

Composing landscapes: musical memories from nineteenth-century Norwegian mountain-scapes

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Norwegian mountain-scape gradually grew in popularity as a destination for foreign and domestic touristic discovery, while simultaneously acquiring a status as object(s) of artistic value and national significance. This article explores how musical responses (here by Franz Berwald, Edvard Grieg and Julius Röntgen) to this mountain-scape can be understood to both feed off and into the ideological rhetoric around the mountain-scape by creating various 'reminiscences' which are conditioned by distance and (actual or imagined) memorisation, and narrated through a nostalgic construction of idealised longing.

KEYWORDS

Norway, mountain-scapes, music, memory, nineteenth century, nostalgia

MOUNTAINS, MINDS AND MUSIC

In Henrik Ibsen's poem 'Paa Vidderne' of 1859, variously but never quite accurately translated as 'On the high mountains' or 'In the mountain wilderness', the narratorial 'I' leaves his village in the valley and his mother and beloved behind, and sets out to seek a different life on the high mountains. The *vidder* is the specific terrain of the Norwegian mountain plateaus and denotes not only high altitudes but also what could be described as 'wide open spaces and the far wide

distance'.¹ For most of Ibsen's poem, until the end of section seven (of nine), the narrator believes his removal to be temporary, and even when the snow closes his path home and he knows he is trapped in the mountains until spring, he fantasises about being able to fetch his mother and his beloved up to live with him once spring arrives. By spring, however, the work of the unnamed hunter that visits him 'from the south' and who has 'taught [him] to forget' has removed all yearning in, indeed all possibility for, the 'I' to return to the valley life, and in the last stanzas he renounces his valley existence with finality.²

Ibsen's poem could be, and has been, read as a comment on the conditions of artistic integrity — the need for removal from conventional society, the supreme importance of 'otherness' and distance, the sacrifices relished and the longings endured.³ It is however not insignificant that the narrator's withdrawal and subsequent transformation takes place in the Norwegian mountain-scape, and the poem could also be understood as part of several narratives around these landscapes that were growing in cultural significance throughout the nineteenth century, and which would come to be of collective, and in particular national, importance.

The increasing centrality of the mountains in Norwegian collective consciousness emerged partly at least because of foreign interest. Throughout the nineteenth century, interest in Norway by foreign, and in particular British,

travellers steadily increased, as it became ‘more the rage every year’.⁴ As the number of visitors grew, so naturally did the provision for them (hotels, time-tables, agents, guides etc.), resulting in a greater domestic awareness of the landscape as a commodity and asset. This foreign interest in the Norwegian high mountains in turn relied on a Romantic re-evaluation of mountain-scapes that had come to see them as locations for sublime experiences, imbued with spirituality, and as physical vessels of essential heritage in geological terms. From having been what Nicolson terms ‘Nature’s Shames and Ills’, mountains at the beginning of the early nineteenth century metamorphosed into ‘temples of Nature built by the Almighty’ (Nicolson 1959, p. 2), a result of a more comprehensive re-evaluation of the land which permeated fundamental approaches to nature and landscape from this point on. The change in appreciation of the Norwegian mountains that occurred throughout the nineteenth century must therefore be seen in the context of the ‘tremendous revolution of perception’ (Macfarlane 2003, p. 18) that took place in the West, as all the qualities for which mountain-scapes ‘had once been reviled [now] came to be numbered among their most prized aspects’ (*ibid.*), and allowing them to reach ‘a truly prominent position in European imagination, acquiring the panoply of meanings that it still displays to this day’ (Senici 2004, p. 9). Ibsen’s use of this particular landscape to effect a quasi-spiritual change in his narrator thus corresponds with the nineteenth century’s changing interpretation of our relationship with Nature, and the specific place mountains inhabited in various narratives around this relationship.⁵

Ellen Rees suggests that the landscape of Norway could be understood as an alternative ‘cultural institution’: bereft of historical lineage in courts, theatres, operas and other grand cultural and historical objects around which a national narrative of development and achievements could be constructed (and which Norway’s two historically dominating neighbours Sweden and Denmark could showcase to a much greater degree), Norway found in its fjord- and mountain-

scape a culturally symbolic inheritance which might stand in for such institutional monuments. The articulation of this significance was aided by interpretations foreign spectators made of the landscape:

[A] land of eternal snows, whose mountain heights are fraught with the mystery of a silence never broken, where the foot of man never falls; a land of gigantic icebergs, rushing streams, grand waterfalls and mighty cataracts, that seem to increase and multiply as you progress through the country. A land which owes everything to nature, and nothing to man or art (Charles William Wood 1880, pp. 1–2).

Rees is referring to what Grimley identifies as a ‘broader cultural shift in Norway in the second half of the nineteenth century’, in which the domestic mountain-scape became ‘emblematic of Norwegian cultural difference and political independence’, and in which ‘the emphasis on the physicality of the [Western] Norwegian landscape and its perceived healthiness’ served as a cultural signifier (Grimley 2006, p. 71). This twofold characterisation of the landscape as both of personal benefit and national focus appears consistently in various commentaries. Myhre, for example, writes that ‘Nature worship was quite prevalent among the middle classes as well as the elite in Norwegian society from the second half of the nineteenth century, a fact much tied to the phenomenon of national identity, which was, even more than in other countries, connected with nature’ (Myhre 2004, p. 225). This combined with a distinct ‘anti-urbanism’ during the last decades of the nineteenth century, which was ‘based partly on a critique of the social conditions of the larger cities, partly on an identification of the urban with what was not considered Norwegian, an aspect of the political and cultural struggle around national questions’ (*ibid.*, pp. 223–4). The perception of these landscapes as ‘natural’ antidotes to the developing modern city-scape, construed as more authentic than the urbanised society whose ‘artificial’ institutions they were seen to substitute, point up the inherent power in such narratives, as — and this is Rees’s main point — the concept of a specific landscape as

containing certain values, and the transformation of natural assets into cultural currency, is no less a socio-cultural construct.⁶

The ‘discovery’ of the Norwegian mountains, as discussions thereof tend to recognise, therefore needs to be considered at least partly as a matter of exchange between the outside interest in this ‘Northern Playground’,⁷ and its domestic cultivation and development. This exchange, or dialogue, is also between perception and expression, a cyclical process which continuously re-narrates the mountain-scapes and imbues them with value beyond their physical matter (ideological, spiritual, economic, political or aesthetic). We need to be careful, however, as Matless warns not to ‘lump all cultural expressions of ruralism together as representing a simple, nostalgic and conservative longing for a “rural idyll”’ (1998, p. 16), as even within national landscapes more than one specificity of landscape can be centralised and iconised (*ibid.*, p. 18). Furthermore, even responses to any singular landscape often reveal, at closer un-picking, a complex set of values, preferences and traditions that may resist collective labelling and are better understood as dominant tendencies in the cultural expressions they give rise to, and which in turn help re-narrate these landscapes. It is as a part of such narrations and ‘cultural constructions’ that musical responses to the Norwegian mountain-scapes can function.

When considering musical interpretations of, or responses to, landscape, the concern, Julian Johnson writes, must not be with the ‘imitation of nature’ but with the way ‘in which a society constructs an *idea* of nature and the role that art, and [here] specifically music, may have in the articulation of that idea’ (1999, pp. 1–2; my emphasis). The articulation is, however, only one function of music (or any art), as it is also part of the ‘making of views on nature’ (*ibid.*, p. 16). The way in which it does so is less easily defined, as Shepherd and Wicke note, as ‘no theoretical protocol exists for underwriting the link between the sounds of music and the social and cultural affects, the social and cultural identities – whether individual or collective – to which they give life

and substance’ (Shepherd & Wicke 1997, p. 2). The absence of such a theoretical protocol should however not be taken as an indication of the lack of potential in considering such links. Philip Bohlman underlines this when he argues for music as being ‘insistently more than itself’, and exemplifies its potential functions and relationships as, among others:

music and/in/of culture; as text/context; embodied experience; as everyday/marked experience; music in/out of time; music emplaced/displaced (Bohlman 2008, p. 1; adapted).

