regnskab kræver.

Bogen bliver da opslagen,
den, som lægger alt for dagen,
hvoraf dommen bliver dragen.

Dommeren sit sæde tager,
alt det skjulte han ransager,
intet sig hans dom unddrager.

Hvad skal da jeg stakkel svare,
hvem vil da mit regnskab klare,
når den bedste står i fare?⁶

II

Grant them eternal rest, Lord, and let perpetu-
al light shine upon them. You are praised, God.
Hear my prayer. Lord, have mercy on us. Christ,
have mercy on us. Lord, have mercy on us.

That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
shall heaven and earth in ashes lay.

What horror must invade the mind
when the approaching Judge shall find
and sift the deeds of all mankind!

[The God of wrath, that God
shall heaven and earth in ashes lay]⁷

The mighty trumpet's wondrous tone
shall rend each tomb's sepulchral stone
and summon all before the Throne

Now death and nature with surprise
behold the trembling sinners rise
to meet the Judge's searching eyes

Then shall with universal dread
the Book of Consciences be read
to judge the lives of all the dead

For now before the Judge severe
all hidden things must plain appear;
no crime can pass unpunished here.

O what shall I, so guilty plead?
and who for me will intercede?
when even Saints shall comfort need?⁸

1 Klenau has omitted 'in Sion, et tibi reddetur votum
in Jerusalem' of the Latin introit psalm.

2 Klenau has changed the original's *saeculum* to
saeculum and omitted the sequence's final line of
the first stanza ('Teste David cum Sibylla').

3 In the repeat of the first two lines of the Latin
sequence, Klenau has altered *Dies illa* to *Deus
illa*. The substitution of *Dies* with *Deus* seems to
be deliberate since it appears several times in the
manuscript. However, Klenau did not change the
grammatically incorrect *Deus illa* to *Deus ille* which
has been done in the present edition though it
influences the original's rhyming scheme.

4 Klenau has erroneously written *stupedit*.

5 See above, note 3.

6 The Danish translation of *Dies irae* is borrowed
from *Salme- og bønnebog* of 1951.

7 See above, note 3.

8 The translation of *Dies Irae* is quoted from <<http://www.fisheaters.com/funerals.html>>; the English
translation of the other texts is by John Bergsagel.

IV

Estne haec vitae discrepantia sempiterna: ut pacis temporibus defessi, facinora praeclara appetentes, in bellum nos conjiciamus, ut inter pugnas pacem desideremus? Haec vitae discrepantia sempiterna. Facinora praeclara appetentes, in bellum nos conjiciamus, ut inter pugnas pacem desideremus.⁹ Discite venerationem vitae; veneratio vitae est veneratio Dei.

VII

Misericordia! Miserere nobis!

VIII

Stella lucet per coelum!
Deus est Deus! Hic est lumen, quod mentis tenebras dissipat, ut nos intelligentes videamus.
Quidquid pretium habet, venit a Deo. Stulti sunt, qui ab illo se avertunt. Illum cognoverunt animalia et stirpes. Nemo illum capere potest, qui est sine nomine.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Dei. Osanna in excelsis. Luceat lux. Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua. Dona nobis pacem. In nobis lex aeterna. Supra nos legiones stellarum.

IV

Er det Livets evige Modsigelse: at vi bliver trætte af Fredens Aar og – sværmende for Heltedaa – kaster os ud i Krigen for kæmpende at længes efter Freden?
Dette er Livets evige Modsigelse: sværmen- de for Heltedaa – kaster os ud i Krigen for kæmpende at længes efter Freden.
Lær Ærefrygt for Livet. Ærefrygt for Livet er Ærefrygt for Gud.

VII

Barmhjertighed! Forbarm dig over os!

VIII

På himlen lyser en stjerne.
Gud er Gud! Han er det lys, som fordriver Aandens Mørke, for at vi vidende kan skue. Alt, hvad der har Værd, kommer fra Gud. Kun vanvittige vender sig bort fra ham. Dyr og planter ved, at han er til. Ingen kan fatte den navnløse.
Velsignet være han som kommer i Herrens navn. Hosianna i det højeste. Lad lyset lyse. Himmelen og jorden er fuld af din herlighed. Giv os fred. I os er den evige lov. Over os er stjerneskarerne.

IV

Is it life's eternal contradiction that during a time of peace we become bored and, dreaming of heroic deeds, rush to take up arms, only, while fighting, to long for peace? This is life's eternal contradiction: dreaming of heroic deeds we rush to take up arms, only, while fighting, to long for peace. Learn reverence for life. Reverence for life is reverence for God.

VII

Mercy! Have mercy on us!

VIII

A star is shining in the heavens!
God is God! This is the light that disperses the shadows of the mind so that we may perceive with understanding. Everything that has value comes from God. Only fools turn away from God. Animals and plants know that He exists. No one is able to conceive the one who has no name. Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosianna in the highest. Let the Light shine. Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Grant us peace. Within us is the eternal law. Above us is the heavenly host.

⁹ The text in the preceding sentence is an altered repeat of the first part of the text though now formulated as a statement and not as a question. The Danish translation of the text to the fourth movement is borrowed from Klenau's text appendix to the autograph score (source D).

BESÆTNING ORCHESTRA

flauto piccolo

2 flauti

2 oboi

2 clarinetti

2 fagotti

contrafagotto

4 corni

4 trombe

2 tromboni tenori

trombone basso

tuba

timpani

piatto sospeso

piatti

tamburo piccolo

gran cassa

arpa

archi

soprano solo

alto solo

tenore solo

basso solo

coro (S A T B)

ABBREVIATIONS

A.	alto
B.	basso
b.	bar
bb.	bars
cb.	contrabbasso
cfg.	contrafagotto
cl.	clarinetto
cor.	corno
DK-Kk	Det Kongelige Bibliotek, København The Royal Library, Copenhagen
fg.	fagotto
fl.	flauto
fl.picc.	flauto piccolo
fol.	folio
fols.	folios
gr.c.	gran cassa
ob.	oboe
p.	page
pp.	pages
ptti.	piatti
ptto.sosp.	piatto sospeso
S.	soprano
str.	strings
T.	tenore
tamb.picc.	tamburo piccolo
tb.	tuba
timp.	timpani
tr.	trombe
trb.	tromboni
trb.t.	trombone tenore
trb.b.	trombone basso
va.	viola
vc.	violoncello
vl.	violino
ww.	woodwind

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

DESCRIPTION OF SOURCES

- A Score, ink draft
- B Piano score, ink draft, incomplete
- C Sketches, fragments
- D Texts, typewritten and partly autograph ink fair copy

A Score, ink draft.

DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus Samling 87, mu.0603.2900.

Source consists of ten gatherings in folio format, draft in ink with numerous additions, cancellations and cuts in pencil.

Gathering 1:

One folded bifolio including seventeen folded bifolios nested in fourteen and three; bifolio 1 (unnumbered) titled 'Symphonie IX / I. Satz', remaining folios paginated 1–64 (first page number suppressed) with final three folios unnumbered.

Title on first music page: 'Symphonie IX / I' added in pencil.

End-dating (p. 64): 'Dec 44 Januar 45.'

Size: bifolio 1: 33.6x26.9 cm

first nested set: 33.8x26.9 cm

second nested set: 33.6x26.9 cm

Paper type: bifolio 1: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien)')

first nested set: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

second nested set: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien)')

Only few corrections in pencil; note to the transcriber of a planned but not carried out fair copy on p. 29: 'Reinschrift / NB. / I Violine ist wie II V. 8^{va} / Flöten & Oboen wies Violini / Clarinetti wie II Violin'; a few cancellations, cuts and notes concerning cut in both ink and pencil; some markings in pencil emphasized in ink.

Gathering 2:

Twelve folded bifolios, paginated 1–25, the twenty-three remaining folios unnumbered and unused.

Title on first music page: 'Sym IX', in pencil, and 'II Satz. Requiem', in ink.

End-dating (p. 25): '8^{te}/II/45' added in pencil.

Size: 34x26.9 cm

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

Very few changes; cuts in ink and pencil; some markings in pencil emphasized in ink. A detailed instruction in pencil regarding the completion of the movement has been added in pencil on p. 25.

Gathering 3:

Nine folded bifolios, paginated 1–36.

Title on first music page: 'Sym. IX', in pencil, and 'III [=ink]

(IV Satz – side 24) [=pencil]'; beneath in ink: 'IX Symphonie' where 'IX' had been changed to 'VIII' in a darker ink.

End-dating (p. 25, third movement): '20/2/45'.

Size: bifolios 1–4 (pp. 1–8): 33.6x26.9 cm

bifolios 7–9 (pp. 9–18): 33.9x26.6 cm

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942'); though with identical stamp they are of two different paper types of which the second is more coarse.

Few cancellations in pencil, few corrections in pencil and ink, and few erasures; some markings in pencil have been emphasized in ink. Fourth movement begins on p. 24.

Gathering 4:

Seven folded bifolios paginated 37–64, with an insertion consisting of three folded bifolios paginated 55a–55g and the final five folios unnumbered.

Size: bifolios, pp. 27–64: 33.9x26.9 cm

bifolios, pp. 55a–55g: 35x26.8 cm

Paper type: bifolios, pp. 27–64: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

bifolios, pp. 55a–55g: 24 staves (hand-ruled?), bottom trimmed but remains of stamp and 'Zurich' still visible.

Continuation of fourth movement; few markings in pencil and instructions added in pencil have later been erased; includes cuts and cancellations in both ink and pencil to which the insertion belongs.

Gathering 5:

Three folded bifolios, paginated 65–75, final folio unnumbered and unused.

Size: 33.9x27.1 cm

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

Continuation of fourth movement; few markings in pencil; instructions added in pencil have later been erased; a couple of cancellations and cuts in pencil and ink.

Gathering 6:

One folded bifolio including ten nested bifolios in five, two and three single bifolios; bifolio 1 used as folder includes title on fol. 1r: 'IX Symphonie / V Satz' in pencil; first nested set of bifolios, paginated 1–20, has 'Allegro (Tempo de marziale, vivace.) V. Satz.'; second nested set of bifolios paginated 21–28a, single bifolio 1 paginated 29b–32, single bifolio 2 paginated 33–36, and single bifolio 3 paginated 37–39/38 with final folio unnumbered and unused.

End-dating (p. 39): '20 Nov. 45.'

Size: 33.9x26.9 cm

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

Folder fols. 1v–2r includes sketches mainly in pencil but with a few markings in ink. Gathering includes only few additions and changes in pencil.

Gathering 7:

One folded bifolio including one nested bifolio with three bifolios and a single bifolio; fol. 1r of bifolio 1 used as title page, fol. 1v blank and both pages unnumbered; nested set of bifolios paginated 1–12, single bifolio paginated 13–16, and fol. 2r of bifolio 1 paginated 17; verso of final folio blank.

Title page (folder): 'IX Symphonie / VI Satz' added in pencil.

End-dating (p. 17): '5 Nov. 1945.'

Size: 33.9x27 cm

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

Few additions and changes in ink and pencil; p. 17 includes an instruction in pencil as to how the movement is to end.

Gathering 8:

Two bifolios nested and paginated 1–6 with final folio blank.

Title on first music page (p. 1): 'IX Symphonie / VII Satz / "Miserecordia"' added in pencil.

Size: 33.9x26.8 cm

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

No additions in pencil regarding the music; few corrections in ink and few erasures.

Gathering 9:

Fourteen bifolios paginated 1–60 with a bifolio (paginated 49, 50a, 50b, 51) inserted between pp. 48–49.

Title on first music page (p. 1): 'VIII Satz. Sidste Del IX Symphonie'.

Size: 33.9x27.1 cm

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

Additions and changes in ink and pencil; some cancellations and cuts in both pencil and ink; a few instructions in pencil and ink regarding the reading of the score.

Gathering 10:

Eight bifolios paginated 61–89, with the three final folios unused and unnumbered.

End-dating: '22/4/45'.

Size: 33.9x26.9 cm

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

Continuation of movement 8; few changes and additions in pencil and ink; some erasures.

B Piano score, ink draft, incomplete.

DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus Samling 87, mu.0603.2900.

One gathering (folded bifolio) used as folder includes one set of nested bifolios (that is, five bifolios with an inserted nested set of three bifolios at p. 10), one single bifolio and one nested set of bifolios (that is, one bifolio with a nested set of two bifolios), in all fourteen bifolios. Includes sketches in pencil and draft in ink for piano score of movements 1–4.

Title page: 'Klavierauszug / IX Symphonie. / 4 erste Sätze'.

Size: 34x27.1 cm

34.2x27 cm (inserted set of bifolios, bifolio 1)

Paper type: 24 staves ('Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien) / 1942')

24 staves ('B & H. Nr. 14 (24z.)'; inserted set of bifolios, bifolio 1)

Folder, fol. 1v, includes a number fragments and sketches referring to an overture and melodic phrases in various church modes (Lydian, Dorian and Phrygian); fol. 2r: melodic and textual fragments for choir or a single voice (Danish text); fol. 2v: sketches for a movement titled 'Andante tranquillo ($\text{♩}=48$)', and references to the Dorian and Phrygian modes. A few additions in ink.

The first set of nested bifolios: fol. 1r: fragments and sketches in pencil notated in short score, discarded and 'Symphonie / IX / Klaveer / Auszug' added in a large handwriting in pencil. On fols. 1r–2v: blank; fols. 3r–7v: paginated 1–10 and written in ink, piano score (three staves), and with numerous cancellations and changes in pencil and ink; fol. 8r–v paginated 20a–20b, unused except for bottom of p. 20b where a sketch in short score has been notated in pencil; fols. 9r–10v paginated 21–24 (third movement), written in ink, piano score (three staves), with very few changes. Insertion: fol. 1r: used as title page, 'II satz / Requiem' written in ink, and fols. 1v–6v paginated 10, 10b, 11–20, of which fols. 1v, 6v are blank; insertion written in ink with numerous additions in pencil, a few cancellations in ink and pencil; p. 19 includes a fragmentary sketch in short score (chorale) in pencil.

Single bifolio paginated 25–28, written in ink, piano score (three staves) with a few changes in ink and pencil; p. 26 has 'IV', that is movement 4.

Second set of nested bifolios: fols. 1r–7v paginated 29–42, written in ink with additions in pencil and changes in ink; fol. 8 unused.

C Sketches and fragments.

DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus Samling 87, mu.0603.2900.

One gathering consisting of one folded bifolio with the title 'Symphonie IX / Skizzen' added in pencil; includes various sets of nested bifolios, single bifolios and folios. Different sizes though approximately 34x27 cm, 24 staves and various paper types (mainly 'Beethoven', 1942; one 'B & H', and two cropped bifolios with no printer's name, same paper type as source A, gathering 4). In all 42 folios of which some sets of folios and bifolios have been paginated, a fairly large number of folios are unused, written in both ink and pencil; short score, piano score with a single vocal stave. The source includes a couple of folios, notated with twelve-tone series in ink and nested bifolios referring to 'tragische Overture' which is also found among the sketches in source B.

D Texts, typewritten and autograph ink fair copies.

DK-Kk, Paul v. Klenaus Samling 87, mu.0603.2900.

Two brown folders:

- 1) with title pasted on front: 'SINFONIE IX. / TEXT / | LATEINISCH|', written in ink;
- 2) with title pasted on front: 'SINFONIE IX. / TEXT / |DEUTSCH| |DÄNISCH|', written in ink.