Bohlman is particularly interested here in the ‘power [of music] to sustain the process of transcendence [and] to become more than it was in the world of its creation’ (*ibid.*, p. 4).⁸ But Bohlman’s juxtapositions above also highlight the dual ability of cultural utterances to function simultaneously as both substance/content and reflection/expression. It is as a point of intersection between ‘in’ culture and ‘of’ culture, as both ‘text’ and ‘context’ that the music growing out of encounters with the Norwegian mountain-scapes becomes part of the various constructs contemporary society builds around them. That music can further be encountered as tangible matter and corporeal experience enables it to also engage with the physicality of the mountain-scapes and the ‘sense of place’ inherent in the focalisation of specific mountains, while its ability to be both ‘in’ and ‘out of’ time responds to the nostalgic tendencies that condition nineteenth-century mountain reverence. Heeding Shepherd and Wicke’s warning not to conceive of the role and voice of music as a ‘phenomenon generalizable from individual pieces’, this article will consider musical responses to the Norwegian mountain-scapes as ‘particular instances of signifying practice’ which is socially and culturally constituted (Shepherd & Wicke 1997, p. 5).

(DISTANCED) MEMORIES OF THE NORWEGIAN MOUNTAINS

In March 1842 the symphonic poem ‘Erinnerung an die Norwegischen Alpen’ (*Reminiscence of the*

*Norwegian mountains*⁹ by the Swedish composer Franz Berwald (1796–1868) was given its premier — in Vienna. Berwald had spent the last thirteen years in Berlin and Vienna but would shortly return to Sweden. The Austrian critics are reported to have been ‘truly delighted’ by his orchestral music (*Aftonbladet*, 23 April 1842: Lomnäs 1979, p. 216), and *Erinnerung* was played three times in Vienna in 1842 (Andersson 1970, p. 110) before being introduced to a Swedish audience in May the same year. It reportedly became the piece by the composer played most often during his lifetime (Castegren 1970, p. xiii).

There is little documentation on the conception of this piece, and Jan Höglund (1996, p. 97) concludes only that we do not know what made Berwald write the set of six tone poems to which it belongs. It appears uncertain that Berwald had any extensive ‘Erinnerungen’ of Norwegian mountains of his own: the only trip to Norway that we know he made was a concert tour with Jan van Boom in 1827,¹⁰ which took them to Christiania (now Oslo) and Bergen. We have very few details of this tour beyond some concert notices, and cannot therefore be sure what precise experience Berwald had of the mountains that he proposes to be memorialising.

According to a pre-concert article in *Die Gegenwart* in 1847, however, the main theme, often referred to as the ‘Andante-theme’ from its tempo marking, is supposed to be a tune that Berwald had heard a coachman sing while on a journey across ‘Fille Fjellen’ (26 January 1847: Lomnäs 1979, p. 355). Attempts to locate the original song have proved futile, and Castegren quotes a Norwegian folk music expert, in whose opinion the tune is *not* an original, pre-existing Norwegian tune (Castegren 1970, pp. xiii, 187).¹¹ A direct transfer of musical material cannot therefore be

verified, though it should not be ruled out either. Fille Fjellen is a mountainous area traversed by the ‘King’s Road’, and historically the most important route between east and west Norway. It acquired its current name in the eighteenth century in reference to the medieval use of the road by King Sverre of Norway (1184–1202), once a pilgrim route which passed a late twelfth-century church and a postal route since 1647. It is very likely that this is the route Berwald and van Boom took between their concert engagements in Christiania and Bergen. The ‘Andante theme’ itself also displays melodic and rhythmic similarities to particular types of Norwegian folk melody (as Castegren admits), and could be said to create what Jones (in discussion of Beethoven’s Sixth Symphony) calls a ‘generic resemblance’ which relies more on association rather than on actual imitation (Jones 1995, p. 77). In this way, locality could be understood as having at least referential links with the tone poem, its musical material and a possible personal experience of its landscape.

Erinnerung is a short orchestral piece in one movement, composed in a compact sonata form¹² with added introduction and coda. It opens with a sixteen-bar *Adagio*-section consisting of two-bar phrases which repeats a simple rising and falling figure, each ending with a harmonisation on the dominant (C7) which leads it back to the tonic (f-minor) and a fermata pause before the next two-bar phrase. The short theme presented is relatively simple (a few steps up the f-minor scale, and back down again; see Fig. 1a) and slow to the point of sounding hesitant, and these repeated phrases, although each complete a harmonic cycle, seem brief and tentative. The minor mood, the rising and falling character, and the slow, stretched-out legato phrasing further imbues the theme with a melancholic wistfulness.



Fig. 1a. *Erinnerung*, Adagio-theme, bars 1–3.

To contemporary audiences it may have sounded even more so if they were aware of a popular song (originally hymn) with which the first seven notes of this theme is shared. ‘Till Österland vill jag fara’ (‘To the Eastern Lands I Long’), speaks initially of a longing for the Holy Land, but the text (more than twenty-two verses exist) soon drifts into a more generalised yearning to be with a beloved. The tune is first recorded in the Swedish hymn book of 1695, and can be found in various song collections from 1865 onwards, suggesting that the Swedish audiences at least would likely have been familiar with it.

This opening is followed by the thirteen-bar tune Berwald reportedly heard when travelling across Fille Fjellen. This is a more fluid and melodious theme than the opening section, contrasting it in tempo — now *Andante*¹³ and in a lilting, trochaic 3/4 pulse — and expanding both the harmonic cycle and the melodic span (see Fig. 1b). It is still in f-minor and the melancholy minor tonality (aided by the phrase’s repeated downward movements) together with the dotted quaver-semiquaver figure and the recurring stress on the second beat of the bar imitates aspects of traditional Scandinavian folk dances. Höglund, among others, hears it as ‘breathing [of] Nordic melancholy’ (1996, p. 98),¹⁴ and although this oft invoked definition of sounds relating to northern areas remains a largely undefined and ambiguous qualifier, such regional connotations allows us to at least partly understand it as an aural connector to a specific geographical location.

Contemporary listeners seem to have appreciated the ‘simple and melodic rhythm’ (*Dagligt Allebanda*, 21 May 1842, unsigned: Lomnäs 1979, p. 222) that can be found both in the

Andante section, and in *Erinnerung*’s main theme. The latter is a breezy, quite brisk but long-lined and unhurried theme, spanning eleven bars and again bearing reminiscences of similar traditional folk tunes, ending in a ‘coda’ of chromatic triplet-figures which varies the mood on each occurrence. As this theme first appears, at bar 98, it moves the piece out of f-minor, and into its major parallel, Ab-major. This is in line with the sonata form, and prompts Layton to regard *Erinnerung* as devoid of ‘tonal surprises’ (Layton 1959, p. 135), but the major tonality after nearly half the piece (at 4.08 minutes) in a minor key nevertheless emphasises the theme’s brightness and sunniness. As the theme returns in a later passage (the start of the recapitulation section) it comes not in the expected home key (tonic) of f-minor or in the major parallel key, but in F-major. This move into F-major is significant as it enables us to hear a relation to the first movement of a more well-known orchestral piece, Beethoven’s *Sixth Symphony*, the ‘Pastoral’, in F-major, from 1808.¹⁵ Apart from the harmonic similarity, they share a cheerful, simplistic energy (amplified in a following secondary theme in the *Erinnerung* passage of repeated, ‘marching’ crotchets which climb an octave in each phrase), a fluidity unhindered by tempo changes or dynamic variations, and an overriding textural emphasis on the string section (with woods and brass selectively employed as sonoric additions).

Beethoven stated clearly of the ‘Pastoral’, that it was intended more as ‘the expression of feelings (‘Empfindung’) that Nature can evoke, rather than ‘painting (‘Malerei’)’ of the same (although later reception have been want to hear it differently; Jones 1995, pp. 1, 81ff).



Fig. 1b. *Erinnerung*, Andante-theme [Introduction]

Its first movement is entitled ‘Awakening of cheerful feelings at arriving in the countryside’¹⁶ and like *Erinnerung* it opens with a single phrase that stops on a fermata pause, as if it wants to ‘allow listeners to take stock’ (*ibid.*, p. 54). Jones draws a parallel here to a similar use of pauses in Haydn’s *Creation* (1798), where they encourage listeners towards ‘contemplation and awe, as the natural world stands still in its perfection’ (*ibid.*). The restricted harmonic range of Beethoven’s first movement is also echoed in *Erinnerung*, as is a musical language that occasionally employs ‘pastoral’ features. The return of the main theme in *Erinnerung* is for example preceded by the first two bars from the Andante-theme: now in tripled note-values and forming a six-bar long, slow, mournful descent, first in Ab-minor, then repeated in its original f-minor, over a pedal-eb (this held, ‘pedal’-note itself regarded as a pastoral device) in the double-basses and long, still chord in the strings. In and out of this stillness flits a flute drill, a quick burble on the clarinet, and a bassoon on a pizzicato-shaped rising minor triad. Berwald’s engagement with these pastoral features should however, as Beethoven’s, be understood not as ‘Malerie’ but as ‘expressions of feelings’ that this landscape generates, and through-out its nine minutes, *Erinnerung* uses sonic, tonal and rhythmic means to display a range of these.

According to *New Grove II*, Berwald’s music can often be understood as conceived in terms of specific sonorities, and it is this ‘heightened sensitivity to the timbral characteristics of the sound object’ that is one of the more ‘Nordic’ aspects of his music (Layton & Grimley 2001, p. 479). As *Erinnerung* settles on what should be its final f-minor chord, a lone trombone solo emerges on a subtly different and partially fragmented version of the Andante-theme (Fig.

1c). It creates a sonority around the theme not previously heard, and against the unstable harmonics of the held string chords (f-min/F-maj/Bb-min/G-maj/f-min) over a pedal-f, the trombone manages to sound both familiar and alien, both from within the piece and displaced. Although these final bars eventually bring the tone poem back to an f-minor close, the return to the tonic now feels less secure, and a contemporary review after the first performance (marred, incidentally, by appalling acoustics) noted that ‘the ending seemed somewhat abrupt, and that it appeared [to me] that the thought had suddenly been interrupted’ (*Dagligt Allebanda*, 21 May 1842, unsigned: Lomnäs 1979, p. 222, my translation). This describes well the effect of the last five bars (even if the suggested reason is implausible) and the partial sense of bewilderment that the tone poem suddenly and unexpectedly leaves its listeners with.

The trombone connects through its sonority with a rural herding tradition that was still the dominant culture of the Norwegian mountainscapes, and thus with the Romantic interest in folk traditions as well as with its own (alleged) locale. As it echoes out against the orchestra’s very still final chords, a heightened melancholy forming out of its undress, the emptiness against which it rings out makes it sound spatially unconnected, a solitary sound travelling across vast open vistas. By reverberating separately from the rest of the orchestra, it creates a spaciousness which imitates the natural characteristics of the open spaces of the high mountains. Suggestions of continuity and perpetuity are embedded in the echoes it creates, both sonically, and thematically through its relationship with the *Andante*-theme. Motte-Haber writes of echoes as recalls of a great, unbound, ‘Ferne’ (Motte-Haber 2000, p. 53), and these echoes here effect what Johnson calls



Fig. 1c. *Erinnerung*, last five bars, trombone solo

a ‘construction of distance’ (1999, p. 58). In this final trombone, this boundless expanse, and the distancing of and to it, becomes *Erinnerung*’s primary interpretation of the Norwegian mountain-scapes.

Composed in Vienna, potentially some fifteen years after the Swedish composer last set foot in Norway, and performed first to a German audience preconditioned by the Romantic fascination with Nordic myth, landscape and folklore, *Erinnerung* relies on and re-enforces this distance to the mountains it claims to engage with. Both it and its landscape exist *away* from the actual landscape itself, neither connecting nor engaging with it directly. As the iconic (Romantic) landscape-viewer in Caspar David Friedrich’s *Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog* (*Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer*, c. 1818) takes on the role of spectator of landscape, so does *Erinnerung* mainly gaze at the Norwegian mountains as a separate and separated object.

DISCOVERING THE LANDSCAPE

By the time of *Erinnerung*, recurring visitations to the mountains were well underway. The beginning of Norway’s domestic ‘discovery’ of its mountain regions is often dated to 1811, when Norway’s first university was founded with support from, among others, ‘Selskapet for Norges Vel’ (The Society for promotion of Norway’s advancement], founded 1809). This led to scientific interest in the mountain regions taking hold and developing. The early decades of the nineteenth century saw expeditions to the mountain ranges being undertaken by geologists and botanists, though their journeys are best described as a cross between scientific exploration and early tourism. One of these first ‘*fjell*-tourists’ was Christen Smith (from 1814 professor of botany and national economics at Oslo university), whose letter recounting his fourteen days traversing the Jotunheimen region in 1812 is the first written account from a hike in the area. Smith was sent by ‘Selskapet’, with a remit to explore the region and note in particular its flora (Helberg 1977, pp. 102–4), and this early

excursion exemplifies the interaction between scientific interest, the personal and subjective encounter with and exploration of the mountain-scape itself, and the subsequent narration of the encounters in scientific and (later) artistic forms. In 1818 Norway’s first School of Drawing was set up in Christiania, the teachers at which could all be described as ‘young mountaineers’ (Messel 2008, p. 10), and in 1819, regarded as a particularly significant year in the discovery of the high mountains in Norwegian art, both the Danish-born artist Johannes Flintoe, a teacher and key figure at the art school, and the Swedish-Finnish officer W. M. Carpelan undertook their first (separate) expeditions into the central mountain areas and returned with early sketches of the region. Carpelan travelled between Christiania and Bergen on the King’s Road to check the route for his employer, the recently appointed Governor for Norway, J. A. Sandels, and his ‘View from Murklopphøgda on Filefjell’, dated 31st July 1819, is believed to be the first image made of the Jotunheimen mountain range that lies to the north of there.

In this way mountain hikes early on became linked to artistic output, and in the early 1830s Flintoe introduced a viewing practice which further established landscape as both a subject for artistic interpretation and as an experience of personal and (here quasi-) physical matter. The generally very popular *cosmoramas* were exhibitions in darkened rooms where paintings could be viewed through a magnifying lens or a glass which intensified the viewer’s engagement with the painting and enhanced an embodied sense of the scene or scenery. Although the *cosmoramas* seem not to have stayed in vogue for long, they are arguably indicative of, and an aide to developing, approaches that experimented with the landscape as on the one hand a separated and geographically distanced object (landscape as ‘gaze’) and on the other a participatory (though here constructed) experience.¹⁷

In 1848, the emerging understanding of the mountain-scape as value-laden artistic matter could be seen in a publication of a poster series of ‘Norway in pictures’, which consisted of

lithographs of Norwegian landscape paintings based on various artists' output from 1780 onwards.¹⁸ The editor and publisher, Christian Tönsberg, dedicated the collection to Sweden's King Oscar I (under whom Norway was then subject) while expressing an aim with the publication best described as patriotic: 'It is my hope, that this final collection will [...] play its part in furthering knowledge, both in fellow citizens and in foreigners, about our, in magnificent natural beauty so rich, fatherland'.¹⁹

As well as functioning as a check-point in the development of Norway's domestic landscapes as artistic motif, these drawings also demonstrate the growing sense that this landscape had cultural value and a signifying ability that demarcated something uniquely Norwegian. This is further underlined by the texts the author and folk tale collector Peter Christian Asbjørnsen wrote to accompany the posters. Asbjørnsen and his friend Jørgen Moe were to play a significant role in the cultural construction of a Norwegian national consciousness through the Norwegian fairy tales they recorded and published, and which would influence both Norwegian literature and the development of the Norwegian language. Asbjørnsen's involvement in this landmark publication, and the texts themselves (quotes and extracts from foreign visitors' accounts, from other Norwegian authors, and from folk tales, all interspersed with Asbjørnsen's own writing) synthesises the ability of the landscape in this context to act through more than one medium and on more than one level, as the ideology taking shape around it makes use of a rhetoric combining aesthetics, narratives and self-definitions. The symbiosis emerging here, between a present and — increasingly — accessible landscape and the development of an, equally accessible, cultural heritage rooted in and related to that landscape, is the core of the growing focus on these mountain regions.