Brown folder 1 includes three sets of folios:

- A) 28.1x21.1 cm, four single folios of which rectos are written in ink and versos blank; watermark showing 'SAXO O. B. B.' and a monk with a feather in his hand sitting at a writing desk; fol. 1 is titled 'Lateinische / Text / zu / Symphonie VIII. / 1945' and the remaining folios comprise the texts to movements 2, 4, 7 and 8;
- B) three folios of two sizes: fol. 1: 28x21.1 cm, titled 'Deutscher / und / Dänischer Text / zu / Symphonie VIII. / 1945', in ink, same watermark as A; fols. 2–3: 27.8x19.9 cm, typewritten text of which fol. 2r has been dated '11/2/45' and includes the German text with a few lines added in ink; fol. 3r has been dated '11/2/45' and includes part of the text in a Danish translation (movement 8 only);
- C) four folios of various sizes fastened with a piece of paper and glued, all versos blank: fol. 1: 28x21.1 cm, titled 'Text / Entwürfe / zu / Symphonie VIII. / 1945', in ink, same watermark as A; fols. 2–3: titled 'Text Entwurf Symph. VIII', type-written Latin text with additions and changes in pencil; fol. 4: text to movements 4, 8 and 7 written in ink.

Brown folder 2 includes three loose folios:

- A) 21x13.5 cm, note dated 'Sept. 1946', written in ink (Margarethe Klimt), verso blank;
- B) 27.9x19.8 cm, typewritten Danish translation of text (movement 8) identical to brown folder 1, B, fol. 3;
- C) as B, but German translation of text (movement 8) and with 'Sinfonie IX' added as title in pencil presumably by Margarethe Klimt.

EDITORIAL STRATEGY

Incomplete notation, which is due to the fact that the main source is a draft, has been emended without comment, unless the reading is ambiguous. Missing rests in empty bars and other missing rests have been added tacitly, except in cases where there may be doubt as to whether a note or notes might have been intended.

In many instances, Klenau has cancelled complete bars or even extensive passages and provides instructions as to how he wished various sections to be played, for example by indicating cuts or that a number of bars or pages should be repeated. Klenau's instructions regarding the course of the movement as well as larger cancellations are listed in Variant Readings and Editorial Emendations, and the present edition includes the cuts and writes out in full such repeats. Klenau's minor corrections, however, are in general not commented.

Klenau's notation of two instruments on a single staff is particularly challenging. Often he alternates between one- and two-part notation without indicating whether the phrases should be inter-

preted as *a2* or *1.*, for example. Each instance has been determined in view of internal contexts such as the notation of the previous section or by comparable instrumental parts as well as the section's general dynamic level. A phrase interpreted by the editor as only valid for one of two instruments is listed as '*1.* added' in the Commentary. In that case, the addition is applicable for the whole phrase including the repeated *1.*-designations following page turns.

Klenau is also inconsistent in the use of single and double stems on one staff in the strings. Double stems do not always indicate *divisi*, just as chords notated with single stems do not always mean that Klenau wanted the passage to be played with double-stopping. The use of double stops and *divisi* is a question of musical interpretation and the edition reproduces therefore Klenau's notation leaving the interpretation to the performer.

On the whole, the edition reproduces Klenau's original beaming practice, also when it seems to be inconsistent. In the vocal parts, however, the practice has been adapted to the distribution of syllables.

Dynamic markings above and/or below groups of staves which may be assumed to apply to all instruments of the group have been added tacitly in each instrumental part in question.

For more detailed information regarding Danish Centre for Music Publication's editorial guidelines, see: <http://www.kb.dk/dcm/udgivelser/retningslinjer/>.

VOCAL TEXT

The text to Klenau's Symphony No. 9 is a combination of liturgical texts from the Catholic Requiem rite and Latin texts presumably written especially for the symphony. The newer text sections used in the fourth and eighth movements are found as a typewritten fair copy among Klenau's extant notes to the symphony (source D). The typewritten copy does not agree entirely with the text employed in the manuscript of the symphony (source A). There are discrepancies in orthography and in the order of the sentences. Klenau has also been rather free in his use of the liturgical texts. A few of the sentences, based on 'Requiem' and 'Dies irae', have been omitted in the text to the second movement; and in the eighth movement he employs text parts from other sections of the Mass randomly. As it has not been possible to establish which actual text sources Klenau has used, the present edition has adopted the orthography and punctuation of *Liber Usualis* (1924).

Neither has it been possible to determine whether the text to the fourth movement, which is in Latin, German and Danish in autograph, was composed by Klenau himself.

The orthography in the non-liturgical text parts has been normalised in accordance with source D which is more consistent than the manuscript score, source A. This is also true of punctuation; however, some of the significant variants have been retained, for example in the fourth movement, where Klenau alternates between employing full stops, question marks and exclamation marks. Repetitions of words or parts of sentences have been separated by commas without comment.

In the eighth movement, the order of the sentences does not follow exactly the one which Klenau wrote in source **D** which, furthermore, omits the six final sentences, presumably because they are of a liturgical origin. Three of them stem from ‘Sanctus’ while the remaining three seem to be paraphrases on ‘Agnus Dei’ and ‘Lux aeterna’.

Orthography and punctuation has also been normalised tacitly.





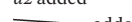

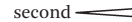
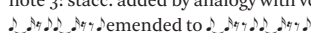
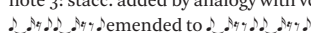



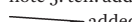
SOURCE EVALUATION

The main source – and the only source in full score – for Klenau’s Symphony No. 9 is the autograph source **A**, which was apparently prepared with a view to producing a transcript: it contains numerous cancellations, additions and notes to a copyist. It is an open question whether to define source **A** as a draft (though in ink) or as a fair copy. The many cuts and changes do suggest that it is likely that Klenau would consider it a draft rather than a heavily revised fair copy. That would also explain the numerous errors and deficiencies such as lack of articulation, dynamics and playing instructions (e.g. ‘1.’, ‘2.’ and ‘a due’ in the woodwinds), for instance. Because only one source has survived in terms of the music in full score, the editorial strategy heavily relies on internal readings and in particular focusing on Klenau’s personal music notation. The sketches and fragments (source **C**) most often notated in short score are from the viewpoint of the work’s genesis highly interesting as they reveal Klenau’s compositional framework and basic ideas concerning structure and for example the use of twelve-tone series, but the source only plays a minor role in terms of editing. On the other hand, the piano score, source **B**, which includes a wide array of different types of sources including sketches and drafts, motifs as well as an ink draft of the piano score of movements 1–4, has in a few instances been employed as an regulatory authority concerning pitch (harmony) and rhythm. Hence the list of Variant Readings and Editorial Emendations consists mainly of emendations and very few variants. The autograph score **A** is also the main source as regards the revision of the text while source **D**, including both ink fair autograph copies of text and translation and typewritten copies, has only been consulted in cases of doubt. Thus textual revisions are based on internal readings.


VARIANT READINGS AND EDITORIAL EMENDATIONS

FIRST MOVEMENT

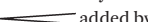
Bar	Part	Comment
2	tr.	single stem emended to double stems
3	cor.3,4	stacc. added by analogy with cor.1,2
5	cl.	note 3: marc. added by analogy with fl., ob., cor., str.
5	vl.1,2	note 10 lower part: \sharp added by analogy with fl.2, ob.2, cl.2, cor.2,4
5	va. vc.	slurs added by analogy with vl.1,2; note 10: \sharp added by analogy with fl.2, ob.2, cl.2, cor.2,4
6	va.	note 1: ten. omitted by analogy with vl.1,2, vc.; note 7: marc. omitted by analogy with vl.1,2 and b.188; notes 7–10: slur added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc.1
6	vc.1	note 7: marc. omitted by analogy with vl.1,2 and b.188
7	fg.	marc. added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.
7	cor.3,4	stacc. added by analogy with cor.1,2
7	timp.	γ added
7	vl.1	note 7: <i>f</i> emended to <i>g</i> by analogy with va. and b.189
8	timp.	\sharp emended to \sim
9	vl.2 va.	note 3: <i>f</i> added by analogy with vl.1, vc., cb.
9	cb.	note 1: <i>f</i> added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., vc.; note 3: stacc. added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., vc.
9–10	cb.	$\text{—}f$ added by analogy with vc.
10	cor.1,2	cor.1: marc. and ten. emended to marc. by analogy with cor.2 and b.192
11	cb.	marc. added by analogy with b.193
12–13		A : two bars between bb.12–13 cancelled in ink
12	trb.t.2	note 2: \flat added by analogy with ww., cor., tr.2, vl.2, va.
12	vc.	notes 7–8: notated as if in tenor-clef emended to P by analogy with the melodic material of vl.2
12	cb.	stacc. added by analogy with trb.b., tb.
13–14		A : a bar between bb.13–14 cancelled in ink
14	vl.2	notes 4–5: slur added by analogy with vc.
15	ob. cl.	<i>espressivo</i> added by analogy with fl.
15	cl.	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with fl., ob.
16	ob. cl.	— added by analogy with fl.
17	ob. cl.	— added by analogy with fl.
18	ob. cl.	note 2: stacc. added by analogy with fl.
18	va.	— added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc., cb.
19	cor.3,4	3. added
19	vc.	note 1: <i>pp</i> omitted by analogy with fg. and as the dynamic marking is already indicated in the previous bar
21	cor.1,2	1. added
21	cor.3,4	<i>pp</i> added by analogy with the other instr.
21	va.	<i>pp</i> added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc., cb.
22–23		A : two bars between bb.22–23 cancelled in ink
22–24	cfig.	original phrase notated as fg.2 emended to cfig.
22	va.	γ added
24	va. vc.	slurs and stacc. added by analogy with vl.1,2
25	tr.1,2	single stems emended to double stems, following bar clearly indicates two instr)
25–26	str.	A : dynamics notated above vl.1
25	vc.	note 7: <i>f</i> omitted by analogy with vl.1,2, va.
25, 26	cb.	<i>ff</i> added by analogy with dynamic marking above vl.1
26	vc.	articulation added by analogy with vl.1,2 va.
26	cb.	\sharp added
27	fg.2	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with ob.2, cor.4, va.
27	vl.1,2	note 14: \sharp added by analogy with b.28 notes 2, 6
28	fg.1	note 2: \flat added by analogy with ob.1, cor.2, va.
28–29	tr.1,2	single stems emended to double stems
29–30	cfig.	phrase originally notated for fg.2 emended to cfig.
29–30	tb.	tie added by analogy with trb.t., trb.b.

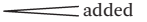
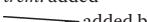

29	va. vc.	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1,2	94	ob.2	notes 3–4: \sharp moved from note 4 to note 3 by analogy with vl.2(2)
29–30	va. vc.	slurs added by analogy with vl.1,2	94	cl.1	note 1: c' emended to d' by analogy with va.
30	ob.2	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with cor.4, trb.b.	94	cl.2	notes 1–2: slur added by analogy with fg.
31–32	fl. ob. cl.	phrase notated with single stems emended to a_2	94	fg.	second to fourth crotchet: 
31	fl. ob. fg.	note 7: \sharp added by analogy with cl.	94	va.	 added by analogy with vc., cb.
32	fl. ob. cl.		94	vc.	 added by analogy with cl.
	cor. tr.				third to fourth crotchet: ten. added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., cb.
	trb.t. timp.				 added by analogy with vl.1,2, va.2
	vl.1,2 va.	$\frac{3}{8}$ added by analogy with fg., trb.b., tb., vc., cb.	95	vc.1	double stems added
32	trb.b. tb.		96	fg.	a_2 added
	vc. cb.	note 1: \downarrow emended to \downarrow	97	ob.	 added by analogy with fl., ob.
33		$\frac{3}{4}$ added	97	cl.	 added by analogy with cb.
35	cor.1	note 1: ten. emended to stacc. by analogy with cor.2,3,4	97	vc.2	notes 3–4: ten. added by analogy with bb.92–96, 97–99
40–41		A: <i>Vi=de Seite 13</i> , 11 bars between bb.40–41 cancelled in pencil	98–99	cor.3	3. added
41–42	fg.	single stems emended to double stems	99	cl. fg.	double stems added
42	cl.	note 2: stacc. added by analogy with eleventh semi-quaver b.41	99	cor.	f added by analogy with the other instr.
42	fg.	notes 2, 4: stacc. added by analogy with cl. and b.41	99	cor.2	slur and stacc. added by analogy with ob., cl.
42	timp.	note 3: p added by analogy with cl., fg., vc., cb.	99	vl.1	second  added by analogy with fl.
43	cb.	note 3: p added by analogy with cl., fg., timp., vc.	99	vl.2	note 2: \downarrow emended to \downarrow
47	cb.	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with vc.	99	va.	stacc. added by analogy with ob., cl.
48	vc. cb.	 emended to 	99	cb.	notes 7–8: double stems emended to single stems
49–52	cor.1	1. added	100	vl.2	A: note 4: e'' cancelled and changed to c'' in ink, see also b.35
49–50	cor.4	phrase notated in \mathcal{F} emended to \mathcal{G}	102	ob.1	note 2: g'' emended to $g^{b''}$ by analogy with b.37
52		fourth crotchet: superfluous f omitted; A (bb.52–53): page turn	102	cl.2	note 2: a' emended to a'' by analogy with b.37
52	cl.	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with previous bar and b.165	102	fg.	chord 2: \flat added by analogy with b.37
53	ob. cl.		102	cor.4	note 2: \flat added by analogy with b.37
	cor.3,4		102	vl.1,2	note 5: \flat added by analogy with b.37
	vl.2 va.2		102	va.	chord 6 upper note: \sharp added by analogy with fl.1, ob.1, cl.1, cor.1,3, vl.1; fifth quaver: \flat by analogy with b.37
	vc.2 cb.2	note 5: \sharp added	102	vc. cb.	note 2: \flat by analogy with b.37
53	cl.	note 4: a_2 added	103–104		A: <i>Vi de bis Seite 26</i> , 15 bars between bb.103–104 cancelled in ink and pencil
53	va.2	notes 4–6: ten. added by analogy with vl.2, vc., cb.	103	fg.	 added by analogy with vc., cb.
54	cl.1	note 3: \sharp emended to \sharp by analogy with ob., cor.3,4, vl.2, va.2, vc.2, cb.2	104	cl.	note 5: \sharp added
54	va.2 vc.2	notes 1–3: ten. added by analogy with vl.2, cb.2	105	cor.1,2	ten. added by analogy with fl., fg. and with bb.104, 106
56	va.1	notes 1–6: d' emended to f' by analogy with vl.1,2, vc.1, cb.1	106	vc.1	note 1: \flat added by analogy with vl.1, va., cb.1
57	cb.	chord 1 lower note: \sharp added by analogy with upper note and other str.; notes 1–3: articulation added by analogy with vl.1,2 and b.58	107–108		A: <i>Vi bis Seite 28</i> , four bars between bb.107–108 cancelled in ink and pencil
58	fg. cor.	articulation added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc. and b.57	107	vl.2 va.2	ten. added by analogy with vc.2, cb.2
58	va.	articulation added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc.	109	cl.1	note 4: \sharp added
60	vc.	cresc.-kilde added by analogy with cb.; A:  notated between va. and vc. staves	111	fg.1	note 3: \sharp omitted by analogy with fl.1, ob.1, cl.1, cor.1,3, tr.1
61–63	timp.	A (above stave): phrase added in pencil, later erased	112–114	fl.2 ob.2	b.113 note 4 to b.114 note 1: slur omitted due to over-all slur bb.112–114
65	va.	\wedge added		cl.2	
66		A: note erased or cancelled in pencil	112	fg.2	
79–80		A: four bars between bb.79–80 cancelled in ink		cor.2,4	note 3: \sharp added by analogy with fl.2, ob.2, cl.2, tr.2
82	vl.2	A: <i>deutlich hervortreten</i> cancelled in ink	112–113	fg.2 cor.4	
84	cb.	A: first to second crotchets: phrase cancelled and new added in ink		tr.2	slur added by analogy with fl., ob., cl., fg.1, cor.1,3, tr.1
87	vl.1	 added by analogy with fl.1	113	timp.	note 10: \flat added by analogy with vc., cb.
92		A: original dynamic marking is f but later changed to <i>non troppo</i> f in ink in connection with the addition of the overall <i>cre-scen-do</i> (bb.88–92), later emphasized in ink	113	vl.1,2	single stem emended to double stem
			114		A: <i>Reinschrift</i> / NB. <i>I Violin ist wie II v. 8va</i> --- / <i>Flöten & Oboen wie I Violin</i> / <i>Clarinetti wie II Violin</i> added in ink
92–97	cor.1	1. added	114–124	fl. ob.	A: <i>weiter coll. Vl. I</i> in ink
93	ob.	note 3: ten. added by analogy with fl., vl.1,2	114–124	cl.	A: <i>weiter coll. Vl. II</i> in ink
93	ob. vl.2	 added by analogy with fl., vl.1	114–115	fg.	a_2 added
93	fg.1	ten. added by analogy with vc.1	114–123	vl.2	A: reworking of vl.2 on a separate stave between tr. and trb.t. in ink
93	fg. vc. cb.	sixth quaver: \sharp added	114	cb.	note 2: E emended to F by analogy with fg., cor.1,3, va., vc.