JOTUNHEIMEN: 'THE HOLIEST OF HOLY'

An area that took on a particular significance was the region now known as *Jotunheimen*. Asbjørnsen

described a view towards the area thus in the 1848 publication:

There rises a long, unbroken stretch of horns and peaks in an Alp-region where Nature seems to have given its all to decorate the silly shapes in as frightening a manner as it possibly could, in order to scare away every living thing from these fields covered in an eternal winter. This is how *Jotunfjeldene* [the Jotun mountains] show themselves, Scandinavia's 'Riesengebirge', which of all of north Europe's Alps reach furthest up into the air' (Asbjørnsen, after Naumann, in Tönsberg 1848/1980).²⁰

Today the area is a national park and generally regarded as Norway's foremost, and most popular, mountain region but before the early nineteenth century it was a white space on the map and essentially unknown; the geologist B. M. Keilhau reported on his exploration of Jotunheimen in 1820 that it was to 'a hitherto unknown region' (Keilhau 1820, in Messel 2008, p. 20).²¹ To A. O. Øverland, writing in 1892, Jotunheimen referred to a mountainous area of around 100–150 km² in the regions known as Gudbrandsdalen, Sogn and Valdres (Øverland, in Helberg 1977, p. 102), and Nyquist refers to a roughly similar area in 1977, but points out that no definitive borders have ever existed (p. 8). Jotunheimen National Park, as established in 1980, covers an area of over 1000km² — see map below (Fig. 2).²²

Jotunheimen is the only area of Norway with peaks over 2,300 metres and is home to twenty-two of Norway's highest peaks, including Galdhøpiggen at 2,469 metres and Glittertind at 2,452 metres (up to 2,466 if including the glacier) — which might explain Keilhau's suggestion in 1823 to name the area *Jotunfjeldene*, an attempt at translating the German 'Riesengebirge'. 'Jotun' is derived from the Old Norse for giants, *jötunn* (*Jötunheimr* in Norse mythology is one of the nine worlds and home to the giants). No wonder, the poet and writer A. O. Vinje reflected in 1862, in a travel account from a journey through the region, that Norway's 'largest and wildest mass of mountains' had inspired this name, as 'it was a fitting place for trolls this'.²³ Vinje adjusted

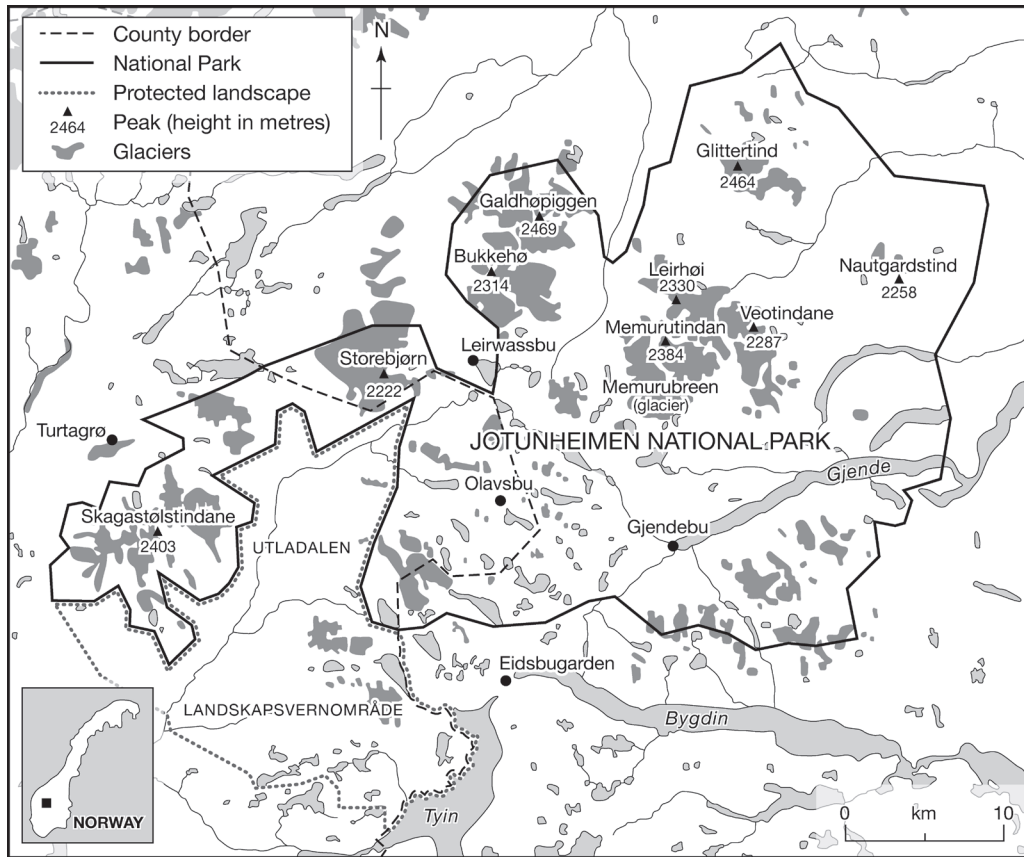


Fig. 2. Map of Jotunheimen (Drawn by Catherine D'Alton).

Keilhau's name to *Jotunheimen* — a *home* for giants (or trolls), even more closely related to its Norse conceptual forefather. The two versions were used in parallel until at least 1868, but Vinje's eventually became the established one. Naming the region is an important act, as it simultaneously establishes it as a conscious entity, and claims ownership over it as an object to be denoted and mapped out. The closeness between the area's modern name and that found in Norse mythology indicates not only a (Romantic) predisposition for creating passageways between ancient pasts and contemporary society but draws again also on the understanding in Norwegian national consciousness of the(ir) landscape as vessels for and shrines of their collective heritage and roots.

MEMORIES AND DISTANCE

Closely attuned to Norwegian nature in general, Edvard Grieg was a devotee of Jotunheimen in particular, and he returned there regularly, frequently bringing friends and fellow musicians, both Norwegian and non-Norwegian, along. In one of his earliest explorations of the area in 1886 he set out for Tvindehoug with the Danish poet Holger Drachmann and later in the year published a song cycle of six songs to texts Drachmann had written, partially during their trip. 'Reiseminder fra Fjeld og Fjord' ('Reminiscences of travels through high mountains and fjords'), op.44, has a *Prologue* and an *Epilogue* which frame four songs all headed by female names — presumably inspired by encounters during their trip. The

Epilogue ('Farewell to Tvindehougen') opens with Grieg and Drachmann literally looking back: 'One final longing look we savour'. Gazed at from a distance, the receding mountains' snow-clad peaks are imbued with an ability to guide the travellers, as in the concluding lines of the first verse:

Show us the pathway we desire: the way that leads to life's redeeming.

Though happiness may lack within, o Jotunheim, you know the secret:

in the hills, in the hills, in the hills there is no sin!²⁴

Here Grieg interrupts the recitative the *Epilogue* started as, and with driving, continuous quaver-triplets in the accompaniment, he lets the music intensify, gradually building harmonically and sonorically to the last phrase 'auf der Alm', which is set declamatorily to a chord progression over a held 'G' in the bass (stabilising and securing the phrase). Both text and melody of this last line is taken from an Austrian folk song that Drachmann had heard in the Austrian Alps, and the triple repeat of the place adverbial underlines an emphasis of the actual geographical location.²⁵ This loan also links *Reiseminder* to a wider European narrative of mountain-space as ideology, in which life 'on the heights' is demarcated as different from life found away from the mountains (in the valley, in society, in conventional, circumscribed, existence).

The *Epilogue* depends however on separation, and it is the act of leaving the mountains that gives them their ultimate status as objects of longing and 'unattainable wonderlands' (from the first verse). The last verse of the *Epilogue* ends the cycle with:

When far away from you we seek our church for our prayers

When we perhaps among the trees of the woods open nature's hymnbooks,

Then one nods, begin, o Tvindehoug, the reading is about you: 'on the heights...' etc.²⁶

Even considering the potential risk of interpreting too earnestly Grieg's and Drachmann's play with their recollections of a joint experience,

undertaken perhaps in a much more light-hearted manner than might warrant an extended close reading, the set remains an artistic reconstruction and a culturally disseminated re-narration of travels into the mountains. The use of the mountain-scape as a representative, and separate, existence, and the role it is given in this guise, is very clearly conditioned both by a physical and temporal distance, as well as by a distance to a past experience of it. This has much in common with how Boym parses nostalgia: a 'longing for a home that no longer exists [or has never existed]' and a 'sentiment of loss and displacement' paired with what she calls 'a romance with one's own fantasy' (2001, p. xiii). The nostalgic dimension here is what enables the memories of the mountains to be perpetuated and remembered, but also what imbues the mountain-scape itself with purity and completeness: the destination for the *algia* — the longing — and the *nostos* — the 'home' to which a 'return' is constructed as the ultimate fulfilment.

The mountain-scape as a separate sphere which held unsurpassed potential for spiritual passion, artistic verve and physical well-being, is underlined in Grieg's and Drachmann's correspondence. Writing just after their trip, Drachmann summarised the legacy thus: 'I have felt Nature's firm rock under my feet: on that site many huts can be built which can house many friends, yes which even has a welcoming room for an enemy. [...] See, that is the outcome of this trip to Western Norway.'²⁷ Grieg wrote, on sending the completed songs to Drachmann: 'Thank you, for the trip to the Western mountains! [...] First of all thank you for awakening an ability, which I believed extinct in me: the ability to be captivated! I am now writing chamber music; but unfortunately! too much studio air! too little Jotunheimen!'²⁸ Drachmann reveals that he developed bronchitis 'as soon as he got home', and adds that: 'Doctor Stage says that Norway (in particular the high mountains) soon is the sanatorium for the entire suffering mankind — and he is right!'²⁹ Drachmann's doctor exemplifies here the contemporary belief in the engagement with mountain-scapes as being capable of having concrete physical benefits, and a more widely

held belief in Nature as containing important cleansing abilities. Escaping *from* the city was to escape *to* health and recovery, both physically and psychologically, and this evaluation formed an important and explicit reason for the growing popularity the Norwegian mountains acquired (Fjågesund & Symes 2003, p. 273).

To Grieg, the relationship with the mountain-landscape is a personal (though not necessarily subjective) exchange and experience. He ‘feels for them as though they were human characters’ (J. A. B. Christie, 27 Jan 1880: Benestad & Halversen 2000, p. 473) and they ‘draw me back with irresistible force [...] as though they still have so much to tell me’ (Jonas Lie, 18 Oct 1888: *ibid.*, p. 473). He implores a fellow musician (Iver Holter) in need of some re-charging to ‘let Nature [Jotunheimen] have you for a while’, as Grieg senses he ‘needs an incalculable amount of mountain stuff into [his] work’ (11 Aug 1890, to Iver Holter; in Benestad 1998, p. 415),³⁰ and to Frantz Beyer, attorney, amateur pianist, close friend and frequent fellow walker he writes before their hike in 1891: ‘Therefore: to the mountains, to the mountains! There alone is the cure.’ (9 Feb 1891: Benestad & Halversen 2000, p. 63).

The relationship with Jotunheimen (Pl. I) is for Grieg to a large extent based on active engagement, exemplified when he writes to Julius Röntgen (a German-born composer, conductor and pianist who lived and worked most of his life in Amsterdam, and was one of Grieg’s closest non-Norwegian friends and first biographer) about their ‘jotunisieren’ (‘jotunising’) and refers to them both as ‘Jotunologen’ (Carley 1993, p. 99). These terms were not Grieg’s own inventions, but ones used in other contexts for experts on the region, notably by influential scholars and scientists. Grieg’s employment of the term for himself and other composers suggests a paralleling of the scientific ‘discovery’ of the region with their own artistic engagement.

In 1891 Grieg travelled to Jotunheimen with both Beyer and Röntgen. This is a particularly significant, and oft referenced, trip for Grieg, as it was here he met the nineteen-year old *Saeter-jente*³¹ Gjendine Slaalien.³² The songs she and others

sang for them made a deep impression on all three travellers, and they were to use the material both directly (e.g. Grieg’s op. 66, ‘Norwegian folk tunes’) and indirectly. For Grieg the trip resulted in renewed energy and inspiration, he felt ‘ten years younger’ (to Max Abraham, 10 Aug 1891: Benestad & Schjelderup-Ebbe 1980, p. 273) and shortly afterwards produced his fifth book of *Lyrical Pieces (Lyriske Stykker)*, op. 54, for piano.

The first three of the pieces in op. 54 have names that connect them with various aspects of Norwegian folk culture: *Gjetergut* (‘Shepherd’s Boy’), *Gangar* (a Norwegian march) and *Trolltog* (‘March of the trolls’), and Röntgen, to whom Grieg dedicated the pieces, wrote to Grieg that they would be a ‘another memory of the unforgettable days in Jotunheimen’. In each of them, Röntgen can hear a ‘piece of [Grieg] and of the Norwegian nation’, *Gjetergut* ‘undoubtedly creating a ‘Turtagrø-atmosphere’, and in the *gangar*, Röntgen can see Grieg as when he rejoiced over hearing a farmer play his fiddle: ‘and when you look around, you see the high mountains and breathe in the wonderful, sharp mountain air’ (Röntgen to Grieg, 20 Dec 1891: Benestad & Stavland 1997, p. 100). Grimley hears in ‘Gjetergut’ an attempt at ‘mythologising time’ and links it to Boym’s definitions of ‘restorative nostalgia’ which ‘ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialise time ... concerned more with ritual reconstruction than with reflection’ (Grimley 2006, p. 86). This is achieved by a tonal material which is ‘characterised by a sense of longing or yearning for release’, and a mood with a ‘prevailing emphasis [...] on distance and a sense of loss’ (*ibid.*, p. 91). This sense of loss, in part enhanced by geographical and temporal distance, is a recurrent theme in the memorised experience of Jotunheimen. For Grieg this ‘is life as it should be lived’ — and the landscape that enables this existence of (idealised) fulfilment becomes conditioned by a temporal mythologising in its musical reconstruction.

Röntgen’s memorialisation of the same experience took the form of an orchestral suite, finished the year after their trip and dedicated

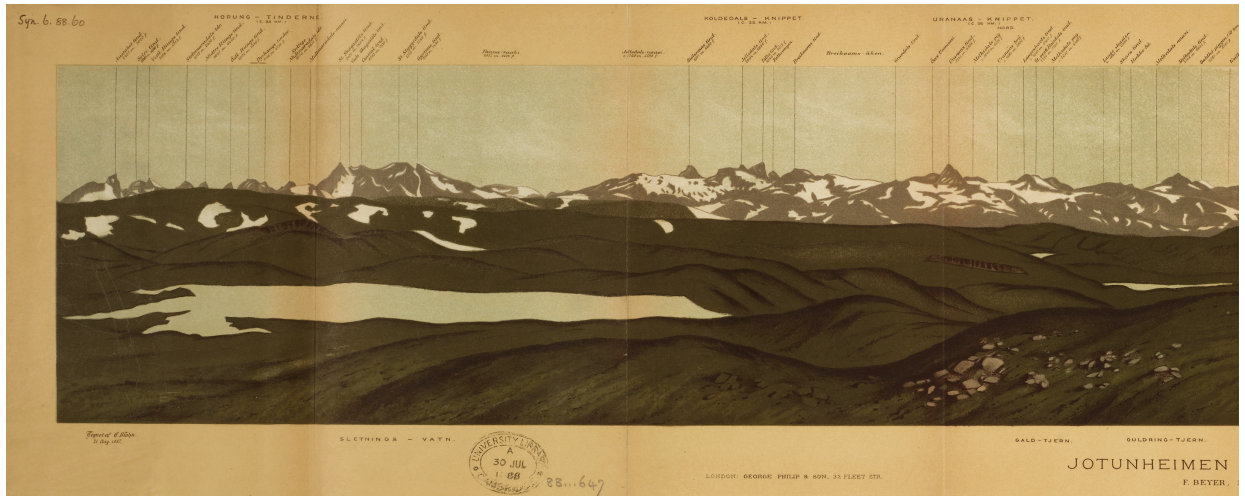


Plate I. 'Panorama of Jotunheimen', published by F.Beyer, Bergen/London/Leipzig, 1887.