115, 116 fl. ob. vl.1	added by analogy with cl., vl.2	167 cl.	note 3: # emended to ♯ by analogy with ob., vl.2, va.2, vc.2, cb.2
116 fg.1	note 4: <i>e'</i> emended to <i>d'</i> by analogy with cor.1,3, va., vc., cb.	168–169 vc.1	phrase transposed down a semitone by analogy with va.1, cb.1
116 fg.2	note 4: <i>e</i> emended to <i>d</i> by analogy with cor.1,3, va., vc., cb.	171 va.	note 3: <i>b</i> added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc.
117–120 fl. ob. vl.1	dynamics added by analogy with cl., vl.2	171 vc.	note 8: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1,2, va.
123–124	A: eight bars between bb.123–124 cancelled in pencil	172 va. vc.	note 9: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1,2
123 cb.	ten. added by analogy with va., vc.	174–175 cb.	added by analogy with trb.t., trb.b., tb.
124–133 fl. ob. fg.	<i>az</i> added	177 ob.	‡ added
124–125 cl.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1	179 str.	A: <i>nachlassen</i> in ink
124–125 cor.2	slur added by analogy with cor.1,3	180–183	A: <i>rit molto tempo</i> added in pencil, emphasized in ink
126–127 cl.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1	180 cor.3,4	<i>az</i> added
128 cl.1	note 1: ♯ emended to ♮	180 vl.2	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1, va.
128–129 cl.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1	180 va.	third crotchet: ‡ added
130 fl.	note 12: ♯ added; A: notes 14–15: accidentals cancelled in ink	184 tr.1,2	<i>az</i> added
130–131 cl.2, cor.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1, cor.1	184 vc.	dynamics added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., cb.
131 fl.	note 11: ♯ added by analogy with ob., cl.2	185	A (below str.): <i>wiederholung Seite 1 & 2</i> added in pencil
131 cl.1	note 4: <i>c''</i> emended to <i>b''</i> by analogy with vl.2(1)	185 va.	notes 10–12: articulation added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc.
131 cb.	note 1: <i>c</i> emended to <i>b</i> by analogy with vc.	185 va. vc.	<i>p</i> added by analogy with vl.1,2
132–133 cl.2 cor.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1, cor.1	186 trb.t.	marc. added by analogy with cor., tr. and b.184
132 str.	<i>f</i> added by analogy with ob., cl., fg., cor.	187 ob. cl. fg.	
133–134	A: six bars between bb.133–134 cancelled in pencil	cor.3,4	ten. added by analogy with fl., cor.1,2
133 vl.2	upper and lower parts notes 1–2: ten. added by analogy with vl.1, va.	187 cor.2	note 2: ♯ added by analogy with cor.4
134–138 fl.2	slur added by analogy with fl.1	187 vl.1(2),2(2)	
134–136 ob.1 cl.2	slur added by analogy with cor.4	vc.	note 10: ♯ added by analogy with fl.2, ob.2, cl.2, cor.2,4
134–138 ob.2	slur added by analogy with fl.2, cor.1	187 va.	note 4: # added
134–138 cor.2,3	slur added by analogy with cor.1	188 cor.3,4	marc. added by analogy with ww., cor.1,2, trb.t., trb.b., tb.
136–138 ob.1 cl.2	slur added by analogy with cor.4	188 va. vc.	marc. added by analogy with vl.1,2
136–137 ob.2	tie added in accordance with slur	188 vc.2	notes 1–3: slur added by analogy with notes 4–6 and b.6
136 vl.1,2	note 11: ♯ added	189	A (below str.): <i>wiederholung Seite 2 & 3</i> added in pencil
137 ob.1	A: <i>f²</i>	189 va.	first to second crotchet: added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc.
137–138 ob.1 cl.2		191 str.	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with note 1 and b.9
cor.4	tie added in accordance with slur	193–194	A: six bars between bb.193–194 cancelled in ink
137 cl.2	A: <i>g²</i>	193 tr.	<i>ff</i> added by analogy with other brass
139–140 cor.1	tie added in accordance with slur	194	A (below str.): <i>Seite 12</i> added in pencil
140 vc.	lower note: <i>b</i> added by analogy with cb.	195 cor.2	tie added by analogy with ww., tr., trb.t., trb.b., tb.
141–142	A: <i>Vi=de Seite 46</i> , 33 bars between bb.141–142 cancelled in pencil	196–197 trb.t.1	slur added by analogy with fl.2, cl.2, cor.3, tr.2
143 cb.	note 2: stacc added by analogy with vc.	197 cor.3	note 1: ten. omitted by analogy with fl., ob., cl., cor.1,2,4, tr.
150–151 timp.	note 1: ♯ emended to ♮; tie added		A (below str.): <i>Seite 13</i> added in pencil
153–153	A: <i>Vi=bis Seite 52</i> , 28 bars between bb.153–154 cancelled in pencil	198 ob.1	note 5: ♯ added by analogy with fl.1, vl.1,2, va.
154–157 fl.	1. added	199 cor. vc. cb.	added by analogy with fl., ob., fg.
154 cb.	<i>arco</i> added	199 vl.1	rest 2 added
159 ob.2 vl.2	note 3: ♯ added in accordance with B	200, 202 ob.	<i>az</i> added
162 fg.	articulation added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.	201 fl.	notes 2–3: slur added
162–163 fg.	slur added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.	202 ob. cl. cor.	added by analogy with b.200
162–165 cor.1,3	1. and 3. added respectively	202 cor.	articulation added by analogy with b.200; notes 5–6: slur added by analogy with b.200
162–163 cor.3,4	‡ emended to ♯	202 vl.1,2	note 10: # added
163 fg.	notes 4–6: articulation added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.	202 va. vc.	added by analogy with b.200
164 ob. cl. fg.	<i>p</i> added by analogy with fl., cor., va., vc.	203 fl.	notes 2–3: slur added
164–165 fg.	tie added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.	203 tb.	<i>p</i> added by analogy with b.201
165 cl.	note 2: # added	204 ob.	<i>az</i> added
165 fg.2	note 6: <i>b</i> added by analogy with fl.2, ob.2	205, 206 ob. cl.	<i>p</i> added by analogy with b.204
165 cor.3,4	note 3: marc. emended to ten. by analogy with cor.1,2, va., vc.	207–208 fl.	tie added as a consequence of <i>tr</i> .
166 ob. cl.		207 vc.	<i>p</i> added by analogy with the other instr.
cor.3,4		208 va.	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1,2
vl.2 va.2		209 tr.1,2	<i>p</i> added by analogy with the general dynamic level
vc.2 cb.2	note 5: <i>f²</i> emended to <i>f³</i>	209 timp.	added by analogy with the general dynamic level
166 cl.	note 4: <i>az</i> added		

209–210	trb.t.	
	trb.b.	ties added; A: incomplete ties, page turn bb.209–210
209	va.	note 11: <i>d'</i> emended to <i>c'</i> by analogy with vc.
210–212	fl.	ties added as a consequence of <i>tr.</i> and by analogy with ob., cl.
210–212	ob.	<i>tr.</i> added by analogy with fl., cl.
210	cl.	single stems emended to double stems
210	timp.	<i>f</i> added by analogy with the other instruments
210	vc.	note 1: <i>b</i> added
211–212	cl.1	end of <i>tr.</i> extended from b.211 by analogy with fl.
211–212	vl.1,2 va.	 added by analogy with the other instr.
211–212	va.	slurs added by analogy with vl.1,2
217–218	cl.	ties added by analogy with fl., ob., fg., brass, vc., cb.
217	vc. cb.	ten. added by analogy with fg., tb.
218		A (below str.): <i>Dec 44 Januar 45.</i> in ink




SECOND MOVEMENT


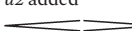

Bar	Part	Comment
5–6	cl.2	b.5 to b.6 note 1: superfluous slur omitted
6–7	ob.	beginning of tie added; A: bb.6–7: system break
6–7	cl.1	beginning of wrong tie omitted; A: bb.6–7: system break
6	fg.1	<i>p</i> added by analogy with the dynamic level in ob., cl.
14–15	cl.1	wrong tie or superfluous slur omitted
18–19	fl.2 ob.2	beginning of tie added; A: page turn
23–24	fg.	<i>az</i> added
38–40	vl.1	slur added by analogy with vl.2, va.
39	vl.2	 added by analogy with the other instr.
40–41	vc. cb.	stacc. and <i>pizz.</i> added by analogy with va. and b.38
41	va. vc. cb.	<i>arco</i> added because of <i>pizz.</i> in b.40
42	fg.	note 1: <i>↓</i> emended to <i>↓</i> by analogy with vc., cb.
42–43	fg.2	b.42 note 2 to b.43 note 1: wrong tie or superfluous slur omitted
43–49	ob.1	open slur bb.43–48 emended to slur b.43 to b.49 note 1; A (bb.48–49): page turn
46–48	ob.1	b.46 note 2 to b.47 and b.47 to b.48: superfluous slurs omitted
46	A.	note 1: <i>↓</i> emended to <i>↓</i>
47	A.solo	note 1: <i>↓</i> emended to <i>↓</i>
47	vc.	note 1: superfluous <i>p</i> omitted
49	vl.1	<i>p</i> added by analogy with the dynamic level in the other str.
51	ob.1	note 2: <i>↓</i> added
53	tr.	note 1: <i>↓</i> emended to <i>↓</i>
54	tutti (except cb.)	A: <i>p</i> changed to <i>f</i> in ink
54	cb.	<i>p</i> emended to <i>f</i> by analogy with the other parts
60	T.	upper part note 2: <i>↓</i> added; lower part note 1: <i>↓</i> added
61	ob.2	note 1: <i>↓</i> added
66	cl.	<i>z.</i> added
67	vl.2 va. vc. cb.	notes 4–5: stacc. emended to ten. by analogy with fg.1, vl.1
67–69	fg.	<i>z.</i> added
67, 69	cb.	<i>f</i> added by analogy with the other str.
73	coro	Klenau uses <i>saeculum</i> rather than <i>saeclum</i> fitting the music to three syllables instead of two; B: <i>saecula</i>
74	fl.2	note 2: <i>↓</i> added by analogy with ob.2
75, 77	ob.	second semibreve (ob.2) added as a consequence of double stems in b.76
75	cl.2	note 2: <i>z</i> added by analogy with fl.1, cor.1

75	vl.1,2 va.	note 11: <i>z</i> added by analogy with fl.2, fg.1, and b.96
76–77	cl.	b.76 to b.77 note 1: wrong tie omitted
76	coro	Klenau uses <i>saeculum</i> rather than <i>saeclum</i> fitting the music to three syllables instead of two; B: <i>saecula</i>
77	trb.b.	A: notes 3–5: square brackets around the three stacc. dots
79		<i>z</i> added
79–80	cor.1,2 tr.	<i>z.</i> added
79	vl.1,2 va.	
	vc.	notes 5, 7: <i>z</i> added
80	cor.1	
	trb.t.1	stacc. added by analogy with tr.1
83	fl. cl.	end of slur emended to note 6; A: end of slur open; bb. 83–84: page turn
83	vl.1	superfluous <i>f</i> omitted
84–86	fl.	<i>z.</i> added
84–85	ob.	<i>z.</i> added
85–86	fg.1	tie omitted by analogy with the other ww.
86	ob.2 cl.2	third to fourth crotchet: <i>z</i> added
86	cl.1	note 4: <i>z</i> added by analogy with the other parts
87	cl.	<i>f</i> added by analogy with fl., ob.
87	vl.2	notes 1–8: marc. added by analogy with vl.1
91	T. B.	<i>illa</i> emended to <i>ille</i> for grammatical reasons
91	vl.2	note 4: <i>z</i> added
92	fg.	note 2: <i>z</i> added
92	tr.1	stacc. added by analogy with b.93
92	coro	Klenau uses <i>saeculum</i> rather than <i>saeclum</i> fitting the music to three syllables instead of two; B: <i>saecula</i>
93	fg.	note 3: <i>G/g</i> emended to <i>F/f</i> by analogy with trb.b., tb., vc., cb.
94	trb.b. tb.	ten. added by analogy with vc., cb.
94	coro	Klenau uses <i>saeculum</i> rather than <i>saeclum</i> fitting the music to three syllables instead of two; B: <i>saecula</i>
94	vl.2	slurs added by analogy with vl.1, va.
96, 98	ob.	<i>z</i> added
96	cl.2	note 2: <i>z</i> added
100	va.	ten. added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc.
101	vl.1,2 vc.	note 4: ten. added by analogy with va.
104	vl.1,2 va.	<i>trem.</i> added
114–123	fl.	<i>z.</i> added as a consequence of double stems bb.123–124
120	fl.1	B: note 3: <i>z</i>
122	vc.	<i>pp</i> added by analogy with the other str.
123	B.1	<i>z</i> added
124	fl.	B: note 8: <i>z</i>
124–125	fg.	 added
124	vc.	<i>z</i> added
125	fl. A. va. vc.	<i>z</i> added
126–127	B.3	<i>z</i> added
132–135	fl.	<i>az</i> added as a consequence of double stems bb.130–131
132	B.1	first crotchet: <i>↓</i> emended to <i>♪</i> to match text
134	coro	<i>judicandi</i> emended to <i>judicanti</i> as in <i>Liber Usualis</i>
135	vl.1,2	note 12: <i>z</i> added
136	ob. cl.	slurs added by analogy with b.137 and the other ww., brass
146	ob.2	<i>z</i> added
146–149	cl.	<i>z.</i> added
148	fl.	<i>z.</i> added
150	fg.1	<i>z</i> added
150–152	tr.	<i>az</i> added
155	vl.2 va.	<i>trem.</i> added
165	fl.	 added by analogy with vl.1
165	A.solo	<i>rogaturas</i> emended to <i>rogaturus</i> as in <i>Liber Usualis</i>
171	vc.	 added by analogy with the other str.