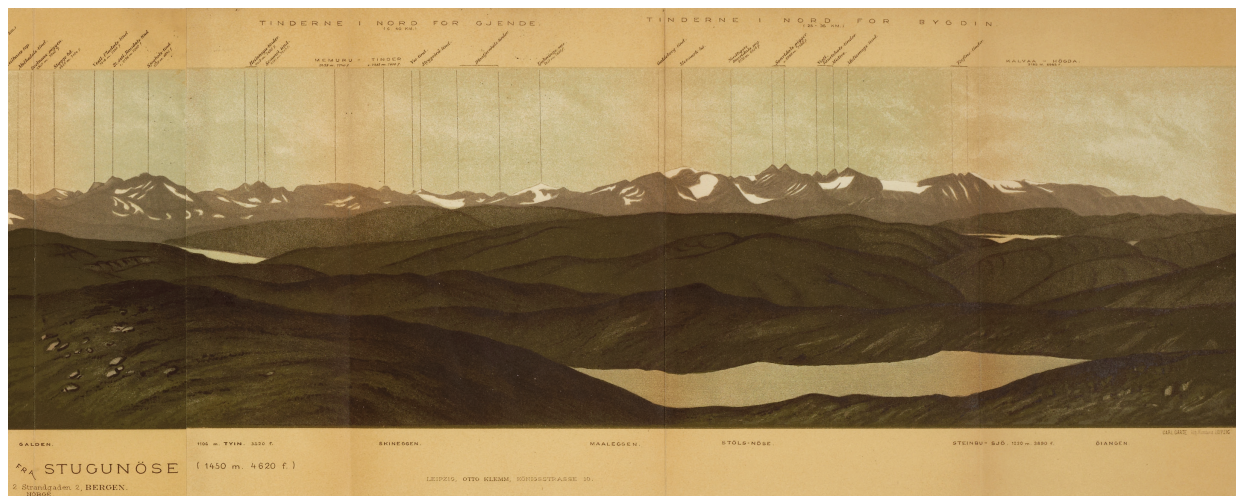
(initially in a solo violin and piano version) to Edvard and Nina Grieg on occasion of their silver wedding in June 1892. Röntgen would later also re-work it both for horn and piano, and also for two pianos, which suggests a certain level of adaptability both of the material itself and of its topical matter. *Aus Jotunheim* is in five parts, not further labelled with any kind of 'programme', but headed only by musical markings. The 'aus' in the title is however many-pronged: 'from' Jotunheimen might encompass reminiscences of emotions, moods and activities alike, as well as direct transfers of concrete material. It opens in the orchestrated version with a long, lone horn call of falling minor third intervals: a mournful call across vast, desolate spaces, evoking the *vidder* of the Norwegian high mountains. Out of this horn call emerges the first theme, a softly lilting melody in a slow waltz rhythm whose downwards

minor third intervals suggest a melancholy that also echoes throughout many parts of the suite. This first theme is likely to have regional origins (though verification is missing) as its harmonics, rhythm and melodic 'completeness' is closely related to the local folk music (as with the *Erinnerung*-theme), and Röntgen also wrote explicitly that *Aus Jotunheim* was a direct 'memory' of their trip, containing songs and motifs that he had heard then (Röntgen: Stavland, 1994, p. 55). Already in its opening bars, the suite then channels Jotunheimen both culturally and spatially.

The centre of the suite is its third movement, which Röntgen constructed around a lullaby Gjendine had sung them (Fig. 3a). The melodic movement in the lullaby sits within what we could call a 'closed' space: it revolves around a central G, using only the restricted space of the



Fig. 3a. Gjendine's Lullaby, transcription by J. Röntgen.



fifth (up to a *D*) and down a semitone to the seventh (*F*). Within this space, the theme uses mainly the three notes of the g-minor triad (*G*, *B*, *D*), employing the second and fourth note of the scale (*A*, *C*), and in particular the seventh to create contrast and potential instability before releasing the harmonics back to its central *G*.

Röntgen's treatment of the lullaby-theme enhances the sense of stability and assurance the melodic material contains, neutralising any destabilising elements with a steady, slow rocking rhythm which flows unbroken and unhindered throughout the movement. The orchestral version ends, as an extended echo, by repeating extensively those last 'returns' to the *G* in its coda, and finishing with arpeggio g-minor chords in the harp — securely reinforcing the rootedness and stability which is the movement's primary expression.³³

The lullaby is surrounded by a preceding muscular *vivo ed energico* (a steady 4/4 marking every beat in a march-like dance accompaniment, ending in some darkly agitated strings and harsh timpani beats) and the jaunty and spectacle-like *giocoso* ('joyous, merry') that follows (easily recognisable in character as of traditional folk music with its fiddle intro of upbeats in open fourths, an embellished theme and a strong

rhythmical drive, and deriving much of its fair-ground feel from the inclusion of glockenspiel and liberal use of accompanying cymbals and timpani). Both these movements suggest some kind of collective activity, a dance or some other communal gathering with musical accompaniment — and represent a very different emotional spectrum to the lullaby of the middle movement.

The outer-most movements of the suite, numbers 1 and 5, are both marked a calmer *lento* (slow), and both contain the very last tune the travellers took with them from Skagastølstind. Apart from the sung material, they had also encountered a 'bukkehorn', a simple horn which could only play the first three notes of the minor scale (e.g. *C*, *D*, *Eb*), and been fascinated by the variety produced within the tunes they were played. After they had left the *saeter*, and already come some distance away from it, they heard Gjendine blow them a tune on the horn (Fig. 3b), which, as they walked on, became fainter and fainter until it finally died away entirely. It is a poignant moment, the narrative of their reluctant departure mingling with the melancholy of the horn,³⁴ and the fading away inherent in the tune itself, with its gradual shedding of embellishment until only one note remains, repeated singly until it too vanishes.



Fig. 3b. 'Bukkehorn'-theme, transcription by J. Röntgen.

Röntgen reconstructs both the memory of their experience as well as the departure and distance such memorisation depends on by ending his suite with the slow fading of this horn, and letting the suite, like Gjendine's singing of the lullaby, become 'towards the end steadily slower and quieter before the sound eventually died out' (Röntgen: Stavland 1994, p. 50).

A memorialised sense of loss to the distanced object and experience then becomes *Aus Jotunheimen*'s main narrative, but interspersed with moments of warmth, beauty and joy, the separation is intertwined with the constructed memory of place. As *Aus Jotunheimen* ends on a settled, full D-major chord, having convincingly converted the minor tonality of the farewell theme into major, it has created its own version of the mountain experience, partially remembered and partially evoked, conditioned simultaneously by a present and pervasive idealising of the mountain-scape, and the distance in time and place to a tangible experience thereof.