176	cor.1,2	pp added by analogy with the dynamic level in timp., str.
176	vl.1,2 va. vc.	<i>trem.</i> added
177		A: added in pencil after double bar line: <i>Jetzt folgt Wiederholung des Deus iræ. (Von Seite 9 bis Seite 15 A)</i> [corresponding to bb.67–105] <i>Der letzte Takt wird eine halbe Note und $\frac{1}{4}$  in allen Instrumenten. Dann folgt das Requiem von B bis C – (Seite 2 bis Seite 3)</i> [corresponding to bb.13–19] <i>Dann folgt Seite 7 von D bis E</i> [corresponding to bb.51–66]. <i>Bei D setzen Chor und Soli erst ein auf dem 4^{ten} Taktteil. Damit schliesst der II Satz der Symphonie</i>
178–216		copy of bb.67–105
217		<i>a tempo</i> emended to <i>Tempo I</i>
217–223		copy of bb.13–19
224		<i>a tempo</i> added
224–239		copy of bb.51–66


THIRD MOVEMENT

Bar	Part	Comment
1	va. vc. cb.	<i>trem.</i> added
2	timp.	note 1:  emended to 
6–7	tr.2	ten. added by analogy with fg.
6–9	cl.	<i>az</i> added
6–9	cor.2	ten. added by analogy with cor.4
6–9	tr.2	ten. added by analogy with tr.3
7	va. vc. cb.	fourth crotchet: ten. added by analogy with vl.1,2
8	ob.2	ten. added by analogy with ob.1
8	trb.t.1	note 3: \sharp omitted by analogy with fl., cl., cor.1,3, tr.1, vl.1, va.
8	vc.	ten. added by analogy with cb.
9	tb.	note 3: ten. added by analogy with trb.b.
9	vc.	ten. added by analogy with the other str.
11	tr.3	f added by analogy with tr.1,2
12		$\frac{4}{4}$ ($\frac{12}{8}$) added and notation of crotchets adjusted accordingly ($\neq \downarrow$); A: no tuplets in spite of the notation in $\frac{4}{4}$ only.
13	cl.2	note 7: \sharp added by analogy with vl.2
13	fg.	\sharp added
14	va.	note 3: \sharp added by analogy with cor.1
15	vl.2	note 6: e^{\sharp} emended to e^{\flat} by analogy with cl.
16	vl.2 va.	fourth dotted chord upper note: \sharp added by analogy with cl.1, cor.2
18	vl.2 va.	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1, vc., cb.
30	va.	note 8: c^{\sharp} emended to c^{\flat} by analogy with vl.2
32	vl.2	note 11: c^{\sharp} emended to c^{\flat} by analogy with vc, cb.
33		<i>sempre pp</i> added in all parts; A: <i>sempre pp</i> above top stave
40	va.	note 8: \sharp added
43		A: two bars changed to one, second half of each bar cancelled in pencil
43	vl.2 va.	 added by analogy with vl.1, vc., cb.
44	fg.1	notes 7–12: slur added by analogy with fg.2
45	fl.1	note 8: d^{\flat} emended to d^{\sharp} by analogy with b.29
45	fl.2	note 8: d^{\flat} emended to d^{\sharp} by analogy with b.29
45	fg.1	note 8: d^{\flat} emended to d^{\sharp} by analogy with vc., cb. and b.29
45	fg.2	note 8: D^{\flat} emended to D^{\sharp} by analogy with vc., cb. and b.29
45	vl.1	chord 8: d^{\flat} , d^{\flat} emended to d^{\sharp} , d^{\sharp} by analogy with b.29
45	vl.2 va.	ten. added by analogy with vl.1, vc., cb.

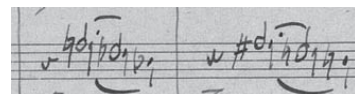
46	cl.	note 8: \flat added by analogy with ob., vl.2, va.
46	fg.	note 7: \sharp added by analogy with cl., vc., cb.
48	vc. cb.	note 12: \sharp added by analogy with fg.2 and b.24 (va.)
49	fg.1	note 8: \sharp added by analogy with cl.2, va.
50–51	cb.	ten. added by analogy with vc.
54	fl.	<i>az</i> added; A notation of fl. changes from two staves to one
55	fl. ob.	note 12: \sharp added by analogy with vl.1,2
55	cl.2	note 4: \sharp added by analogy with cor.3, va.2; note 7: \sharp added by analogy with va.2
55	cor.3	note 7: \sharp added by analogy with va.2
57	cor.1	note 10: \sharp added by analogy with va.
59	cl.	note 1: \sharp added by analogy with va.
59	cl. fg.	<i>az</i> added; A notation of cl. and fg. changes from two staves to one
61	fl.1 ob.1	
	cl.1	 emended to \circ by analogy with b.62
63–65	fg.	<i>az</i> added
63	timp.	 interpreted in accordance with b.62
67	fg.1	A: note 2: <i>g</i> changed in pencil to <i>b</i>
67	fg.2	A: <i>G</i> changed in pencil to <i>B</i>
72–73	fg.	b.72 to b.73 note 3: single stems emended to double stems as a consequence of double stems in bb.67–71, 73–76
72	cb.	single stems emended to double stems by analogy with bb.63–71
73–74	cor.1,3	1. and 3. added
75	cl.1 vl.1	note 8: \sharp added
75	cl.2 vl.2	note 4: \sharp added
76	cl.2	notes 6–8: slur added by analogy with other ww.
77	fg.	single stems emended to double stems as a consequence of double stems in bb.76, 78 and by analogy with fl., ob.
78–79	cl.	<i>az</i> added as a consequence of double stems in bb.76, 80
80	vl.2	lower part: slurs added by analogy with vl.1, va.2
80	va.1	notes 3–4: tie added by analogy with vl.2
84	fl. cl.	\sharp added
85	cor.4	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with cor.2, trb.t.2, tb.
87	trb.t.2	note 3: \sharp added by analogy with cor.2
87	vl.2	note 6: \flat added by analogy with vl.1
90	fl.	note 4: \flat emended to \sharp by analogy with cor.1,3, vl.1
90	va.1	\flat emended to \sharp by analogy with cor.1,3, vl.1
92	ob.	notes 3–4: slur added by analogy with fl.
93–95	fl.	ties added by analogy with ob.
94–95	cl.	tie added by analogy with fl., ob.
102	vl.1,2	<i>arco</i> added
103	cl.1	1. added
113	cor.1	1. added
120	vl.2	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1
122	cor.1,2,3	p added by analogy with fl.2, cl.
125	cor.1	1. added
130–242		A: after double bar line <i>Trio da capo al § dann die 4 letzten Takte Seite 21</i> [i.e. bb.144–147] <i>dann Wiederholung von Anfang</i> added
137	cl.1	1. added
144	fg.1	1. added by analogy with cl.1
151	vl.2	chord 1: \sharp added by analogy with vl.1
153	va.	 added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc., cb.
153	cb.	upper part note 3: double stems added
159	tr.	note 2: double stem added
243	va. vc. cb.	<i>trem.</i> added
247	tr.3	f added by analogy with the dynamic level in the other brass parts

248–254 cl. a2 added by analogy with fl.
 250 va. tremolo slashes added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc., cb.
 253–254 ob. fg. a2 added by analogy with fl.

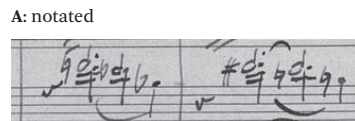
FOURTH MOVEMENT


Bar	Part	Comment
12–16	trb.t.2	slur added by analogy with trb.b.
16	fg.2	note 1: ♯ added
17	trb.t.	second ♮ added
21	cb.	<i>arco</i> added
22	cl.2	note 3: tie added by analogy with cl.1
22–23	cl.2	b. 22 note 1 to b.23 note 1: slur added by analogy with cl.1
23–24	cl.2	tie added by analogy with cl.1; b. 23 note 2 to b.24 note 1: slur added by analogy with cl.1
29–36	cor.	1. added
31–36	ob.	a2 added as a consequence of double stems in b.31
31–32	fg.2	rests added
31	vl.1,2 va.	
	vc.	<i>arco</i> added
33	cb.	<i>arco</i> added
34	vc.	— added by analogy with ww., timp., str.
36	timp.	∧ added
36	T.	∧ moved from rest 2 to rest 1
37		♯=56+64 emended to ♯=56–64
37–42	T.	alternative melody added in pencil in a sketchy manner without text
		
44	cb.	marc. added by analogy with vc.
45	va.	note 8: ♯ added
52–65	cor.	3. added as a consequence of 3. in b.52
52	vl.2	note 1: stacc. added by analogy with vl.1, va.; second to fourth crotchet: slurs added by analogy with vl.1
53	vl.2	note 1: stacc. added by analogy with vl.1, va.; note 2: ♯ added; second to fourth crotchet: slurs added by analogy with vl.1
58–59	ob.2 cl.2	slur added by analogy with ob.1, cl.1
58	vl.1	chord 4: ♯ added
58–59	vl.2	slurs and ten. added by analogy with vl.1 and bb.60–69
60	ob.	misplaced ♮ on third crotchet omitted
60	B.	note 4: e emended to d by analogy with fg., vc., cb. and b.64; B: note 4: e in both B. and pf.2
62	cl.2	slur added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.1
65	fg.2	note 7: ♯ added
66–69	cl.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1
67	tr.2	<i>f</i> added by analogy with b.66 (tr.1)
68	tr.3	<i>f</i> added by analogy with b.66 (tr.1)
69	va.	note 2: marc. added by analogy with vl.2
69–76	ob.	a2 added as a consequence of double stems in b.69 notes 2–5, b.70 notes 1–2
70–76	cl.	a2 added as a consequence of a2 in b.69
71	cb.	chord 1 lower note: ♯ added; chord 3 upper note: ♯ added
75	va.	slur added by analogy with vl.2
79	ob.	note 7: ♯ added
80	fl.	note 4: ♯ added
82–84	ob.2	slur added by analogy with ob.1
83	ob.	notes 5–6: single stems emended to double stems
84	ob.	single stem emended to double stem
84–85	fg.	single stems emended to double stems
84	vl.2	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1

86	vc. cb.	<i>semper pp</i> omitted
87–91	vc. cb.	stacc. added by analogy with b.86
93–97	vc. cb.	stacc. added by analogy with b.92
98	va. vc.	— added by analogy with vl.1,2
98	cb.	notes 5–8: stacc. added by analogy with notes 1–4
102	vc. cb.	<i>p</i> added by analogy with vl.2, va.
118	cl.2	note 1: g ^b emended to b ^b by analogy with va.2
122	cl.1	note 7: ♯ added
123	A.	<i>pp</i> added by analogy with the dynamic level in cl.1, vl.1,2
124	fl.	— added by analogy with S., vl.1
124–125	vl.1,2	beginning of — emended from b.125 note 1 by analogy with fl., cl., S.
126	S.	note 1: ♯ emended to ♮
127	cl.1	notes 3–4: e' c [#] emended to c [#] d' by analogy with A., vl.2
130	fl.	note 3: ♯ added
131	cl.	notes 3–4: slur added by analogy with fl.
132	T.	<i>p</i> added by analogy with in va.
133	S. vl.1	notes 6: ♯ added by analogy with fl.
133	vl.2	slur added by analogy with vl.1
134	fl.	slurs added
134	cl.	note 1: ♯ added
134	vl.2	slur added
138	va.	slur added by analogy with vl.2; A: ♮ changed to ♮. ♮ in pencil
139–146	cl. fg.	a2 added
145	coro	caesuras added after notes 1 and 2 by analogy with bb.141–142
146	B.	note 1: ♮ emended to ♮
147	vl.2 va. vc.	<i>mf</i> added by analogy with vl.1, cb.
149	va. vc. cb.	<i>arco</i> added
151–152	ob.1	slur and tie added by analogy with fl.1, cl.1
152	ob.1	♯ added by analogy with fl.1, cl.1
152	ob.2	slurs added by analogy with fl.1; notes 5, 7: ♯ added
153–154	fl.2 ob.2	slur added by analogy with fg.
153	va.	note 7: ♯ added
154	fg.	note 7: ♯ added
155	cb.	♯ added by analogy with va., vc.
157–164	cor.	1. added
157	cb.1	note 1: ten. added by analogy with vc.1
161–162	ob.1	notes 1–3: slur added by analogy with fl.1; b.161 note 4 to b.162 note 4: slur added by analogy with fl.1
161	ob.2	b.161 notes 1–3: slur added by analogy with fl.2
162	cb.1	— added by analogy with vc.1
163	vc.2	notes 7–8: slur added by analogy with cb.2
163	cb.1	ten. added by analogy with vc.1
166	vl.1,2	<i>arco</i> added
166	cb.	<i>tutti</i> added by analogy with vc.
170–173	cl.2	b.171 note 3: end of slur emended from b.173 by analogy with cl.1
173	va.	— added by analogy with vl.1,2
174–175	cl.2	tie omitted and ♯ added in b.175 by analogy with A., vl.2, va.
178–179	fg.1	tie added by analogy with cl.1
182–183	ob.2	slur added by analogy with bb.184–185
186	ob.	slurs from ob.1 to ob.2 omitted
186–187	vl.2	A: notated



186–187 vc.













186	vc.1	slur added by analogy with vl.2 (upper part)	324	cb.1	note 1: double stem emended to single stem
186	cb.	slur added by analogy with b.187	324	cb.2	notes 1–2: slur added by analogy with vl.1,2; notes 3–4 added by analogy with B.2, vc.2; A: notes 1–2: added in ink; notes 3–4: missing
187	ob.	slurs from ob.1 to ob.2 omitted			
190–191	cl.1	tie added			
196–197	ob.	<i>az</i> added	327	va.	 added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc., cb.
197	vl.2	tremolo slashes added by analogy with bb.196, 198–201	329	va.1	note 3: double stem emended to single stem
200–202	cor.	1. added	330	vl.2	lower part notes 1–2: slur added by analogy with vl.1, vc., cb.
202	cl.2	# omitted by analogy with fl.2, ob.1	330	va.1	note 1: # added; notes 3–4: slur added by analogy with vc., cb.
209	cb.	<i>arco</i> added			
226–238	cl.	<i>az</i> (1. und 2. <i>abwechselnd</i>) added by analogy with bb.218	332	A.	note 8: ♯ added
232	vc.	<i>arco</i> added	332	B.	note 2: stem added
237–238	fl.2	rests added as a consequence of rest in b.236	334	A.	note 2: ten. added by analogy with S., T.
241–250	fl.	1. added	334	vc.	lower part note 1: ♯ emended to ♮; notes 2–3: slur added by analogy with cb.
243	fl.	notes 6–17: stacc. added by analogy with bb.241–242			
244	timp.	♯ emended to ♮	335	cl.2	third quaver: ♯ added; A: fl. and cl. notated on a stave between B. and vl.1 from b.326 until middle of b.335, the original cl.-stave has a ♮ in the first half of b.335 and hence <i>e'</i> is implied, not <i>e''</i>
245–250	cl.	<i>az</i> added			
245	cb.	<i>arco</i> added	335–341	fg.	<i>az</i> added
247	fl.	notes 6–17: stacc. added by analogy with bb.241–242	335	vl.2 va.	lower part note 3: ♯ added by analogy with cl.2
247–250	cl.	slur added by analogy with ob.	336	vl.2	note 1: ten. added by analogy with va.
248, 249	fl.	notes 6–17: stacc. added by analogy with bb.241–242	336	va.	note 2: ten. added by analogy with vl.2
251–252		double bar line shifted one crotchet to the right	337–339	cl.	<i>az</i> added
264	va.	<i>sempre f</i> added because of <i>sempre f</i> in b.252	341	cl.	notes 2–3: single stems emended to double stems
271	va.	notes 4–9: ten. added by analogy with b.270	342–343	cl.	b.342 note 3 to b.343 note 5: single stems emended to double stems
271	vc.	<i>sempre f</i> added because of <i>sempre f</i> in b.252			
278	vl.1	note 9: ♯ added	342–349	fg.	<i>az</i> added as a consequence of double stems in b.342
280	vc.	* added			
281	cb.	<i>sempre f</i> added because of <i>sempre f</i> in b.252	343	S.	note 6: ten. added by analogy with A., B.
285–296	fl. cl.	<i>az</i> added	344–349	cl.	<i>az</i> added
291–300	cor.3	3. added as a consequence of 3. in b.290	344	S.	notes 7–8: ten. added by analogy with A.
293	cl.	note 4: ♯ added	344	B.	note 7: ten. added by analogy with A.
296–300	tr.	1. added	344	vc.	note 7: ♯ added
297	vl.2 va. vc.	slurs, stacc. and marc. added by analogy with vl.1	349–357	cor.3	3. added
297	va.	note 3: single stem emended to double stem by analogy with b.298	350	cl.2	* added by analogy with ob.1, cor.2, trb.b., tb.
298	cor.1,2	♯ added	350	vl.2	chord 4 lower note: ♯ added
298	vl.2 va. vc.	slurs, stacc. and marc. added by analogy with vl.1	351	cor.2,3	♯ added
298	vc.	note 1: ♯ emended to ♮ by analogy with vl.1,2, va.	352	vl.2	chord 2 lower note: ♯ added
300	cor.	rest 2 added	353	cor.2	♯ emended to ♮
300	tr.	♯ added	357	timp.	articulation added by analogy with b.353
300	vc. cb.	<i>arco</i> added	358–361	tr.	A: tr.2,3 on same stave, upper part interpreted as tr.2 and moved to stave with tr.1
300	cb.	note 1: <i>pizz.</i> omitted			
301	va.1	note 1: ten. added by analogy with vl.1; note 2: ♯ added	358	tr.2	~ added as a consequence of 1.
301	vc.	note 1: ten. added by analogy with vl.1	359–361	tr.2	b.360: end of slur extended to b.361 note 1 by analogy with tr.1,3
301	va.1	note 4: ♯ added			
302	vc.	notes 1–2: slur added by analogy with vl.1, va.1 and b.273	360	tr.3	<i>mf</i> added by analogy with tr.2 and b.359 (tr.1)
302	cb.	articulation and slur added by analogy with vl.2, va.2	361	cl., cor.	<i>az</i> added
303	vc.	note 3: ♯ emended to <i>e</i>	362–375	fl., cl.	<i>az</i> added
304	vc.	notes 1–5: <i>b-b-b-a-g#</i> emended to <i>a-a-a-g#</i>	364	cl.	note 7: ♯ added
305, 306	vc.	ten. added by analogy with vl.1, va.1	369	A.	note 3: <i>b#</i> emended to <i>b'</i>
307	vl.2	note 6: ♯ added	370	cl.	note 5: ♯ added
307	vc.	note 1: ten. added by analogy with vl.1, va.1	370	cor.1	note 3: ♯ added
314–320	cor.3	3. added	372	cl.	note 6: ♯ added
315	fl.1	note 2: ♯ added	374	cb.	note 2: ten. added by analogy with va., vc.
315	fg.2	note 3: ♯ added	375	va.	upper part note 1: ♯ added by analogy with fl., cl., vl.1
315	timp.	note 1: ♮ emended to ♯; note 2: ♯ added	376	ob.1	♯ emended to ♮
317	fg.2	notes 5, 9: ♯ added	377	fg.2	note 2 added by analogy with B.2, vc.2, cb.; slur added by analogy with vc., cb.
317	timp.	note 1: tremolo slashes added by analogy with b.315			
319–320	fl.	ties added by analogy with ww., cor., tr., trb.t	378–391	fg.	<i>az</i> added
320	tr.	♮ ♯ added	379–392	tr.	1. added as a consequence of the entrance of tr.2 in b.393
322		♯ added			
324	fl.	note 12: ♯ added	380–381	trb.t.	phrase transposed up a second by analogy with tr.1; A: notated as if in ♯ (as tr.1)
324	vc.2	notes 1–2: slur added by analogy with vl.1,2			




















381	fg.	note 3: ten. added by analogy with tr.1, trb.t.1
382	fg. tr.1	
	trb.t.1	♯ added by analogy with T., B., vc., cb.
382	cb.	notes 3–4: ten. added by analogy with vc.
388	fg.	note 3: ten. added by analogy with tr.1, trb.t.1, vc., cb.
388	va.	chord 2 middle note: ♯ added by analogy with the other str.
389	trb.t.1	notes 4–5: ten. added by analogy with tr.1
389	A.	stacc. added by analogy with S.
389, 390	ob. cl.	stacc. added by analogy with fl.
391	cl.	slurs and stacc. added by analogy with fl.
392	trb.t.	note 2: ♯ added
392	A.	stacc. added by analogy with S.
393	A.	stacc. added by analogy with S.
395	trb.t.	notes 3–4: stacc. added by analogy with tr.
396–399	tr.	1. added
399	cor.1	♯ added
400	va.2	note 1: ♯ added
412	cl.2	♯ added by analogy with b.414
412–413	cor.2	slur added by analogy with bb.414–415
413	cl.2	slur added by analogy with b.415
413	cb.	note 1: single stem emended to double stem
415	cb.	notes 1–2: single stems emended to double stems
420–421	ob.1	tie added by analogy with fl.1
421	fl.2 cl.1	<i>mf</i> added by analogy with the dynamic level in fl.1, ob.2, fg.1
421	cl.2	♯ added
422–423	ww. cor.1	♯ added by analogy with the other parts
422–423	B.solo	♯ added by analogy with S., A., T.
424	cb.	<i>pizz.</i> added by analogy with b.202
436–444	S.solo	
	A.solo	
	T.solo	
	B.solo	A: soloists sing with coro (<i>Soli im Chor</i>), from b.440
		A.solo and B.solo pick out one of the two notes from the A. and B. parts
437	B. vl.2	♯ added
440		<i>tempo</i> emended to <i>a tempo</i>
440–444	fg.	<i>az</i> added as a consequence of two parts in bb.440–441 and double stems in b.444
444	cb.	ten. added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., vc.
445–453	cor.3,4	<i>az</i> added



FIFTH MOVEMENT


Bar	Part	Comment
	picc. fl.	A: the two staves share the label <i>Fl.</i> ; the upper stave is assumed to refer to picc.
	ptti.	
	ptto.sosp.	A: ptti. are notated on the same stave as gr.c., labeled <i>Gr. Trom. mit Becken</i> . The ptto.sosp. stave is labeled <i>Becken</i> . It is assumed from the context that they are referring to ptti. and ptto.sosp., respectively.
1		<i>c</i> added
1	tr.	<i>f</i> added by analogy with the other brass
1–2	cb.	tie added by analogy with bb.60–61, 254–255
2–4	fl. cl.	1. added by analogy with bb.255–259
2	cor.2	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with the other parts
2–4	cor.3,4	3. added; A (cor.4): b.2 fourth crotchet: ♯
2	trb.b.	notes 1–2: tie added by analogy with ob., cl., fg., cfg., cor., tr.3,4, trb.t., tb.
2	vl.1	note 5: stacc. added by analogy with the other parts
3	cor.2	note 5: ten. added by analogy with cor.3
4	cfg.	stacc. added by analogy with the other parts

4	cor.3,4	<i>f</i> added by analogy with cor.1,2
5	cfg. cor.4	ten. added by analogy with fg., trb., tb., vc., cb.
6–8	fl.	b.6 note 4 to b.8 note 1: 1. added as a consequence of <i>az</i> b.8 note 2
6	fl. ob. cl.	note 1: <i>f</i> omitted
6	cor.1,2,3	notes 1–3: slur added by analogy with b.5
6	cor.4 trb.t.	
	tb.	ten. added by analogy with fg., cfg., vc., cb.
7	fg.1	note 4: <i>a</i> [♯] emended to <i>b</i> by analogy with ob.1, vl.2
7	fg.2	notes 4–5: <i>f</i> [♯] <i>g</i> emended to <i>g</i> [♯] <i>f</i> [♯] by analogy with ob.
8		A: reference point <i>D</i> added in pencil
8–30	tr.2,3	2. added
9	vl.1	chord 1 lower note: ♯ added
13–16	fg.	1. added until b.16 note 1 as a consequence of double stem b.16 fourth crotchet
15	cor.4	<i>f</i> added by analogy with the dynamic level in cor.1,2,3
15–17	trb.t.	tenor clef emended to ♯
17	timp.	<i>f</i> added by analogy with bb.15, 16
18	cfg.	tie added by analogy with the other ww., brass
18	cor.1,2,4	end of slur added; A (bb.17–18): page turn
18	cor.3	end of tie added; A (bb.17–18): page turn
18	vl.1,2	note 8: ♯ added
18	va.	chords 1–2: <i>c</i> [♯] , <i>e</i> [♯] emended to <i>c</i> [♯] , <i>e</i> [♯] by analogy with fl.2, ob.1, cl.2, cor.2,3, trb.t.1, trb.b.
19–22	fg.	1. added until b.22 note 5 as a consequence of double stem b.22 fourth crotchet
19	cfg.	slurs added by analogy with fg.; ten. added by analogy with fg.
19–22	cor.3,4	3. added
21	cor.2	♯ emended to ♯
22	ob.1	notes 1–2: slur added by analogy with b.20; note 7: ♯ added
22	ob.2	tie added by analogy with b.20
22	cor.3	ten. added by analogy with cor.1,2
22	va.	note 5: ♯ added by analogy with fl., cl., cor.1, vl.1
23–24	fl.2	tie added by analogy with cor.2 and bb.25–26
23–24	ob.1	b.23 note 2 to b.24 note 1: tie omitted by analogy with bb.25–26
23–24	ob.2	slur added by analogy with bb.25–26
23–24	cl.	♯ added by analogy with vl.2
23–32	cl.	<i>az</i> added as a consequence of double stem b.22 fourth crotchet
23–24	fg.2	slur added by analogy with bb.25–26
23	cor.1	note 1: ♯ emended to ♯
23–24	cor.3	note 1: ♯ emended to ♯; b.23 note 2 to b.24 note 1: tie omitted by analogy with bb.25–26 and ob.1; A: tie is possibly cor.4's slur
23–24	cor.4	slur added by analogy with bb.25–26
25	ob.1	♯ emended to ♯ by analogy with cor.3
25	cl.	note 10: ♯ added by analogy with vl.2
25–26	cl. fg. cfg.	♯ added by analogy with vl.2, vc., cb.
25–26	cor.2	tie added by analogy with fl.2
27	cl.	note 16: ♯ added by analogy with vl.2
29	cl.	note 11: ♯ added by analogy with vl.2
31	vl.1	notes 1–3, 4–5: two slurs emended to one by analogy with fl.1, ob.1, cor.3
32	fg.2	slur added by analogy with cor.3
34–38	fg.	double stems added as a consequence of double note head in b.33
35	vl.1	note 7: <i>g</i> [♯] emended to <i>g</i> [♯]
37	vl.1	note 7: <i>c</i> [♯] emended to <i>c</i> [♯]
38	trb.t.1	note 1: <i>b</i> emended to <i>b</i> [♯] by analogy with ob.1, cor.3, vl.2
38	trb.t.2	note 1: <i>B</i> emended to <i>B</i> [♯] by analogy with ob.1, cor.3, vl.2
39	cor.3	notes 1–3: ♯ added by analogy with cor.1




42–45	fl.	single stems emended to double stems as a consequence of double stems (b.41)	74	cl.	note 1: \circ emended to \downarrow by analogy with fl., ob., cfg.
42	vl.1	note 10: \sharp added	74	cfg.	stacc. added by analogy with fl., cl. and b.15
42	vl.2	note 11: \sharp added	74–77	trb.t.	\downarrow added
42	va.	note 9: \sharp added	75	fg. cfg.	note 1: ten. added by analogy with fl., ob., cl. and b.16
46–59	fg.	a_2 added	75	vc.	note 3: c emended to d by analogy with fl., cl., fg.1, cor.2, va.
47	cor.2	\downarrow emended to \circ by analogy with cor.4	76	ob.1	note 3: \sharp added by analogy with fl., ob.2, cl.1
48	cor.1,3	note 1: \downarrow emended to \downarrow by analogy with fl., ob., cl., vl.1, 2(2)	76–77	cor.2	tie added by analogy with fg.1, trb.t.1, trb.b.
51	cor.3	note 3: \downarrow added by analogy with fl.1, cor.1	76	va.	note 1: \downarrow added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.1, cor.1,4, vl.1,2
52	va.	c'' , $e^{2''}$ emended to $c^{2''}$, $e^{2''}$ by analogy with b.53	78–81	cl.	double stems added as a consequence of double stems b.77 second minim
56	cl.1	note 1 (and by repetition notes 5, 9, 13): c^b emended to c by analogy with picc., cl.2 (notes 5, 9, 13), vl.1	79	fl.1	note 1: \sharp added by analogy with picc. and b.78
57–60		A: end of b.57 to beginning of b.60: <i>sub p</i>  added in pencil between brass and perc.	79	tr.	notes 1–4: stacc. added by analogy with b.78
59	cl.2	note 13 added by analogy with vl.1; A: only one part notated	82		beginning of repeat added as a consequence of the end of repeat in b.97; A: reference point A added in pencil
61–63	fl. cl.	\downarrow added by analogy with bb.255–259	84	ob. cor.1,2	middle of bar:  added by analogy with fl., str. and b.88 (cor.1,2)
61–63	cor.3,4	\downarrow added by analogy with bb.2–4	84	cor.1	stacc. added by analogy with fl.1, ob.2 and b.88 note 3;
61	tamb.picc.	f added by analogy with b.2	84	vl.1,2	stacc. added by analogy with va., vc. and b.88
62	cor.2	note 5: ten. added by analogy with cor.3	84	vl.2 va.	
62	cb.	notes 1–2: tie added by analogy with the other parts	vc. cb.		note 4:  added by analogy with vl.1 and b.88
63	cor.3,4	fourth crotchet: f added by analogy with cor.1,2	85	ob.2	\downarrow emended to \circ by analogy with cor.1
63	trb.t.1	note 4: \sharp added by analogy with fg.1, cfg., cor.1, tb., vl.1,2, vc., cb.	86	cl.2	\sim added by analogy with b.82
63	tb.	note 1: \sharp added by analogy with vc., cb. and b.4	86	vc.	stacc. and slurs added by analogy with b.82
63	timp.	note 4: stacc. added by analogy with b.4	86	cb.	pp added by analogy with the other parts; stacc. and slurs added by analogy with b.82
63	tamb.picc.	note 1: tremolo slashes added by analogy with b.4; rests 1–2 added by analogy with b.4	87	fg.1	notes 2–3: tie added by analogy with cl.1 and b.83
63	vl.1	chord 1: \sharp added by analogy with fg.2, cor.3, trb.t.2, vl.2, va.	87	cor.2	note 5: \downarrow emended to \downarrow by analogy with cl.1, fg.1 and b.83
63	va.	lower part notes 1–3: slur emended to tie notes 1–2 by analogy with b.4; chord 1: \sharp added by analogy with fg.1, cfg., cor.1, tb., vl.1,2, vc., cb.	87	vc.	notes 1–4: stacc. and slurs added by analogy with cb. and b.83
64	cor.1,2,3	notes 1–3: slur added by analogy with bb.5, 65 (cor.1)	88	fl.1	stacc. added by analogy with ob.2 and b.84
64	timp.	note 1: stacc. added by analogy with b.5	88	ob.	middle of bar:  added by analogy with fl., str.
64	va.	chords 1–2: third part ($c^{2'}-d'$) omitted	88	cor.1	note 6: stacc. added by analogy with ob.2, vl.1,2 and note 3
64	cb.	note 2: stacc. added by analogy with bb.5, 63	88	cor.4	note 1: \sharp added by analogy with cor.3
65	fl.	\downarrow added; A: only one part notated	88	vc. cb.	notes 1–2:  added by analogy with vl.1,2, va. and b.88
65	fl.1	notes 4–5: slur and stacc. added by analogy with the other ww. and b.6	88	cb.	note 6:  added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., vc. and b.88
65	cor.3	notes 1–3: slur added by analogy with cor.1,2	89	cor.4	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with ob.1
65	vl.2	notes 1–3: slur added by analogy with vl.1 and b.6	89	vc.	lower part note 4: \sharp added by analogy with fg.2, cor.1
66	ob.	notes 2–3: slur and stacc. added by analogy with the other ww. and b.7	90–91	va.	slurs added by analogy with vl.2 and bb.82–83, 86–87
66	fg.	note 1: g emended to a by analogy with b.7	90–91	vc.	b.90 note 1 to b.91 note 4: stacc. and slurs added by analogy with cb. and bb.82–83, 92–93
66	cfg.	note 2: stacc. added by analogy with cb. and b.7	92–93	cl.2	\sim added by analogy with b.90 and as a consequence of indication of a_2 in b.94
66–67	cfg.	$f^{\sharp}-f^{\sharp}-f^{\sharp}-B$ emended to $a-a-a-d$ by analogy with tb., cb.; A: apparently the transposition was forgotten on copying from bb.7–8	93	ob.	single stem emended to double stem by analogy with fl.
66	cor.1,2	note 1: ten. added by analogy with cor.3,4 and b.7	94	cl.	notes 3–4:  added by analogy with fl., ob.
67	cl.1	note 1: g'' emended to $g^{2''}$	94	vl.1	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with note 6 and b.95;
67	cl.2	note 1: $e^{2''}$ emended to e''			notes 4–5:  added by analogy with vl.2 and b.95
67–79	tr.2,3	\downarrow added	94	vl.2	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with note 6; note 6:  added by analogy with vl.1 and b.95
67	timp.	stacc. added by analogy with b.8	95	ob.2 cl.	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with fl.1, vl.1,2
67	tamb.picc.	note 1: tremolo slashes and rests 1–2 added by analogy with b.8	95	vl.1	note 6: stacc. added by analogy with vl.2 and b.94
68	vl.2 va.	f and stacc. added by analogy with vl.1 and bb.9, 70	95	vl.2	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with vl.1
71–77	fl.	a_2 added	95	va. cb.	notes 4–5:  added by analogy with vl.1,2, vc. and b.94
71–72	trb.b. tb.	A: parentheses around phrase added in pencil	96		A: reference point B and <i>weiter Seite 22. bei C. (4 Takte)</i> added in pencil (C corresponding to b.137)
72–73	cor.	A: parentheses around phrase added in pencil			
72	cor.3	f added by analogy with cor.1,2			
72–73	cor.4	rests added by analogy with bb.13–14			
74	ob.	stacc. added by analogy with fl., cl. and b.15			