PRESENT NOSTALGIA / A NOSTALGIC PRESENCE

In the note Röntgen sent Grieg with the original score he writes: 'Möchtest Du etwas von den Jotunheimer Reisetagen darin zurückfinden, vor Allem aber meine Dankbarkeit für die schöne Zeit, die ich dort mit Dir und Freund Beyer erleben durfte'.³⁵ Grieg appreciated the gesture: 'Die Jotunstücke hat mich fabelhaft gefreut. [...] Ausser das für uns Jotunologen interessante sind noch dazu die Stücke ganz prächtig, poe[ti]c und klangvoll im höchsten grade'.³⁶ Both Röntgen and Grieg draw explicit parallels here between their experience of the mountains, their emotional memories of those experiences, and the musical product. But their reminiscences are also clearly re-narrated and form a transposition of the

mountain-scape (its shape and space as well as the emotions and sensations it imparts) into a reconstruction both separate yet un-separable from its origin. One of the themes Röntgen uses for his last movement of *Aus Jotunheimen* is a song that he heard on his first morning at Skagastølstind, used to call the goats back home. In the suite Röntgen has made this (vocal) goat-call into a violin solo, an instrument itself readily associated with peasant traditions but here 'falsely' used to transpose originally sung material into a performed version thereof. Concrete musical memories from the trip thus serve to evoke a set of less tangible reminiscences, which exist more in the present reconstruction than as an actual past. The Jotunheimen-dimension in these responses is one that circles around the physical time spent in the mountains, together and in the company of others, but which also functions as a point of connection: Jotunheimen is less of a single destination or locale and more of a psychological dimension, encompassing profound pleasures and enjoyments, yet conditioned by a nostalgic wistfulness.

Nostalgia, as the *mal du siècle* of the late nineteenth century, acquired, according to Boym, 'public space and style' and was transformed by national ideology into a collective memorisation which transcended individual memories (2001, pp. 15, 6).³⁷ The rhetoric around the Norwegian mountain-scape, as it emerged during Norway's politically and culturally highly transformative periods in the nineteenth century, could be argued to contain individual (and subjectively conditioned) elements of the kind of social or collective nostalgia which serves, in Davis's terms, 'to restore, at least temporarily, a sense of socio-historic continuity' (1979, p. 104). The artistic responses to the landscape considered here indulge in both individual and communal nostalgic tendencies as they engage with a longing

for a landscape understood to enhance both personal and collective fulfilment. Art, suggests Davis, ‘thrives on nostalgia’, and ‘does much to shape the form and provide the substance of our nostalgic experience’ (*ibid.*, p. 73), not least through the way it condenses past and present, and the experience it brings of living ‘outside of time now’.³⁸ The sense of loss that is at the core of any nostalgic experiences is traditionally understood to refer to a loss of something past: for the early Swiss mercenaries who were first subject to the diagnosis their homeland, but since widened into a more generalised longing for anything we no longer have or have access to. The music of the mountain-scapes of Norway, however, engage in a broader definition of nostalgia, not limited to a longing for a somewhere or sometime located only in the past, but instead anchored also in the present.

The nostalgia in this music can then be understood as one which does not necessarily correspond to something which is tangibly ‘there’, something that, as Boym puts it, ‘is properly

remembered and [which] one still knows where to look for’ (Boym 2001, p. 6). Its nostalgic characteristics are instead dependent precisely on the distance between the experience and experiencer, and function as a convergence of narrative reminiscences, sensory memories of imagined or actual experiences, and idealised properties and representations of the landscape. We might hear in them neither a reflective nor purely restorative nostalgia, but a nostalgic response to the mountain-scape which is only partially subjective, and instead sits at a cross-road of a collective narrative and individual memorisation. The modern man’s ‘homesickness for the wild’ is only partially what these composed landscapes are about, and they should instead be heard as vehicles for expressing sensuous experiences of a mountain-scape imbued collectively, nationally and Romantically with complex sets of values around which a cyclical narrative of experience, memorisation and artistic transfers takes place.

NOTES

1. The phrasing is Frederick Delius’, a composer of English-Germanic origin whose own relationship with the Norwegian mountains, and musical settings of Ibsen’s poem, is discussed in a forthcoming article, ‘Narrating place and perspective: Frederick Delius and Ibsen’s *Paa Vidderne*, *Scandinavica*, Summer 2013.
2. *Paa Vidderne* was published in Ibsen’s only collection of poems, *Dikter*, in 1871. A replication (2010) of the entire collection is available on-line at: <http://people.opera.com/howcome/2010/ibsen>.
3. To the background of 1860s Norway, Lewis Foreman suggests it could also be read as a comment on on-going Dano-Norwegian relational difficulties and the question of Norwegian individuality, as its allegorical format lends itself well to interpretations of political commentary. See Lewis Foreman, sleeve note to *Frederick Delius in Norway*, Classico, 2000.
4. Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* from 1796 are often considered as marking a starting point for the increase in popularity in travelling to the region, as well as the travelogues written up and published

on the back of these journeys. Quote taken from Fjågesund & Symes 2003; chapter heading for Chapter 1, pp. 33–97.

5. Nicolson takes for example Byron’s *Manfred* (1816–17) and Wordsworth’s *The Prelude* (1798–1850) to illustrate the emerging approach to mountains in literature. Both are epic poems, set wholly or partially in the Alps (and in Wordsworth also Snowdon), and help relate Ibsen’s narrator to a wider trend. Byron’s *Manfred* experiences ‘the effect of wild Nature upon a youthful personality’ as:

From my youth upwards / My spirit walk’d not
with the soul of men; ... /

My joy was in the Wilderness, to breathe / The
difficult air of the iced mountain’s top’

and much of Wordsworth’s poem consists of ‘[his] interactions with nature that assured him of his poetic mission:

And so I dare to hope, / Though changed, no
doubt, from what I was when first /
I came among these hills; when like a roe /
I bounded o’er the mountains, by the sides /

Of the deep rivers and the lonely streams, /
whenever Nature led; more like a man, /
Flying from something that he dreads,
than one / Who sought the thing he loved.

See further also Ireton & Schaumann 2012; Messel 2008; and Senici's 2004 discussion on 'Virgins, mountains and opera', pp. 1–20; Berg & Gjermundesen 1992.

6. Rees' points made during lectures at Univ Col London, February 2012. See also Karoline Daugstad (2007).
7. The title of W. Cecil Slingsby's (1941) seminal study of mountaineering in the Norwegian mountain-scapes, *Norway, the Northern Playground*.
8. In an earlier text, highly relevant for this discussion, Philip Bohlman explores this way of music to 'become more than it was in the world of its creation' in the specific context of European nationalism; see Bohlman 2004.
9. 'Hugkomst af Norrska Fjellen' is the Swedish title printed on the poster for the concert 19 May 1842 (repr in 'Franz Berwald: Die Dokumente seines Lebens', *Sämtliche Werke*, Supplement, 1979, p. 221). MS dated 'Wien. Febr. 1842'.
10. See Lomnäs 1979, pp. 86–91, for documentation. Jan van Doom was a Dutch-born pianist and composer, pupil of Hummel and Moscheler, who moved to Stockholm 1825, and eventually became a teacher at the Music Academy.
11. Castegren also argues against this claim on the grounds that an essentially identical tune appears already in Berwald's opera *Leonida*, which he worked on during his first years in Berlin, 1829–30, long before *Erinnerung* appeared. This does however not in itself work to discredit the possibility of imitative transfer — Berwald may simply have used his recollected melodic material more than once.
12. 'Sonata form' refers to the structure of an individual (single) movement, 'best viewed not as a rigid, prescriptive mold, but rather as a flexible and imaginative intersection of modulation, the thematic process, and numerous other elements' (Randel 2003, *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, p. 799).
13. Andante = walking; a calm, but brisker tempo than adagio, which means 'slow'.
14. This interpretation was also expressed in contemporary commentaries, the review in *Die Gegenwart* (1847), for example, says of the Allegro that 'a Nordic-Romantic style dominates, in which the reminiscences from the first theme continues' (Lomnäs 1979, p. 355) (original in German, my transl.).
15. As Berwald had lived in Berlin and Vienna for thirteen years before composing *Erinnerung*, we might regard it as plausible that he would have heard Beethoven's Sixth at some point during this time.
16. 'Angenehme Empfindungen, welche bei der Ankunft auf dem Lande im Menschen erwachen'.
17. An illustration of John Wylie's discourse on landscape as a series of tensions, here between the 'looking at' and 'living [being] in' (Wylie 2006).
18. 'Norge framstillet i Tegninger', published by Christian Tønsberg 1848, reprinted 1980, Oslo in two band; no page numbers. The complete set consists of 195 'tegninger'. Tønsberg followed this publication with series of 'Norske folkelivsbilder' ('Pictures from Norwegian life') in 1854, 1858 and 1868, as well as a 'Bondeliv' ('The farmer's life') in 1861.
19. 'Det er mit Haab, at den nu sluttende Samling [...] vil bidrage sit til, saavel hos Landsmaend som Fremmede, at udbrede et naermere Kjendskap til vort paa storartede Naturskjönheder saa rige Faedreland' (Tønsberg 1848/1980). All translations from the Norwegian and German by the author unless otherwise stated.
20. 'Der haeve sig I en lang uafbrudt Raekke Horn og Tinder af en Alpenregion, hvorpaa Naturen synes at have udtømt Alt for at udstyre de dumdristige Former paa en Maade, der svarede til de øvrige Skraekscener, som her stode til dens Raadighed, paa det at alt Levende maatte brtskreaekkes fra disse under en evig Vinters Forbandelse hvilende Egne. Saaledes vise Jotunfjeldene sig, Skandinaviens Kjaempebjerge, der af alla Nordeuropas Fjelde naae høiest op I Luftkredsen.' View from Nystuen; Asbjørnsen, after Naumann, in Tønsberg 1848/1980 (no page numbers).
21. Account published after major expedition in summer 1820: 'Nogle efterretninger om et hidtil ubekjent Stykke af det søndenfjelske Norge'. Discussed in Messel 2008, p. 20.
22. Jotunheimen National Park is also bordered by 'Utladalen landskapvernområde' (Utladalen Area of Protected Landscape, 314 km²), established at the same time. See FOR 1980-12-05 nr 02 (the official reference for the law establishing Jotenhelmen as a national park: see <http://www.lovdata.no/for/if/mv/xv-19801205-0001.html> for illustration). According to Nyquist, there was never any permanent residency in the area, and the statute for the national park establishes the aim of the park as to 'safeguard a wild, unique, beautiful and to a large extent untouched high mountain-scape (*fjellandskap*) [in which] agriculture, outdoor activities, hunting and fishing, teaching and research might be undertaken'. It is interesting to note the relative lateness of the designation to national park — Yellowstone was created already 1872, and neighbouring Sweden