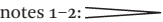
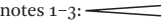


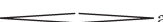
96	vl.1	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with vl.2 and b.97	152	cl.1	note 4: # added by analogy with b.12
97	cl. fg. cfg.	articulation added by analogy with fl., ob. and b.96	152	fg.	notes 1–2:  omitted
97	cor.	 added by analogy with the other parts and b.96	153		A: general dynamic indication <i>dim.</i> above ww. and str.
97	timp.	note 1: stacc. omitted and  added by analogy with bb.94, 95, 96	153–154	vl.2 va.	 added by analogy with vl.1, vc.
97	vl.2	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with vl.1 and b.96	156	cl.2	notes 1, 2: <i>e'</i> emended to <i>e[#]</i> by analogy with fg., vl.2, vc.
98	cor.3,4	<i>f</i> added by analogy with cor.1,2	156	va.	lower part: <i>f</i> emended to <i>f[#]</i> by analogy with cl.1, vl.2
98–101	vl.2	b.98 to b.101 notes 1–3: slurs added by analogy with vl.1	161		A: reference point <i>E</i> added in pencil
103	vl.1	A: notes 5–6: alternative version  (<i>d[#]-f[#]-g[#]</i>) added in pencil	162	cb.	<i>p</i> added by analogy with b.161 (va., vc.)
104	vl.1,2	A: note 2: chord (<i>e[#], g[#]</i>) instead of single note; apparently Klenau changed <i>g[#]</i> to <i>e[#]</i> , but forgot to cancel the original note	164	timp.	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with bb.168, 172, 176
105	vl.1	A: notes 5–6: alternative version <i>a[#]-f[#]</i> added in pencil	166–182	cl.	<i>z.</i> added as a consequence of indication <i>CLI</i> in b.192
107–108	vl.2	slurs b.107 notes 1–3 and b.107 note 4 to b.108 note 1 added by analogy with vl.1	168		A: reference point <i>F</i> added in pencil
108–110	fg.	<i>z.</i> added	168	cb.	 emended to  by analogy with va., vc.
112	cor.3	note 2: # added by analogy with ob.2, fg.2, va.	172	cor.3	<i>c[#]</i> emended to <i>c'</i> by analogy with fl.1, fg.1, vc. (upper part)
112	vl.1,2	ten. added by analogy with vc. and b.111	173	cl.1	notes 3, 4, 6: <i>g'</i> emended to <i>g[#]</i> by analogy with picc., fg.1
112	va.	A:  ; originally probably  , apparently intended to be changed to 	173–174	cor.2	b.173 note 1 to b.174 note 1: slur omitted
113	vc.	slur and ten. added by analogy with vl.1,2 and bb.111, 112	175	cl.1	bar transposed up two semitones; A: apparently notated at sounding pitch
114	ob.	single stems emended to double stems	177–178	fg.	fg.1 and fg.2 swapped by analogy with bb.179–180
114	fg.	notes 1–3: single stems emended to double stems	178	fl. cl.	b.179 note 1 to b.178 note 3: beginning of slur emended by analogy with b.176
116–117	cor.1	end of slur emended from b.117 note 1 to b.117 note 2 by analogy with cor.4	183	fg.1	note 2: # added by analogy with vc.
118–119	fg.1	slur added by analogy with fg.2, cor.1	184		A: <i>D.C. von E bis F. Seite 24–25.</i> (corresponding to bb.161–167); <i>dann diese 3 Takte. von G.</i> added in pencil (corresponding to bb.192–194)
118	cb.	<i>arco</i> added	185–191		copy of bb.161–167
122		A: <i>D.C. von A bis B.</i> added in pencil (<i>A bis B</i> corresponding to bb.82–95)	192		A: reference point <i>G</i> added in pencil
123–136		copy of bb.82–95	192	va. vc. cb.	stacc. added by analogy with the preceding bars
137		A: reference point <i>C</i> added in pencil	195–228		A: two systems per page on pp.27–29, but with the lower system to be played first (indicated by Klenau by page numbers 27 ^a , 28 ^a , and 29 ^a added to the lower systems, and 27 ^b , 28 ^b , and 29 ^b to the upper ones)
137	ob.	 added by analogy with fl. and bb.96, 97, 138	195–196	cl.	<i>z.</i> added
137	va.	slur emended from notes 1–2 by analogy with vc., cb. and bb.96, 97, 138; notes 2–3:  emended to  by analogy with preceding bars and bb.96, 97; notes 3–4:  omitted by analogy with bb.96, 97, 138	195	va.	<i>arco</i> added
137	vc. cb.	 added by analogy with va. and bb.96, 97, 138; notes 2–3:  emended to  by analogy with preceding bars and bb.96, 97	198	vl.2	note 4: stacc. added by analogy with va., vc.
138	timp.	note 5: stacc. added by analogy with b.137	199	fl.2	note 1: <i>c''</i> emended to <i>c[#]</i> by analogy with b.5
138	vl.1	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with vl.2 and b.137	199	vl.2	notes 3, 4: <i>g'</i> emended to <i>g[#]</i> by analogy with b.5
138	va. vc. cb.	notes 2–3:  emended to  by analogy with preceding bars and bb.96, 97	199	vc.	lower part note 2: <i>c[#]</i> emended to <i>B</i> by analogy with timp., vl.2
139	cl.1	<i>f[#]</i> emended to <i>f[#]</i> by analogy with fl.2, cor.3, vl.2, va., vc.	205	cl.2	notes 2, 7: <i>a'</i> emended to <i>a[#]</i> by analogy with b.11 (fl.2), b.203
139	fg.1	<i>a[#]</i> emended to <i>a</i> by analogy with the other parts	206	timp.	stacc. added by analogy with the preceding bars and b.12
139	fg.2	<i>e[#]</i> emended to <i>e</i> by analogy with the other parts	208	cor.2	rest 3 added
139–140	tr.2,3	<i>z.</i> added	210	cor.1	note 1: # omitted by analogy with vc.
140		A: <i>Von Anfang Seite 1 und 2 bis D</i> added in pencil (<i>Seite 1 und 2</i> corresponding to bb.1–7)	212	vl.1	<i>arco</i> added
141–147		copy of bb.1–7	213	va.	notes 3, 4: stacc. added by analogy with vl.2, vc., cb. and notes 1, 2
148		A: reference point <i>D</i> added in pencil	214	vl.1	stacc. added by analogy with cl.1, va. (note 6) and b.20
148	fl. cl.	notes 2–6: single stems emended to double stems by analogy with b.8	215	cl.1	note 2: <i>f'</i> emended to <i>f[#]</i> by analogy with vl.1, 2
148	tr.2,3	<i>z.</i> added	215	va.	note 10: stacc. added by analogy with vl.1, vc., cb.
148	timp.	note 1: tremolo slashes added by analogy with b.8	216	cl.1	stacc. added by analogy with b.214
148	ptto.sosp.		216	vl.1	stacc. added by analogy with bb.22, 214
	tamb.picc.		216	vl.2	ten. added by analogy with va., vc., cb. and b.214
	gr.c.	phrase added by analogy with b.8	216	va.	stacc. added by analogy with vl.2, vc., cb.
149	fl. cl.	<i>f</i> added by analogy with ob., fg. and b.9	217	cb.	<i>arco</i> added
151	cl.	notes 2–7: additional slur omitted	222	timp.	# added by analogy with va.
			225	vl.1	notes 1–3, 4–5: two slurs emended to one by analogy with cl.
			225–226	vl.2	stacc. added by analogy with the preceding bars
			229	vl.1	note 7: # added
			231–232	cor.3,4	<i>a2</i> added as a consequence of the indication 3. in b.233

231 vl.1 slurs added by analogy with b.229; note 7: ♯ added
 232 vl.1 ten. added by analogy with b.230
 232 vl.2 note 1: ♯ emended to ♯; ten. added by analogy with
 b.230
 232 va. note 1: ♯ emended to ♯
 237 gr.c. tremolo slashes added
 238 vc. slur added by analogy with b.236
 240 picc. ♯ (f^o) emended to ♯; A: apparently Klenau started no-
 tating fl. a stave too high after page break bb.239–240,
 but stopped before having completed the bar
 1. added
 240–241 ob.  added by analogy with vc. and b.242
 240 fg.1 lower part note 2: ♯ emended to ♯ by analogy with
 241 vl.2 b.243
 242–244 fg. ♯ added by analogy with vc.; A: phrase notated as if in
 ♯, but no change of clef indicated
 242 vl.2 lower part note 1: ♯ emended to ♯ by analogy with
 b.240
 244 cor.1 note 4: ♯ added by analogy with fl.1, ob.2, vl.1,2
 244 vl.2 upper part note 12: ♯ added by analogy with va.
 245 timp. stacc. added by analogy with b.244
 245 va. note 11: ♯ added by analogy with vl.2
 248 tr.2 **p** added by analogy with the dynamic level in tr.1
 249 vl.2 lower note: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1, va., and
 bb.55, 248
 252–253 A: general indication **p** *sub molto crescendo* between
 tb. and tamb.picc. staves
 252–253 tr.2,3 b.252 note 1 to b.253 note 4: articulation added by
 analogy with tr.1
 253 cfg. stacc. added by analogy with the other parts
 253 vl.2 chord 1: tremolo slashes added by analogy with cb.
 and b.59
 254 timp. tremolo slashes added by analogy with b.60
 255 ww. stacc. added by analogy with bb.2, 61
 255 fl. note 1: ♯ added by analogy with picc.
 255–259 fl. cl. 1. added as a consequence of indication *a2* at middle
 of b.259 in A
 255–259 cor.3,4 3. added by analogy with bb.2–4
 255 cor. tr.1,2 trb. tb. stacc. added by analogy with tr.3,4 and bb.2, 61
 255 tamb. picc. **p**  added by analogy with bb.2, 61; **f** added
 by analogy with b.2; note 2: stacc. added by analogy
 with bb.2, 61
 255 cb. note 2: stacc. added by analogy with the other str. and
 bb.2, 61
 256 cl.1 ten. added by analogy with the other parts
 257 fg.2 note 3: ♯ added by analogy with ob.1, cfg., cor.2, trb.b.,
 tb., va., cb.
 257 cor.3 note 1: ♯ added by analogy with ob.1, fg.1, cfg., trb.t.1,
 tb., va., cb.; note 4: ♯ added by analogy with fl.1, cl.1,
 vl.1,2, vc.
 257 trb.t.2 note 3: ♯ added by analogy with fl.1, cl.1, vl.1,2, vc.
 257 cb. note 4: ♯ added by analogy with fl.1, cl.1, vl.1,2, vc.
 260 fg. *a2* added as a consequence of double stems in b.259
 (fourth crotchet)
 260 cor.1 note 1: ♯ emended to ♯ by analogy with vl.1
 261 fl.2 ob.1 marc. added by analogy with the other ww., brass and
 cor.2 b.263 (ob.1)
 262 cor.1 note 1: ♯ emended to ♯ by analogy with vl.1
 262 vl.1 stacc. added by analogy with bb.25, 260
 263 fl.2 ♯ added by analogy with cl.1, cor.2, va.; marc. added by
 analogy with ob.1, cl., fg., cfg.

263 ob.2 articulation added by analogy with fl.1, cor.1,3 and
 b.261
 263 cor.2,4 marc. added by analogy with ob.1, cl., fg., cfg., and
 b.261 (cor.4)
 265 ob.1 ♯ added by analogy with fg.1, cor.2, va.
 265–267 tr.2,3 2. added
 268 cl. 1. added; note 12: ♯ added by analogy with vl.2
 270 cfg. note 3: ♯ added by analogy with fg., vc., cb.
 271 cl.1 note 1: ♯ added by analogy with fl.1, cor.3, tr.1, vl.1,2
 271 tr.3 rest 2: ♯ emended to ♯
 271 timp. note 2: **f** omitted
 273 va. chord 1 middle note: *d'* emended to *e'* by analogy with
 b.275
 275 fl.2 note 1: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., vc. and b.273
 275 ob. note 1: ♯ emended to ♯ by analogy with fg., cfg.
 280 tr.2,3  added by analogy with tr.1
 280–282 vc. ties added by analogy with the other str.
 282 end-dating after double bar line: 20 Nov. 45.

SIXTH MOVEMENT

Bar	Part	Comment
2	vl.2	single stems emended to double stems
3	vl.2	upper part notes 1–2: slur added by analogy with b.20
8		A: fourth crotchet: reference point <i>A</i> added in pencil
9–12	cl.	1. added
9	fg.2	♯ added by analogy with vc.
14–16	vl.1	A: b.14 note 5 to b.16 note 2: ottava notation
15	fg.	 added by analogy with the other parts; notes 1–2: single stems emended to double stems
19	vl.2	chord 1: single stem emended to double stem
20	vl.2	lower part: slur added by analogy with b.3; second minim: <i>c'</i> , <i>e'</i> emended to <i>c'</i> by analogy with b.3
23	cor.1	note 4: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1
24	vl.2	notes 1–2: single stems emended to double stems by analogy with b.7
25		A: reference point <i>B</i> added in pencil at end of bar
25	cb.	stacc. added by analogy with timp. and as in b.8
26		♯ = 60 emended to ♯ = 60
26–53		A: the notation is very sloppy in terms of long note val- ues and rests and has been corrected tacitly
26–27	ob.	1. added
28	vl.2	single stems emended to double stems
29–36	ob.	1. added as a consequence of double stems in b.38
34	fl.	A: note 3: <i>d</i> ^{tr} changed to <i>e'</i> in pencil
37–38	vl.1,2 va.	b.37 note 7 to b.38 note 12: stacc. added by analogy with b.37 notes 1–6
37	cb.	p added by analogy with the dynamic level in the oth- er parts
38	cl.1	 added by analogy with ob.2
39	fg.	note 2: ♯ omitted by analogy with vc., cb.
39	vl.2 va.	notes 4–9: stacc. added by analogy with notes 1–3, 10–12
40–45	fl.	1. added as a consequence of <i>a2</i> in b.46
40	vl.1,2 va.	stacc. added by analogy with b.39
41–42	cor.	1. added
42	ob. cl. va.	 added by analogy with b.41
43	fl.	note 6: ♯ added by analogy with ob.1, vl.1
44–45	fg. vc.	notation changed to tenor clef; A: b.44 to b.45 note 2 notated in ♯; b.45 notes 3–4 notated in ♯
45	ob.2	notes 5–6: ♯ added by analogy with vl.2
46–53	cl.	b.46 to b.53 note 3: <i>a2</i> added by analogy with fl.
46	fg. vc.	♯ added
47	cl.	note 3: ♯ added
47	va.	f added by analogy with fl., cl., vl.1

48	cl.	notes 1–2: f^{\sharp} emended to e^{\sharp} by analogy with fl., vl.1, va.	83	trb.t.2	note 1: \sharp added by analogy with cor.1
48	vl.2	single stems emended to double stems	83	vc.	lower part note 3: \sharp added
49	cl.	note 3: \sharp added	84	tr.1,2	note 2: b' emended to b'' by analogy with b.65 (tr.1)
50	cl.	notes 1–2:  added by analogy with fl.	85	fl. ob.	\sim emended to \sim^{\sharp}
50	vl.2	chords 1–3: single stems emended to double stems	85–90	fl. ob.	a_2 added by analogy with b.66–71
51	va.	notes 1–3:  added by analogy with vl.1	85	fl. ob.	 added by analogy with bb.66–69
53	cl.	note 3: $c^{\sharp\sim}$ emended to c^{\sim} by analogy with fl., vl., va.	85–92	fg.	a_2 added by analogy with b.66–73
53–54	vc.	single stems emended to double stems	85–86	cor.2,3	beginning of tie added; A: page turn
54	cl. fg.	note 8: \sharp added by analogy with fl., vl.1, vl.2, va., vc.	85	trb.t.1	notes 5, 7: stacc. added by analogy with b.66
54	fg.	notes 2–7: single stems emended to double stems	85	vc.	<i>arco</i> added
55–57	ob.	a_2 added	86	fl. ob.	 added by analogy with bb.66–69
55–56	cor.1,2	a_2 added	86–87	trb.t.1	articulation and slur added by analogy with bb.67–68
55–57	vl.2	single stems emended to double stems	86	vc.	notes 3–4, 6: articulation added by analogy with fg. and b.67
58–65	fl. ob.	1. added as a consequence of a_2 in b.66	87	fl. ob.	 added by analogy with bb.66–69
58	vl.2 va. vc.	stacc. added by analogy with b.77	87	vc.	notes 6–7: articulation added by analogy with fg. and b.68
59–60	cl.	1. added	88	fl. ob.	 added by analogy with bb.66–69
60	ob.1	note 8: \sharp added	88	ob.	note 4: \sharp added by analogy with fl.
60–61	cor.2	rests added	89	cb.	<i>arco</i> added
62–64	timp.	tremolo slashes added	91–92	fl. ob. cl.	brass
65	vl.2 va.	stacc. added by analogy with b.84		timp.	stacc. added by analogy with bb.72–73
66	fl. ob.	\sim emended to \sim^{\sharp}	91	fg.	 added by analogy with b.72
66	vl.1,2 va.	stacc. added by analogy with b.85	91–92	str.	ten. and stacc. added by analogy with bb.72–73
66	vc.	<i>arco</i> added	91	vl.1,2 va.	<i>arco</i> added
67	trb.t.1	clef change moved from note 3 to beginning of bar	92	vc.	marc. added by analogy with fg. and b.73; note 10: \sharp added by analogy with cb.
67	vc.	ten. added by analogy with fg., trb.t.1, and b.66	93	cor.3	notes 1, 2: f added by analogy with the other parts; note 2: \sharp omitted by analogy with fl.2, ob.1, cl.1, trb.t.1, trb.b.
69	cor.	 added by analogy with b.88	96	tr.	ten. added by analogy with bb.94–95
70	cb.	<i>arco</i> added	96	vl.1,2 va.	slur and stacc. added by analogy with bb.94–95
72	tr.	note 2: \flat emended to \flat by analogy with other brass and b.92	96	vl.2	note 2: \flat added
72	timp.	note 2: stacc. added by analogy with b.73	97	vl.2	f added by analogy with the other parts; upper part: \sharp added
73	ob. cor.		97	trb.t.2	\sharp added
	trb.t.	stacc. added by analogy with fl., cl., fg., trb.b., tb.	98	vl.2	lower part note 3: \flat added
74	ob.1	note 2: \flat added by analogy with fl.2, cor.3, trb.t.1, trb.b., vl.1,2, va., vc.	99	ob.	f^{\sim} emended to $f^{\flat\sim}$ by analogy with cor.3, trb.b., va.1
74	cl.1	note 2: $f^{\flat\sim}$ emended to $g^{\flat\sim}$ by analogy with fl.2, ob., fg.; A: apparently notated in sounding pitch	99	timp.	fourth crotchet: \sharp added
74	cl.2	note 2: $d^{\flat\sim}$ emended to $e^{\flat\sim}$ by analogy with fl.2, ob., fg.; A: apparently notated in sounding pitch	100	fl.	f  added by analogy with the other parts
74	cor. tr.		102		A: <i>Wiederholung von A bis B (finis) letzter Takt rit molto</i> added in pencil after end of b.102 (A bis B corresponding to bb.9–25)
	trb.t.		102	vl.1	p added by analogy with the other parts
	trb.b. tb.	stacc. added by analogy with ww., timp. and b.93	103–119		copy of bb.9–25
74	vl.2 va.		103	vl.2 va.	<i>arco</i> added
	vc. cb.	notes 2–5: ten. added by analogy with vl.1			
74	va.	chord 1 lower note: \sharp added by analogy with vl.1,2, cb.			
75	fg.	f added by analogy with the other parts			
77	fl. ob.	 added by analogy with b.58			
77–84	fl. ob.	1. added by analogy with bb.58–65			
77–80	trb.b.	slur added by analogy with trb.t.1			
77	vl.2	<i>pizz.</i> added by analogy with va., vc., cb.			
78	fl. ob.	f added by analogy with b.59			
78–79	cl.	1. added			
78	tr.	1. added as a consequence of a_2 in b.80			
78	trb.b. vl.2				
	va. vc. cb.	 added by analogy with cl.1, cor.2, trb.t.1 and b.59			
79–80	fl. ob.	ambiguously placed slurs emended by analogy with bb.60–61			
79–80	cor.2	\sim added			
80		caesura added by analogy with b.61			
81–83	timp.	tremolo slashes added			
81	trb.t.1				
	trb.b.	note 1: \flat emended to \flat			
82	vl.2 va. vc.	 added by analogy with cl., cor.2, trb.t.1, trb.b.			

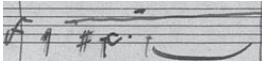
SEVENTH MOVEMENT

Bar	Part	Comment
1	str.	A: <i>Sehr leidenschaftlich bewegt</i> added in pencil
1	fl. ob.	a_2 added as a consequence of double stems in b.2
1	vl.1,2	f added by analogy with fl., ob.
2	cor.2,4	f added by analogy with cor.1,3
2	vl.2	note 4: \sharp added by analogy with vl.1
2	vl.2 va.	note 1: stacc. added by analogy with vl.1
3	vl.1,2 va.	<i>trem.</i> added
5	fl.	stacc. added by analogy with ob., cl.
7–8	cl.2	slur added by analogy with tie in cl.1
9–12	cl.	a_2 added because of double stems in b.13
11	cb.	marc. added by analogy with vc.
15–16	fl.	tie added by analogy with ob.2
16	fl.	e' emended to e^{\flat} because of the harmonic context

20	fl.	note 6: stacc. omitted by analogy with ob. and b.22
22	fg.2	♭ added by analogy with B., vc.
22	vl.2	chord 1: <i>a'</i> , <i>d''</i> , <i>f''</i> emended to <i>a'</i> , <i>d''</i> , <i>f''</i> by analogy with vl.1
23–26	fl.2	slur added by analogy with fl.1
25	trb.1	marc. omitted by analogy with other brass
27	cl.	note 8: ♯ added by analogy with b.29
28–29	tr. trb.	tie omitted by analogy with fg., cor.
28	trb.2	♯ added by analogy with cor.2
29	cor.2	♯ added because of the harmonic context
29	B.	♭ emended to ♭ by analogy with S., A., T.
30	cl.	note 8: ♯ added by analogy with note 2 and the other instr.
31	fl.2 ob.2	notes 4–5: slur omitted
31	cor.	fourth crotchet: stacc. added by analogy with other parts
31	cor.2	<i>f</i> added by analogy with cor.1; note 1: ♯ added by analogy with cor.4 and str.
32	fg.2 trb.b	note 4: ♯ added by analogy with cfg., tb., timp., vc., cb.
33	cl.	<i>ff</i> added by analogy with the other parts


EIGHTH MOVEMENT

Bar	Part	Comment
		A: above top stave: <i>VIII Satz. Sidste Del. IX Symphonie</i>
12	cor.	A: Klenau indicates that the top note (<i>d''</i>) is to be played by cor.1, middle note (<i>b'</i>) by cor.3, and lower note (<i>g'</i>) by cor.2
15	S.	! added by analogy with b.13
21	B.	♯ added
22	cor.1	♯ added by analogy with cor.3
22–31	cor.3,4	♯ emended to ♯
27	va.	upper part first quaver: top note <i>c''</i> omitted because of the two-part structure
30	vl.1,2 va.	∞ added on repeat signs by analogy with the other parts
30	vc. cb.	note 1: ∞ added by analogy with the other parts
40	A.solo	note 1: ♯ added by analogy with vl.2
43	cl.1	note 1: <i>e''</i> emended to <i>e''</i> by analogy with S.solo
44–45	cor.1	1. added
49	vl.2	note 3: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1, va., vc., cb.
52	vl.1	lower part note 4: ♯ added by analogy with va.
52	vl.2	lower part notes 3–4: slur added by analogy with vl.1
52	va.	upper part notes 3–4: slur added by analogy with vl.1
53	cor.2	note 3: ♯ added by analogy with ob.2, A., vl.1, va.
54	timp.	note 4: stacc. added by analogy with b.53
56	cl.	A: notes 1–2: indication of ten. ambiguous
57	S.solo	
	A.solo	
	T.solo	
	B.solo	A: ♯; <i>mit Chor</i> added in pencil
58	fl.1 cl.1	♯ added
64	va.	upper part: tremolo slashes added by analogy with vl.1 and b.63
65	ob.2 cl.2	note 4: stacc. added by analogy with ob.1, cl.1
66	vl.1	chord 2: stacc. omitted by analogy with vl.2, va.
67–68	fl.1	b.67: open end of slur emended to b.68 note 1; A: page turn
67–69	fg.	b.67: open end of slur emended to b.69 note 4 by analogy with cor.; A: page turn
67	cor.3	3. added
67	tr.1	1. added
67	va.	upper part: tremolo slashes added by analogy with vl.1 and b.63

68	cl.1	note 1 added by analogy with fl.1 and b.69
68	va.	upper part: tremolo slashes added by analogy with vl.1 and b.63
69, 70	fl.1	stacc. added by analogy with b.68
72	cl.1	♯ added by analogy with fl.
72	cor.1	♯ added
73–75	ob.2	slur added by analogy with ob.1
74	cl.1	note 5 (trilling note): <i>c''</i> emended to <i>c''</i> by analogy with fl.
74	vc. cb.	♯ added
75	vc.	note 2: ♯ emended to ♯ by analogy with cb.
77	ob.2	note 2: ♯ added by analogy with cor.3, A.1, T.2, va.
77	vl.2 va.	notes 3–4: stacc. added by analogy with bb.78–81
78	cl.1	♯ added
80	cl.2 cor.2	slur added by analogy with b.78
81	ob.1	A: fourth crotchet: ♯ (<i>b'</i>) changed in pencil to ♯ (<i>b'–d''</i>)
81	cl.2	A: ambiguous notation due to corrections in ink and pencil; interpreted in accordance with b.79
		
81	vl.2	note 3: stacc. added by analogy with vl.1, va.
82–85	fl.1	1. added as a consequence of <i>a2</i> in b.86
83	cl.1	note 1: ♯ added by analogy with fl.1
83	vl.2	note 3: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1
83	va.	note 3: <i>f''</i> emended to <i>f''</i> by analogy with cl.2, cor.2, T.
83–84	str.	b.83 note 1 to b.84 note 2: stacc. added by analogy with bb.73–82
84	vl.2	note 1: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1
85	cor.1,2,4	slur added by analogy with tr.
85	vl.2 va.	marc. added by analogy with vl.1
86–111	cor.1	1. added
86–109	cor.3	3. added
88	va. vc.	<i>pp</i> added by analogy with the other parts
89	vl.1,2	<i>pp</i> added by analogy with the dynamic level in the other parts
93	timp.	stacc. added by analogy with b.89
96–97		A (between bb.96 and 97): 7 pp. (comprising 54 bars) cancelled in pencil; <i>Vi Seite 23</i> added in pencil on p.15
97	str.	A: <i>in a la breve taktieren</i> in ink; <i>Wiederholung von Seite 15 bis Seite 17</i> added in pencil at bottom of page
99	fl.	♯ added by analogy with cor.1, va.; <i>a2</i> added
99	cl.	notes 7, 10: <i>d''</i> emended to <i>d''</i> by analogy with cor.1, va.
99	arpa	♯ added by analogy with cor.1, va.
99	vl.1	upper part: ♯ added by analogy with cor.1, va.
99	vl.2	upper part: ♯ added by analogy with cor.1, va.; lower part: ♯ added by analogy with vl.1
103–106	vl.1,2	slurs added by analogy with bb.100–102, 107–111
107	fl.1	♯ added by analogy with vc., cb.
107	cl.	note 7: ♯ added by analogy with vc., cb.
107	arpa	
	vl.1,2	♯ added by analogy with vc., cb.
114	B.	note 2: ♯ emended to ♯
120	T.	second minim: ambiguous notation interpreted as <i>b'</i> in accordance with the harmonic context
122	cl.2	missing ♭ (<i>g''</i>) added by analogy with B.
122	B.	♯ added by analogy with S.
123–125	cl.2	ties added due to slur
124	A.solo	♯ added by analogy with S.solo
126	vl.2	♯ added by analogy with vl.1
128–129	ob.1	1. added
129–136	cor.3,4	A: on one stave, cor.3 in ♯ and cor.4 in ♯; cor.4 notated an octave lower