- established their first ten parks in 1911. A first proposal for a national park in the area was made by DNT in 1904, and in 1935 from ‘Naturvernforbundet’ [The Society for the Protection of Nature]. Yet it took until 1964 for the first concrete plans to be put forward, which were subsequently postponed until 1973, and then finally passed as law in 1980 [http://snl.no/Jotunheimen_nasjonalpark]. Although this late decision might partly be a matter related to a lack of any specific industrial threat to the area, the lack of urgency might also reflect a position in which the mountains of Jotunheimen had acquired sufficient status in national Norwegian consciousness not to require express political support for their protection.
23. In ‘Fjöllstaven min’, published in ‘Nytaarsgave for Illustreret Nyhedsblads Abonnenter’, 1862, after a hike across the region Vinje had undertaken. Reprint in A. O. Vinje, 1920. Skrifter i samling; IV. Bandet, ed. Olav Midttun, 1920, p. 226.
 24. ‘Ja, vis os Vejen, til vi kan, vort Selv så rent som dit gjenfinde / Om Lykken end blir nok så tynd, o Jotunheim, du viser Vejen: “ auf der Alm, auf der Alm, auf der Alm da gibt’s kein Sünd!” ’, trans. W. H. Halverson.
 25. Note in Complete Works, band 14, 1990: ‘Af en Folkevisse fra Kärnten / Vom Dichter eine Volkswaise aus Kärnten entlehnt / From a popular Austrian Song’. Grieg expressed disappointment with this very phrase in a letter to H. T. Finch, where he says he thinks the Epilogue ‘fails because of the banal phrase “Auf der Alm” ’ and that he only used it as Drachmann sang it to him and ‘in a way obligated me to use it’ (Grieg, *Letters*: Benestad & Halverson 2000, p. 235). Whether Grieg refers to the text or the musical line is not clear from the above, but considering the reference to Drachmann having sung it to him, it is possible that it was the tune, more than the words, Grieg was particularly unhappy about. In his letter to Drachmann, announcing that the cycle was complete and on its way to the poet, Grieg only says that the Epilogue is ‘not all that bad but it has the same weakness as the Prologue that it needs to be recited’ (‘ikke så dum, men har den Fejl tillfælles med Prologen at den skal fordrages’; Grieg to Drachmann, 5 Dec 1886, Drachmann, *Letters*: Borup 1970, p. 356).
 26. ‘Når fjernt fra dig enhver isaer sin Kirke for sin Andagt søger / Når vi kanske blandt Skovens Traer slår op Naturens Salmebøger / Så nikker en: begynd, begynd, begynd o Tvindehoug, dig gjælder Teksten: ...’ (own translation).
 27. ‘jeg har følt Naturens faste Klippegrund under Fødderne: paa denn Tomt kan der rejses mangan god Hytte, som huser mange gode Venner, ja som selv har gæstfritt Rum for en fjende [...]. Se det er Udbyttet af denne Vestlandsfart.’ 19 Aug, p. 347.
 28. ‘Tak, for Vestlandsfærden! [...] Først og sidst Tak, for du vakte en Evne, som jeg troede uddød hos mig: Evenen at henføres! Jeg sidder nu og skriver Kammermusik; men desværre! formeget Atelierluft! forlidt Jotunheim!’ Grieg to Drachmann, 5 [?] Dec 1886. In Drachmann, *Letters*: Borup 1970, p. 356.
 29. ‘Doktor Stage siger, at Norge (særlig Høifjeldet) snart er Sanatoriet for hele den lidende Menneskehed – og han siger sandt!’ HD to EG, 10 Dec 1886, Drachmann, *Letters*: Borup 1970, p. 357.
 30. ‘Lad nu Naturen få Dig en Stund. Du trænger også en Indpodning af Fjedstoffer til Din Virksomhed’.
 31. The *saeter* is the traditional summer pasture on the high mountains, where the families’ livestock would be looked after throughout the summer by mostly young girls who moved up with them.
 32. Account on meeting by Röntgen, in de Vries Stavland 1994, pp. 44–51. See also Benestad & Schjelder-Ebbe 1980, pp. 270–2, and Nyquist 1977, pp. 76–7.
 33. Grieg’s Opus 66, in which ‘Gjendine’s Bådnlát’ forms the last piece (no. 19), could, according to Benestad, be understood to circle around ‘g’ in its entirety (Benestad & Schjelderup-Ebbe 1980, p. 288). It might be noted that Grieg composed opus 66 in 1896, several years after Röntgen’s orchestral treatment of the lullaby.
 34. ‘The horn calls [...] are symbols of memory – or, more exactly, of distance, absence and regret’, Rosen (1995, p. 117), in discussion on Schubert’s setting of Müller’s *Winterreise*.
 35. ‘I hope you might find something of the days of journeying through Jotunheimen therein, but most of all my gratefulness for the most enjoyable time I spent there with you and friend Beyer’ (Röntgen to Grieg 3 June 1892, in Benestad & Stavland 1997, p. 106).
 36. ‘I liked the Jotun piece immensely. Apart from that which is of particular interest to us ‘Jotunologen’, the piece is also quite solid, poetic and resonant to a high degree’ (Grieg to Röntgen 19 June 1892, *ibid.*, p. 107).
 37. Walter Benjamin writes on the bourgeois home in nineteenth-century Paris as a ‘miniature theatre and museum’ which seemed to ‘privatise nostalgia while at the same time replicating its public structure’ (discussed in Boym 2001, p. 15), and Dennis Walder, writing more recently on ‘postcolonial nostalgias’, also sees nostalgia as something that needs to be approached as ‘both an individual and communal phenomenon’ (Walder 2011, p. 20).
 38. Miller 1956, p. 106 (quoted in Davis 1979, p. 72).

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