131	S.solo	note 1: stacc. omitted by analogy with b.130	231,		
133–136	cb.	A (below stave): <i>Wiederholung Seite 18 bis Seite 20</i> added in pencil referring to two earlier pages which have been cancelled (see b.97)	232, 233	vl.2	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1
135	S.solo	note 3: stacc. omitted by analogy with A.solo and b.136	234, 236	fl. ob. fg.	single stems emended to double stems as a consequence of double stems in bb.231–233, 235, 237
138	A.solo	♯ added by analogy with vl.1	238	fl. ob. fg.	single stems emended to double stems
140	A.solo	A: note 3: <i>g'</i> changed to <i>e^b</i> in ink	244, 245	vl.1	ambiguous slurs emended by analogy with vl.2, va., vc.
140–143	vc.	slurs added by analogy with bb.144–145	245–246		A (between bb.245 and 246): one bar with <i>G.P.</i> and \wedge cancelled in pencil
147–148		A (between bb.147 and 148): four bars cancelled in pencil	249	cor.1,3	p added by analogy with the dynamic level in the other parts
151–157	cl.1	<i>1.</i> added	252–255	cl.1	<i>1.</i> added
154–155		A (between bb.154 and 155): three bars cancelled in pencil	255	vc.	slur added
158	fl. cl.	pp omitted because of <i>dim.</i> ---	261–262		A (between bb.261 and 262): two pages cancelled in pencil, added after the last cancelled bar: <i>Wiederholung des Pleni sunt coeli et terra Seite 40–41–42–43–44</i> , then pp. 49, 50a, 50b, and 50c were added with a repetition of bb.214–233
161–162		A (between bb.161 and 162): one bar cancelled in pencil	262		$\frac{3}{4}$ added
161	va.	lower note: ♯ added by analogy with cor.2	262	cb.	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., vc.
171	vl.1,2	note 7: ambiguous notation (<i>a''</i> or <i>b''</i>) interpreted as <i>b''</i>	263	cor.3,4	stacc. added by analogy with cor.1,2
182–183	tr.1	<i>1.</i> added	265	vc.	stacc. added by analogy with cb. and partly vl.1,2, va.
186	cor.1,3	ff added by analogy with cl.	267	B.	note 4: stacc. emended to ten. by analogy with S., A., T.
188	cb.	A (below stave): <i>Gloria gloria</i> added in pencil	268	timp.	stacc. added by analogy with b.269
197	cl.	note 3: ♯ added by analogy with cor.1	271	ob.2	note 3: ♯ added by analogy with A.
198–199	fg.	<i>a2</i> added by analogy with bb.194 (fl.), 196 (cl.)	272	ww.	\longleftarrow added by analogy with b.224
200	vc.	note 1: ten. added by analogy with va.	272–273	fl. ob.	
201–202		A (between bb.201 and 202): two bars cancelled in ink		cl. fg.	slurs and ties added by analogy with bb.275–276
202	cor.1	<i>1.</i> added by analogy with b.192	272	cl. fg.	marc. added by analogy with fl., ob.
202	cor.3	<i>3.</i> added by analogy with b.192	274	fl. ob. cl.	\longleftarrow added by analogy with b.226
202	vc. cb.	f added by analogy with vl.1,2, va.	274–275	tr.1	stacc. added by analogy with cor., timp.; <i>1.</i> added
204–205	fl. ob. cl.	<i>a2</i> added	275	fl. ob.	single stems emended to <i>a2</i> added by analogy with b.226
204	tr.	\longleftarrow added by analogy with cor., trb.	275	ob.	note 1: \downarrow added
205–206		A (between bb.205 and 206): eight bars cancelled in pencil	275–276	cl.	b.275 note 2 to b.276 note 1: single stems emended to double stems by analogy with bb.274, 277
208	fg.	f added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.	275	fg.	notes 2–5: single stems emended to double stems by analogy with fl., ob.
208–209	trb.1	<i>1.</i> added by analogy with b.204	275–276	fg.2	slur added by analogy with fg.1
209	va. vc.	♯ added	276	cl.	note 1: single stem emended to double stem by analogy with the previous passage
213–214		A (between bb.212 and 213): one bar cancelled in pencil	276	fg.	\downarrow added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.
214	fl. ob.	stacc. added by analogy with cl., fg.	276	T.	\downarrow added by analogy with B.
214	cl.1	<i>c''</i> emended to <i>b^{2''}</i>	277	ww.	stacc. added by analogy with cor., tr. and b.274
214	cl.2	<i>c''</i> emended to <i>b^{2'}</i>	277	ob.	notes 2–6: single stems emended to double stem by analogy with the previous passage
214	va. vc. cb.	chord 1: stacc. added by analogy with cl., fg., vl.1,2	277	cl.	note 1: single stem emended to double stem by analogy with the previous passage
221	tr.	stacc. added by analogy with cor.	278	fg.2	<i>d²</i> emended to <i>d</i> by analogy with B.
222	cb.	notes 2–3: stacc. added by analogy with vc. and b.270	278	cor.4	f added by analogy with cor.1–3
223	ob.2	note 3: ♯ added by analogy with A.	279	vl.2	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1
223	fg.1,2	slurs added by analogy with fl., ob., cl.	280	vl.1	stacc. added by analogy with bb.278, 279
224	tr.	single stem emended to double stem by analogy with the previous bars	280	vl.2	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1
226	ob. cl.	note 2: ♯ added	281	vl.1	stacc. added by analogy with bb.278, 279
226	cl.	note 4: ♯ added	281	vl.2	stacc. added by analogy with vl.1
226–229	tr.1,2	<i>a2</i> added	290	tr.1	\longleftarrow added by analogy with b.1
226	vc.	third crotchet top note: ♯ added	294		A (below stave): <i>Wiederholung Seite 2</i> added ink
227	ob.	note 3: \downarrow added by analogy with A.	294	cor.2	♯ added because of the harmonic context
227–228	cl.	b.227 note 2 to b.228 note 1: single stems emended to double stems by analogy with first crotchet and bb.226, 229, 230	294–303	tr.1	<i>1.</i> added
227	fg.	notes 2–5: single stems emended to double stems by analogy with first crotchet and bb.226, 228	295	vl.1	fifth quaver: ♯ added by analogy with coro
227–228	fg.2	slur added by analogy with fg.1	297	cl.1	note 2: ♯ added by analogy with fl., cor.2, tr.2
229	ww.	stacc. added by analogy with cor., tr. and b.226	299	cor.4	♯ added by analogy with S., T.
229	cl.	note 1: <i>f'</i> emended to <i>g'</i> by analogy with T.	300	fl.2	note 1: <i>c^{2'''}</i> emended to <i>c^{2''}</i> by analogy with S., T.;
230	timp.	A: ♯(A) cancelled in pencil			A (bb.299–300): page turn
231,					
232, 233	vl.1	stacc. added by analogy with b.230			

300	ob.1	note 1: a^{\sharp} emended to a^{\natural} by analogy with A., B.; A (bb.299–300): page turn	386–388 vl.2 386–388 va. vc.	slurs added by analogy with bb.379–381, 395–396 lower part: slurs added by analogy with bb.379–381 (vl.1,2, vc.), bb.395–396
300	cor.1	note 1: e^{\sharp} emended to e^{\natural} by analogy with S., T.	387–388 vc.1	tie added by analogy with va.
300	cor.3	chord 1: c^{\flat} emended to c^{\sharp} by analogy with S.	389–391 cl.	end of open slur emended slur by analogy with fl., ob.; A (bb.388–389): page turn
300	cor.4	chord 1: g^{\sharp} emended to g^{\natural} by analogy with A.	389–391 fg.	end of open slur emended by analogy with tb.; A (bb.388–389): page turn
302	cor.1	\sharp added by analogy with cor.4	389–394 cor.3	slur added by analogy with cor.1,2
303		A: <i>Weiter Seite 56</i> added in pencil at b.307 (pp.54–55 and beginning of p.56 cancelled in pencil)	389–397 cor.3	3. added
303	vc. cb.	\sharp with \curvearrowright added	390 trb.b.	\flat added by analogy with cor.1,2
304		A: <i>hier</i> added in pencil after the cancelled phrase (b.303)	392 trb.t.2	\flat added by analogy with cor.3
310	cor.1	c^{\flat} emended to c^{\sharp} because of the harmonic context	392 A. T.2	∞ emended to JJJ by analogy with text
310	cor.2	e^{\flat} emended to e^{\sharp} because of the harmonic context	395–397 ob. cl. fg.	end of open slur b.396 emended; A (bb.396–397): page turn
312	ob.2	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with A.1, T.2	395 cl.	$a2$ added
312	cor.3	note 2: f^{\sharp} emended to f^{\natural} by analogy with A.1, T.2	396–397 vc.	upper part: tie added by analogy with vl.1, va. (upper part)
316	coro	<i>tenebra</i> emended to <i>tenebras</i>	397 vl.2	slurs added by analogy with b.381
317	cl.1	\sharp added by analogy with ob.1	397 va. vc.	lower part: slur added by analogy with b.381 (vl.1,2, vc.)
318–323	va. vc. cb.	stacc. added by analogy with bb.312–317	399 vl.1,2 va. vc.	<i>arco</i> added
323	vl.2	— added by analogy with vl.1	399–400 T.solo	e^{\sharp} emended to f^{\sharp} by analogy with vl.1, va.
325	cl.1	A: c^{\sharp} changed to g^{\sharp} in ink	407 T.	\sharp added because of the harmonic context
325	cor.1,2,3	A: b^{\flat} cancelled in pencil and changed to c^{\sharp} in ink	409–412 S.solo	<i>lex aeterna supra</i> emended to <i>lex aeterna. Supra</i> as in D
325	cor.3	A: d^{\sharp} cancelled in pencil and changed to a^{\sharp} in ink	412–419 cor.1	1. added by analogy with b.413 (cor.3)
325	cb.	f^{\flat} added by analogy with vl.1,2, va., vc.	416–419 cl.2	slur b.417 notes 1–3 emended to slur bb.416–419 by analogy with cl.1
328–329	cor.2	slur added by analogy with cor.1	417 ww.	$\frac{4}{4}$ emended to $\frac{4}{2}$ by analogy with the other parts
328	cor.3	A: $a^{\sharp}-d^{\sharp}-c^{\sharp}$ cancelled in pencil and changed to $c^{\sharp}-f^{\sharp}-e^{\sharp}$ in ink	419 cor.3	∞ emended to JJJ by analogy with A., T.
329	cor.2	note 2: \sharp added by analogy with cor.1	422 vc.	<i>arco</i> added
332–333	cl.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1	427 cb.	<i>arco</i> added
332–333	cl.2 cor.2	tie added by analogy with bb.328–329	430–437 fl.	$a2$ added by analogy bb.437–440
334–339	ob.2 cl.2	slurs added by analogy with ob.1, cl.1, fg.	436 fl.	\sharp added by analogy with vl.1,2
339	vl.2	note 3: \sharp added by analogy with vl.1	441–447 fl.2	slurs added by analogy with fl.1
340–343	fg.1	slur added by analogy with fl.	442–447 cl. fg.	$a2$ added by analogy with fl. and b.448
344–345	fg.	slur added by analogy with ob., cl., cor.1,2	442 vc. cb.	<i>arco</i> added
344–345	cor.3	slur added by analogy with cor.1,2	443 vl.2	note 3: \sharp added by analogy with vl.1
344	va. vc. cb.	<i>trem.</i> added	446–447 tr.	1. added
353	cl.	\sharp added by analogy with A.	449 vl.2	note 5: ten. added by analogy with vl.1
354–355	cor.2	slur added by analogy with cor.1	450 cor.1,3	f^{\flat} added by analogy with the dynamic level in the other parts
354–357	cor.3	slur added by analogy with cor.2,4	454–458 fl.	$a2$ added as a consequence of double stems in the previous phrase
354	vl.2	f^{\flat} added by analogy with vl.1	454–459 tr.1	1. added
354	vc.	chord 1 lower note: A emended to A^{\flat} by analogy with va., cb.	455 cl.	note 2: a^{\flat} emended to g^{\flat} by analogy with A., va.
356–357	cor.1	slur added by analogy with cor.4	464–465 fg.	$a2$ added by analogy with cl. and as a consequence of the previous and following phrases
357	cor.2	A: f^{\flat} changed to g^{\flat} in pencil	464–465 tr.1 cor.1	1. added
359	cor.3	A: \sharp omitted in pencil	464–465 cor.3	3. added
363–364	ob.2	slur omitted by analogy with other ww., brass	466–467 cl.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1
365	cl.	phrase added by analogy with b.264 and the other parts; A: bar empty	467 cor.3	note 3: ambiguous notation (a^{\flat} or g^{\flat}) interpreted as g^{\flat} because of the harmonic context
370	fl. cl.	pp added by analogy with the dynamic level in the other parts	467	note 3: J emended to J
370–374	S.solo		467	note 5: J emended to J
	A.solo		468	note 3: \sharp added by analogy with cor.3
	T.solo		469	— added by analogy with the other parts
	B.solo	<i>lex aeterna supra</i> emended to <i>lex aeterna. Supra</i> as in D	470	slur added by analogy with fl.1
371–372	B.solo	slur added by analogy with A.solo	470	slur added by analogy with cl.1
379–381	cl.1	ties added by analogy with fl.1, ob.1	470	slur added by analogy with ob.1
380–381	va.	tie added by analogy with vl.1,2	470–473 fg.1	1. added
381	T.solo	note 2: g^{\flat} emended to d^{\flat} by analogy with S.	470 vl.1,2 va.	note 8: \sharp added by analogy with fl.2
383–385	cor.3	3. added	471 ob.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1
383	str.	<i>arco</i> added		
386–388	cor.1	1. added		
386–390	S.solo			
	A.solo			
	T.solo			
	B.solo	<i>lex aeterna supra</i> emended to <i>lex aeterna. Supra</i> as in D		

472	va.	note 2: <i>d</i> emended to <i>e</i> by analogy with vl.1,2	490	coro	<i>f</i> added by analogy with the instrumental parts
472-474	fl.2	slurs added by analogy with fl.1	494-495	fl.2 ob.2	slur added by analogy with fl.1, ob.1
473	cl.1	note 4: # added by analogy with cor.3, tr.2	494-497	fg.	<i>az</i> added as a consequence of double stems in
473	tr.3	3. added			bb.497-499 and by analogy with fl., ob.
474-475	ob.2	slur added by analogy with ob.1	494-505	cor.3	3. added
474-475	cor.2	slur added by analogy with cor.1	496	cor.3	slur added by analogy with ww.
475	vc. cb.	 added by analogy with the other instruments	497-498	fl.2 ob.2	slur added by analogy with fl.1, ob.1
477-478	tr.1	1. added	499	cl.	<i>f</i> added by analogy with the dynamic level in the other
478	cor.3	# added			parts
479	ob.1	note 2: # added by analogy with fl.1	499	cl.2	slur added by analogy with cl.1
479	cor.1	1. added	503	cl.1	note 1: # added by analogy with A.
481	A.2	note 2: # added	513	tb.	tie added by analogy with trb.t., trb.b.
482-483	ob.2	slurs added by analogy with ob.1	514-515	ww.	
482	fg.1	1. added		cor.2,3	one slur emended to two slurs; A: page turn
482	cor.3	3. added	514-521	fg.1	1. added
483	cor.3	note 1: # added by analogy with ob.2	514-517	cor.3	3. added
484	cl.1	note 2: # added by analogy with ob.1	515-517	ob.2	slur added by analogy with fl.1, ob.1
486	va.	note 3: ♭ added by analogy with vl.1,2	518-521	tr.	<i>az</i> added
487		<i>cre-scen-do-f</i> interpreted as referring to all parts: A:	519-520	A. T. B.	A: ties cancelled in pencil
		notated above timp.	521	fg.1	two tremolo slashes emended to three by analogy
489	fl.1	♯ emended to ♮ by analogy with fl.2, ob., cl.			with bb.514-520
			522-525	ww.	<i>az</i> added by analogy with bb.526-532